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JEAN-BAPTISTE AU DESERT

Par Elie Bikerman

A la mémoire de S. A. Żébélev

"Ascendamus ad divinam scripturam per expositiones probabiles patrum, velut per quandam scalam visionis." La critique moderne de la Bible néglige ce conseil de Cassiodore.[1] Créée dans la lutte contre la Tradition, elle se détourne de l'exégèse patristique de l'Ecriture. Pourtant, elle pourrait y trouver ce qui lui manque nécessairement: à savoir un moyen indépendant de contrôle de ses recherches.

Considérant les livres bibliques comme œuvres humaines, le critique y trouve naturellement des imperfections, des erreurs, des contradictions. Sachant que tous les auteurs inspirés n'avaient "qu'un seul et même maître,"[1a] les Byzantins pensaient, au contraire, que ces auteurs avaient été préservés de toute erreur, que c'est surtout notre propre "bêtise" qui nous cache la vérité de l'Ecriture.[1b] Les obscurités mêmes de la Bible sont providentielles, "pour que prennent de la peine" ceux qui veulent s'instruire.[1c]

Les commentateurs byzantins de la Bible peuvent donc donner au critique moderne la plus grande aide critique que celui-ci pourrait espérer ou attendre; à savoir la faculté de voir le texte sacré d'un autre point de vue que le sien. Ce que je voudrais montrer par un exemple pris dans l'Evangile de Saint Luc.

Après avoir relaté les circonstances de la naissance merveilleuse de Jean-Baptiste, l'Evangéliste ne donne sur l'enfance et la jeunesse du Précurseur que ce renseignement bref et curieux: "Et le petit enfant grandissait et se fortifiait en esprit, et il était dans les déserts jusqu'au jour de sa présentation à Israël" (*Lc* I, 80).

Indifférents à l'exactitude d'une narration "légendaire," les exégètes modernes passent sous silence ce séjour de l'enfant dans

[1] Cassiod., *De inst. div. litt.*, Migne, *P. L.* LXX, 1107.

[1a] "Confession de foi du Patriarche Gennadius" ap. E. J. Kimmel, *Libri symbolici eccles. orient.* (1843), 21. Cf. August., *De doctr. christ.*, I, 37.

[1b] Photius, Migne, *P. G.*, CI, 816.

[1c] Just., *Dial.* 90. Cf. August., *De doctr. christ.*, II, 6: "facile investigata plerumque vilescunt."

le désert.[2] Les lecteurs byzantins s'étonnaient, au contraire, de ce trait singulier dans la vie du Précurseur. "Ton père est prêtre," dit Chrysippe de Jérusalem dans son éloge de Jean-Baptiste, "ta mère âgée s'adonne aux prières, pourquoi donc t'es tu enfui dans le désert"? [2a]

En effet, on s'attendait à ce que ce fils unique, enfant de la viellesse, reste dans le sein de sa famille vénérable. Ainsi, une légende copte raconte que ses parents amenaient S. Jean chaque jour dans le temple de Jérusalem.[3] Mais Luc ne connaît pas cette version. Selon lui, dès sa plus tendre enfance, Jean-Baptiste demeura au désert. Les pères de l'Eglise n'en doutaient pas et cherchaient une explication raisonnable de ce fait extraordinaire.[4]

I

Certains, parmi les exégètes anciens, pensaient que Jean-Baptiste dut quitter sa famille pour échapper au massacre des Innocents. Les chronographes byzantins acceptaient cette interprétation rationaliste qu'on trouve formulée pour la première fois, que je sache, dans le Protoévangile de Jacques.[5] Mais elle ne tient pas pour la simple raison que le troisième Evangile ne sait rien de cette extermination des enfants de Bethléem ordonnée par Hérode et racontée dans le premier Evangile.

Une autre interprétation, celle-ci appartenant à la spéculation spiritualisante, fut avancée par Origène [6] et variée plusieurs fois

[2] Voir p. ex. les commentaires de J. M. Creed, W. Manson, A. Loisy, etc. *ad l.* ou les études spéciales sur l'évangile de l'enfance, p. ex. M. Goguel, *Jean-Baptiste* (1928); A. v. Harnack, *Beiträge*, IV, 108; G. Erdmann, *Die Vorgeschichten des Lukas- und Matthäus-Evangeliums* (1932); M. Dibelius, *Sitzungsber. Heidelb. Akad.* 1931–2, No. 4.

[2a] Chrysipp., éd. A. Sigalas, p. 34 (*Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriech. Philologie*, XX, 1937).

[3] *Texts and Studies*, IV, 2, 163 et 236. Le récit passa dans la littérature apocryphe des Arabes. Voir R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*, 3-ème éd., p. 199, n. 1.

[4] L'art byzantin figure quelquefois S. Jean emporté par ange dans le désert. Voir N. Pokrovski, *L'Evangile dans les monuments d'iconographie* (1892, en russe), 179.

[5] *Protoev. Jacobi*, 22, Cedrenus, I, p. 328; Niceph. Call., I, 14 (*P. G.*, CXLV, 78); A. Vassilieff, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* I, 1893, n° 1; *Cod. Athos 1007*, dans A. Kirpitschnikoff, *Vizant. Vremennik*, I, 1896, p. 186; texte syrien dans A. Mingana, *Woodbrook Studies*, I, p. 239.

[6] Orig., Hom. XI in Lucam, éd. M. Rauer, p. 80: "non expectavit ut a patre nutriretur et a matre . . . sed recessit, fugiens tumultum urbium . . . et abiit in

depuis.[7] Selon Origène Jean chercha le désert, "où l'air est plus pur, où le ciel est plus dégagé, où Dieu est plus proche."

Il est arrivé plus d'une fois que des hommes inspirés de Dieu aient cherché la solitude et en soient sortis préparés pour la lutte spirituelle.[8] Simon ben Jochaï devint un thaumaturge redoutable, dont les regards jetaient feu et flamme, quand il eut passé douze ans dans une grotte, où il s'adonnait à la prière. Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa, ou saint Pachome, ou saint Cyprien n'acquirent leur puissance spirituelle que dans la retraite. Car "celui qui ne voit pas le visage humain, voit près de lui le visage du Christ, le Grand-Roi," comme l'ange l'a expliqué à saint Zosime qui avait passé quarante ans dans la solitude.[9]

Deux singularités distinguent, pourtant, le cas du Précurseur et le mettent hors de pair. Dans les parallèles cités il s'agit d'un homme déjà dans l'âge de raison qui fuit ce monde dépravé. Même saint David de Mytilène qui, encore enfant, se réfugia au Mont Ida et y resta trente-six ans, avait neuf ans, selon l'hagiographe, à la date de sa fuite, en 725.[10] Or, Jean-Baptiste "fuit le bruit des villes," quand il est encore dans les langes.[11] Origène souligne avec force cette particularité et note cette différence entre Jean-Baptiste et Moïse qui vivait, lui aussi, dans les déserts.[12] Et il explique l'énigme par un miracle: *et nativitas Johanni plena*

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deserta, ubi purior aer est et coelum apertius et familiarior Deus, ut quia necdum sacramentum baptismi nec predicationis tempus advenerat, vacaret orationibus et cum angelis conversaretur."

[7] Cf. par ex. Théodoret, *P.G.*, LXXXIV, 45; Théophylacte, *P.G.*, CXXIII, 720; Tite de Bostra dans I. Sickenberger, *Texte und Unters.*, XXI, 146; Vie syriaque dans F. Nau, *Patr. Or.* IV, 526; Hymne latin dans *AASS*, juin, V, 592. Selon Chrysostome (*de bapt. Christi*, éd. Montfaucon, II, 439), l'Esprit-Saint a mis S. Jean dans le désert pour qu'il pût témoigner de Jésus en toute objectivité (d'après *Jn* 1, 31).

[8] Cf. A. D. Nock, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1934, p. 59.

[9] *Sabb.*, 33 b; *Kethub.*, 62 b; Sozomène, *h. e.*, III, 14 (*P.G.*, LXVII, 1072; cf. *AASS*, mai, III, 338); L. Radermacher, *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Ak.*, CCVI, 4, p. 35; *Vita S. Zosimæ*, dans A. Vassilieff, *Anecd. graeco-byzant.*, I, p. 166. Cf. Sulp. Sever. *Dial.*, I, 17; "*eum qui ab hominibus frequentaretur, non posse ab angelis frequentari.*" Cf. en général R. Reitzenstein, *Sitzungsber. der Heidelb. Akad.*, 1919, n° 8, p. 12 ss.

[10] *Anal. Boll.*, 1899, p. 213. Cf. *Patr. Or.*, V, 704. S. Aaron choisit la vie monachique à l'âge de cinq ans.

[11] Cf. Orig. *Hom. X in Lucam*, éd. Rauer, *P.G.*, XIII, p. 70; Théodoret, *P.G.*, LXXXIV, 45. Pour rendre le fait moins singulier certains laissent S. Jean se retirer dans la solitude à un âge plus avancé: 5 ans (*Patr. Or.*, IV, 523) ou 7 ans (A. Berendts, *Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen*. Diss. Dorpat, 1895, p. 67).

[12] Orig. *Hom. X in Lucam*, éd. citée, *ibid.*

miraculo est. Cependant en rapportant le séjour du Précurseur au désert, Luc s'abstient de toute allusion à un événement surnaturel.

D'autre part, dans la retraite, le futur prophète entre en relations avec les forces célestes. Pour sauver Abraham d'un roi méchant, sa mère le cacha dans une caverne, sitôt après sa naissance. L'ange Gabriel l'y visita, et vingt jours plus tard le nouveau-né marchait et parlait déjà et annonçait qu'il n'y a de dieu que l'Unique et le seul Dieu.[13] De même, Origène nous assure qu'au désert Jean-Baptiste "s'adonnait à la prière et s'entretenait avec les anges." Mais Luc ne le dit pas. La tournure qu'il emploie pour dire les progrès de l'enfant en force et en sagesse est empruntée aux récits de la Bible sur Samson, et sur Samuel.[14] Elle devait rappeler au lecteur ces histoires saintes. Or, celles-ci ne mentionnent aucun fait surnaturel dans la jeunesse de ces héros de l'ancienne histoire. L'hypothèse d'Origène, fort séduisante de prime abord, se trouve donc en contradiction avec les données du problème.

Nous avons dû récuser les interprétations patristiques du passage énigmatique. Cependant, elles sont de la plus grande valeur pour nous. Car les efforts déployés par les docteurs de l'Eglise montrent que nous ne soulevons pas des objections imaginaires, mais qu'il y a une difficulté exégétique dans l'indication singulière du troisième Evangile. Reprenons donc la question posée par l'exégèse patristique:[15] Pourquoi Jean-Baptiste fut-il dans les déserts?

II

Pour apprécier le trait saillant d'une narration il faut considérer l'ensemble dont il fait partie.

L'histoire de Jean-Baptiste commence par l'apparition de l'ange à Zacharie. Comme il est naturel,[16] cette vision n'a pas de témoins.

[13] Voir les variantes du même récit dans B. Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 1859, p. 5; A. Wünsche, *Aus Israëls Lehrhallen*, I, p. 14 et p. 35; Micha bin Gorion, *Die Sagen der Juden*, p. 191. Le gnostique Térébinthe était *de virgine natum . . . ab angelis in montibus enutritum* (H. Usener, *Weihnachtsfeier* [2], 1911, p. 73).

[14] Cf. *Juges* 13, 24; *I Sam.* 2, 21; 2, 26; 3, 19. Sur le sens de telles imitations cf. F. Dornseiff, *Z. Neutest. Wiss.*, 1936, p. 130 s. La même formule biblique est employée dans une histoire apocryphe de Moïse (Bin Gorion, *l.c.*, p. 417).

[15] Théophylacte, *P. G.*, CXXI, 730: Διὰ τί δὲ ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις;

[16] Cf. p. ex. *Gen.* 16, 7 et 17, 19; *Juges* 13, 1; *Daniel* 10, 7; *Act. Ap.* 9, 7; *Taan.* 23b, Achill. Tat. III, 18, 2; Proclus, *Comment. in Platonis Rempubl.*, éd. W. Kroll,

Ce qui est surprenant c'est que le peuple ne peut pas apprendre le sujet de la vision, car Zacharie est privé de la parole par ordre de l'ange. Les Pères cherchaient une raison théologique de ce mutisme qu'on ne trouve pas dans les récits bibliques parallèles.[17] Le rôle constructif de cet élément dans la composition de l'histoire est pourtant évident. Le secret n'est connu de cette manière que par Zacharie et par le lecteur.

Devenue enceinte, Elisabeth se tient cachée (*Lc* 1, 25). Pourquoi? Les commentateurs anciens cherchaient sans succès la raison de cette réserve.[18] Mais sa signification dans l'agencement de la narration est aisément reconnaissable.[19] Dans l'annonciation à Marie l'ange peut donner un signe à la Vierge en lui apprenant la grâce octroyée en cachette à Elisabeth (*Lc* 1, 36).

A la naissance du Précurseur, les voisins célèbrent, comme il est naturel,[20] la miséricorde divine. Premier miracle: sans se mettre d'accord préalablement, les parents de l'enfant lui donnent le nom de Jean. Tout le monde en est surpris (*Lc* 1, 65). Deuxième miracle: la langue de Zacharie se délie. Tout le monde s'étonne et se demande "qui sera donc cet enfant"? (*Lc* 1, 66). Ainsi, comme après la vision de Zacharie, le peuple voit la main du Seigneur agir, mais ne peut pas saisir la signification de l'intervention divine. Cette inintelligence est assez surprenante. Il n'est pas question de cela dans les récits de la Bible qui servaient de modèle à la composition de Luc.[21]

II, p. 119; *Doctrina Jacobi* dans Bonwetsch, *Nachr. Götting. Wiss. Ges.*, 1921, p. 27, etc. Origène (*Hom.* III *in Lucam*, éd. Rauer, p. 20), l'explique fort bien: les forces célestes ne sont visibles aux hommes que dans la mesure où elles le désirent.

[17] Cf. p. ex. Orig. *Hom. V*, éd. Rauer, p. 30. Euseb. *P.G.* XXIV, 532; Athanas. *P.G.* XXVII, 1392. On remarquera que dans la Bible plusieurs ont demandé un signe avant de croire à une chose miraculeuse et ne furent pas réprimandés. Voir par ex. *Gen.* 15, 8; *Juges* 6, 37; *IV Rois* 20 s.

[18] Origène (*Hom. VI in Lucam*, éd. M. Rauer, p. 34) dit qu'Elisabeth avait honte d'être enceinte si tard. Cette explication, reprise par S. Ambroise (*in Lucam*, 1, 43) et Théophylacte (*PG.* CXXIII, 701), ne correspond pas aux idées juives (cf. par ex. *Apoc. Esrae*, IX, 45; H. Gunkel, *Das Märchen im Alten Testament*, p. 112) et contredit *Lc* 1, 26.

[19] A. Loisy, *Les Evangiles synoptiques*, I, p. 285.

[20] Cf. par ex. *Gen.* 19, 19.

[21] Cf. les passages des LXX cités par A. Resch, dans *Texte und Untersuch.*, X, 5, p. 30, et en général G. Erdmann, *Die Vorgeschichte des Lukas- und Matthäus-Evangeliums*, 1932, p. 11. Selon son hagiographe, l'avenir d'Isaac, futur patriarche d'Antioche (686–689), lui fut prédit pendant le baptême. Ravis, les parents bénirent Dieu, tous ses condisciples s'inclinaient devant Isaac, etc. (*Patr. Or.* XI,

Dernier tableau. "Alors Zacharie fut rempli de l'Esprit-Saint et prophétisa" (*Lc* 1, 67). Cette prophétie, le *Benedictus*, n'est pas adressée au peuple. Zacharie apostrophe plutôt son fils (*Lc* 1, 78). Pourquoi, demande Origène, Zacharie parle-t-il au nouveau-né qui ne saurait le comprendre?[22] De nouveau, l'exégète explique l'énigme par le miracle. Acceptons cette interprétation. Elle n'empêche pas de voir que cette scène, comme toutes les précédentes, n'a pas eu de témoin importun. Le psaume de Zacharie n'est entendu que par le Précurseur lui-même et par le lecteur de Luc.

Ainsi l'économie de la narration lucanique est évidente. Zacharie est muet. Elisabeth se cache, les miracles restent inintelligibles aux contemporains, les oracles ne sont entendus que par Zacharie et Jean-Baptiste, et celui-ci, aussitôt né, demeure dans la solitude. Ainsi, du commencement jusqu'à la fin, les personnages du drame sacré sont isolés des contemporains et le secret de Jean-Baptiste reste ignoré du monde jusqu'au jour où le Précurseur va prêcher sur les bords du Jourdain.

Ce mystère qui enveloppe la préhistoire de saint Jean est surprenant. Rappelons de nouveau que Luc imite dans la mise en scène de sa narration les récits de la naissance d'Isaac, Samson, Samuel. Or ces saints de la Bible suivent, après leur naissance merveilleuse, la voie de la grâce ouvertement, dans le monde, sous les yeux de tout le monde. "Et Samuel grandissait . . . et l'Eternel était avec lui . . . et tout Israël, de Dan jusqu'à Beerseba, connut que Samuel était établi comme prophète de l'Eternel" (*I Sam.* 3, 19). Pourquoi le destin de Jean-Baptiste est-il ainsi sans exemple?

III

La naissance du Précurseur est liée étroitement dans le troisième Evangile à la nativité du Sauveur. Les deux histoires sont parallèles et la Visitation associe l'une avec l'autre. L'histoire de Jésus se développe en cinq tableaux: Annonciation (1, 26–36), Visitation (1, 39–57), Nativité (2, 4–21), Purification de Marie

305). La légende talmudique développe de manière semblable les données bibliques sur l'enfance de Samuel. L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews* IV, 59.

[22] Orig., *Hom. X in Lucam*, éd. Rauer, p. 73: *ἐζήτουν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν διότι τὴν περὶ Ἰωάννου προφητείαν οὐκ εἶπεν ὡς περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς αὐτόν . . . περισσὸν γάρ ἐστι τὸ λέγειν τῷ μὴ ἀκούοντι.*

(2, 22–39), découverte de Jésus dans le temple (2, 49–52). Les deux premières scènes n'ont pas de témoins, mais nous, lecteurs, nous assistons à la rencontre de Gabriel et de Marie, nous entendons le *Magnificat*. Dans les trois tableaux suivants, la divinité de l'enfant est révélée. A Bethléem, les bergers entendent le *Gloria in excelsis*. A sa présentation au temple, Jésus est reconnu comme le Messie par Siméon et par Anne. A douze ans, parmi les docteurs, il se proclame le Fils de Dieu.[22a] Mais dans les trois cas la Bonne Nouvelle n'est pas comprise. Tous ceux à qui les bergers l'annonçaient "s'en étonnaient" (*Lc* 2, 18).[22b] Ayant entendu l'oracle de Siméon, les parents de Jésus, seuls présents à la scène, s'étonnèrent de ce qui avait été dit de l'enfant (*Lc* 2, 33).[23] Et ils ne comprirent pas que Jésus se donnait pour le Fils de Dieu (*Lc* 2, 50).

Pourquoi ce mystère qui se dévoile à moitié? Pourquoi Marie a-t-elle gardé ces oracles dans son cœur (*Lc* 2, 19 et 2, 51)[24]? Elle seule, dit Origène,[25] soupçonnait déjà que son fils était plus qu'un homme, elle seule savait "que le temps devait venir où ce qui était caché en Jésus serait dévoilé."

IV

Ainsi l'économie de l'histoire sainte est la même dans les deux récits parallèles, et le mystère de Jésus correspond à l'isolement de S. Jean. La question dont notre recherche est partie: "Pourquoi le Précurseur fut-il au désert dès sa naissance?" se présente maintenant comme subordonnée à un problème plus ample. Pourquoi Jean-Baptiste et Jésus ont-ils passé leur premier âge dans l'obscurité? Pour le comprendre, il faut considérer la place des deux histoires de l'enfance, étroitement liées dans le plan du troisième Evangile.

[22a] Cyrill., *P.G.* LXXII, 510; Timoth., *P.G.* LXXXVI, 252. Cf. Isid. Lévy, *La légende de Pythagore* (1927), p. 299.

[22b] Sur la signification de cette expression cf. G. Bertram dans G. Kittel, *Theol. Woerterbuch* III, 38.

[23] Cf. Photius, *P.G.* CI, 826. Luc ne reproduit pas la formule après l'intervention d'Anne (*Lc* 1, 38), car il évite, on le sait, les répétitions.

[24] Luc n'indique pas ici discrètement à quelle source il a puisé, comme le veut l'exégèse orthodoxe. La formule vient plutôt de *Gen.* 37, 1 et son sens est expliqué par Josèphe, *Ant.* II, 15.

[25] Orig., *l.c.*, p. 134: *εἰδυῖα ὅτι ἔσται καιρὸς καθ' ὃν τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἐν αὐτῷ φανερωθήσεται.*

L'Evangile de l'enfance n'est qu'un prologue du ministère de Jésus. Or, ce prologue se trouve en contradiction apparente avec l'histoire de la carrière publique de Jésus à laquelle il sert d'introduction. D'après cette histoire Jésus était âgé de trente ans environ lorsqu'il commença sa mission (*Lc* 3, 22). Pendant le baptême l'Esprit-Saint descendit sur lui et Dieu le reconnut comme son fils bien-aimé. Ce jour-là, jour de l'épiphanie, "la divinité du Christ a été révélée au monde par le témoignage solennel de la voix divine." [25a] Au contraire, selon l'Evangile de l'enfance, Jésus, le Fils de Dieu, saint par sa naissance, fut consacré dès sa conception, et l'enfant, à peine né, fut proclamé Messie par les puissances célestes et reconnu tel par les pieux. Les deux idées sont incompatibles. Ainsi, l'Eglise a célébré longtemps comme épiphanie, selon les régions, soit la Nativité, soit le Baptême.[26]

De même, selon le corps principal de la narration, la parole de Dieu ne fut adressée à Jean que la quinzième année de Tibère, et c'est alors que le prophète sortit de son désert pour prêcher la pénitence (*Lc* 3, 1 s.). Pourtant, selon le récit préliminaire, Jean-Baptiste, né au temps d'Hérode (*Lc* 1, 5), fut rempli de l'Esprit-Saint dès sa naissance (*Lc* 1, 15).[26a] Or, l'Esprit-Saint c'est cette force divine par laquelle les héros de la Bible agissaient pour Dieu. Ainsi dans le troisième Evangile l'œuvre salutaire débute deux fois, sous Hérode et sous Tibère, à la naissance et à la maturité de Jean-Baptiste et de Jésus.

Ce double départ crée une difficulté qui n'est pas nécessairement d'ordre dogmatique. Elle est d'ordre logique en premier lieu. Etant donné que le saint ne se révèle qu'à l'heure déterminée, comment a-t-il pu se manifester encore avant cette date? Sur le plan littéraire, c'est le même problème qu'on retrouve dans tous

[25a] *Const. Apost.*, VIII, 33, 7.

[26] Cf. B. Botte, *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Epiphanie* (1932); H. Lietzmann, *Gesch. der alten Kirche*, III (1938), p. 324 ss. Il semble que l'importance de ce fait que l'épiphanie a pu être identifiée soit avec l'Incarnation, soit avec le Baptême, n'est pas appréciée suffisamment dans les débats sur l'histoire de la Noël. Ainsi, si l'on fêtait les noces de Cana le 6 janvier (Botte, *o. c.*, p. 42 ss.), c'est parce que le miracle de Cana fut, selon le quatrième Evangile, le commencement de l'épiphanie du Christ (*Const. Apost.* V, 13, 2). Cf. Just. *Dial.* 87.

[26a] Augustin (*Sermon* CCXCII) souligne cette différence entre le Précurseur, qui fut élu dès sa naissance, et les autres prophètes et disciples du Christ, qui n'étaient appelés qu'à l'âge mûr.

les récits où la manifestation du héros est différée pour une raison quelconque; comment comprendre ce retard et cette méconnaissance du héros par les autres personnages de l'action? La réponse qu'on donne est toujours la même, qu'il s'agisse d'un copte populaire ou d'une histoire sainte, car les procédés techniques de la narration ne dépendent pas de la dignité du sujet. Ou le héros reste placé dans la coulisse jusqu'au terme de sa manifestation, ou, s'il apparaît sur la scène, il est méconnaissable.

V

Endormis d'un sommeil de mort Blanche-Neige ou Epiménide peuvent attendre indéfiniment le moment de leur rentrée dans l'action.[27] De même, l'Iman, qui selon la doctrine shiite, est déjà présent, mais ne se manifeste pas encore, il est isolé du monde. Caché dans le désert ou dans une montagne du Hedjaz, il attend le temps messianique, ayant à côte de lui du miel et de l'eau.[28] L'étrange récit mandéen place le commencement de la prédication de Jean-Baptiste à l'époque où le prophète avait vingt-deux ans. Pour comprendre ce retard de la manifestation de l'élu, le *Livre de Jean* raconte qu'Anosh-Uthra aurait enlevé l'enfant aussitôt après sa naissance au Parwdan, la montagne blanche, et là Jean serait resté vingt-deux ans et aurait appris la sagesse. Ensuite, revêtu de vêtements de gloire, il serait apparu près du Jourdain et aurait commencé son apostolat.[29] De même la tradition bouddhiste est unanime à affirmer que Siddhârtha était âgé de vingt-neuf ans lorsqu'il quitta son palais et choisit la vie érémitique. Pour expliquer ce retard étonnant pour un Bodhisattva, qui a daigné descendre du ciel sur la terre comme sauveur du monde et dont la naissance et l'enfance miraculeuses manifestaient sa nature, la tradition se sert du thème du héros isolé du monde. Prévenu par des devins que son fils va choisir la vie monastique dès qu'il

[27] Selon une variante bouddhiste du thème d'Epiménide, le héros est transporté au ciel jusqu'au terme de son retour parmi les hommes (H. Günther, *Buddha in der christlichen Legende*, 1922, p. 148). De même Elie qui est réservé pour le temps fixé (*Sirac.* 48, 10) séjourne au ciel où il écrit, selon une tradition juive, les actes de son peuple (*Seder Olam*, c. 17, dans M. Zobel, *Gottes Gesalbter*, 1938, p. 64).

[28] Cf. E. Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulmane* 1901, p. 37; Schahrastani, *Religionsparteien*, trad. Th. Haarbrücker, I, 1850, p. 198. Il n'y a aucune raison de chercher dans ce thème l'indice des idées gnostiques (cf. T. Andrae, *Die Person Mohammeds*, 1918, p. 295).

[29] Voir A. Loisy, *Le Mandéisme*, 1934, p. 38 s.

apercevra un vieillard, un malade, un cadavre et un religieux, le père du futur Bouddha avait fait tout pour que son fils vécût séparé du monde dans son palais. Mais quand le terme fut proche, les dieux amenèrent les quatre apparitions nécessaires, et le prince s'enfuit.[30] Zoroastre reçut l'illumination, selon la tradition mazdéenne, le 15e jour du mois Artavahista, en l'an 35e du roi Vistâspa, à l'âge de trente (ou de trente-sept) ans.[31] Pour expliquer ce début tardif du fils d'Ormuzd, les auteurs classiques, suivant certainement la version d'un théologien mazdéen, placent avant l'apostolat du prophète une retraite de trente ans. A l'âge de sept ans, où commençait son éducation, Zoroastre se mit à observer le silence et, s'éloignant des autres hommes, il se retira sur une montagne (ou dans des lieux déserts), il y resta jusqu'au début de sa mission, se nourrissant d'un fromage qui ne se corrompait jamais.[32] Comme on le voit, le cas de Jean-Baptiste, qui attend au désert le terme de son apparition, n'est pas isolé.

Dans d'autres cas, le héros reste parmi les hommes, mais, travesti, il n'est plus reconnaissable. Ainsi Cendrillon doit cacher sa beauté sous l'accoutrement d'une misérable servante jusqu'au bal où elle va rencontrer le Prince charmant. Athéna rend Ulysse méconnaissable même pour sa femme, et quand la vieille nourrice le reconnaît à une cicatrice, les dieux détournent le regard de Pénélope qui assistait à cette scène. N'est-il pas étonnant que personne ne semble ajouter foi aux paroles des bergers qui avaient entendu le *Gloria in excelsis* et que l'évangéliste les laisse rentrer chez eux, bien qu'en principe celui qui a reçu un message divin ne doive pas cesser de l'annoncer à tous?[33] Pour des raisons analogues, dans le premier livre de l'*Odyssée*, Pénélope empêche l'aède de chanter sur le retour des Achéens. Autrement, dit le Scholiaste, toute "l'économie du sujet" serait bouleversée, si Télémaque et les prétendants avaient appris d'avance les aventures d'Ulysse.[34]

L'hagiographie emploie aussi volontiers le thème du héros masqué pour expliquer le retard de sa manifestation. Dans les

[30] Cf. H. Kern, *Histoire du bouddhisme*, I, 1901, p. 33 ss.
[31] Cf. A.-W. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 1899, p. 40.
[32] Cf. J. Bidez et F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, II, 1938, p. 27 s. et I, p. 24 ss.
[33] Cf. par ex. Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 12; Plut., *De def. orac.* 17; Liv., V, 32, 6; Cic. *De divin.* I, 26, 55; Jambl. *V. Pyth.* 148.
[34] Sch. *Odyss.* I, 328.

écoles rabbiniques on affirmait que le Messie était déjà né, et l'on se demandait: "Où est-il?" Et la réponse était qu'il se tenait caché à la porte de la ville de Rome, parmi des incurables, en attendant le moment de son avènement.[35] Mahâvîra, le saint des Djaïnas, ne se décida, selon son biographe, pour la vie érémitique que dans sa trentième année. Et l'hagiographe d'expliquer ainsi ce délai. Dès l'état embryonnaire le saint aurait résolu de ne pas se faire anachorète avant la mort de ses parents.[36] Hakim, le Sauveur des Druses, apparut, selon un chroniqueur, dès l'an 1009/10 de notre ère, mais il cacha sa nature et ne se fit passer pour Dieu que huit ans plus tard. En effet, c'est en 1017/8 que le calife Al-Mansur se proclama Dieu.[37] La légende parle quelquefois de saints qui opéraient des miracles avant leur première manifestation publique. Tel Nicolas de Myres, tels ces ascètes qui passaient leur vie dans le monde sous le masque d'un homme séculier, d'un mime, etc. Mais ces révélations anticipées se produisent toujours en cachette.[38]

VI

Dans la littérature profane le thème du secret est utilisé pour agrémenter l'action. Si Xouthos exige que sa rencontre avec Ion reste inconnue à Créuse, c'est simplement pour retarder le dénouement de l'intrigue inventée par Euripide. Dans l'hagiographie le même procédé doit expliquer ce qu'il y a d'anormal dans le retard de la manifestation. En effet, l'appel divin est un acte subit et unique qui ne souffre ni refus ni atermoiement.

"L'Eternel te saisira et tu seras changé en autre homme." S. Paul et S. Augustin, après les prophètes, en ont fait l'expérience

[35] Isr. Lévy, *Rev. ét. juiv.*, LXXVII, 1923, p. 3. Cf. M. Zobel, *Gottes Gesalbter*, 1938, pp. 79, 137, 154.

[36] A. Guérinot, *La religion Djaïna*, 1926, p. 34. Cf. A. v. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, 1935, p. 23.

[37] S. de Sacy, *Religion des Druses*, I, 1838, p. 98 ss. Cf. E. Graefe dans *Encycl. de l'Islam*, II, 10, 288.

[38] *Vita S. Nicolai per Michaelem*, c. 17 et 21, dans G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, I, 1913. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 57 et II, p. 264 et 511. W. Bousset, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* XX, 1922, p. 7 ss.; H. Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum*, 1916, p. 56 ss. Encore sur la route vers le monastère le futur saint Dométios opéra un miracle. Mais il demanda à ses compagnons de voyage de ne pas le divulguer (*Anal. Boll.*, 1900, p. 299. Cf. P. Peeters, *Anal. Boll.*, 1939, p. 72). Sur le "secret messianique" de Jésus, cf. *Z. f. neutest. Wiss.*, XXII, p. 122 ss.

et les païens ne contredisaient pas cette constatation.[39] En face de cette expérience, le cas où l'homme inspiré de Dieu diffère son apostolat apparaissait comme une anomalie exigeant une explication raisonnable.

En effet, cette anomalie n'est créée que par contamination des doctrines et des traditions discordantes. Si l'Apocalypse de Zorobabel affirme que le Messie, né au temps de David, se tient caché à Rome,[40] c'est parce que l'auteur de cet écrit a cherché à mettre en harmonie deux idées contradictoires: la conception de l'Oint à venir et la croyance qu'il doit être le fils de David. La tradition manichéenne offre un autre exemple de tels procédés rédactionnels.

Mani raconte lui-même [41] que le Paraclet lui a révélé toute la sagesse au temps de l'avènement (?) du roi Ardasher. Vers la fin du même règne, Mani commença à prêcher, partit pour l'Inde et revint en Perse dans la première année de Sapor. Il avait vingt-cinq ans environ.[42] La doctrine de l'Eglise manichéenne, interprétant cette illumination opérée par le Paraclet comme l'appel à l'apostolat, négligea l'évangélisation de l'Inde et considéra l'apparition de Mani au couronnement de Sapor, comme le commencement de sa prédication. Ainsi elle créa cette difficulté exégétique qu'est le retard de la mission apostolique. Pour la tourner, elle introduisit le thème du secret. Mani aurait reçu à l'âge de treize ans les révélations du roi du paradis de la lumière, mais l'ange lui aurait dit qu'à cause de sa jeunesse le terme de sa manifestation n'était pas encore venu. Lorsqu'il eut accompli sa vingt-quatrième année, l'ange revint et lui dit que le temps était venu de paraître en public et de proclamer sa doctrine. Et Mani se manifesta le jour de l'avènement de Sapor.[43]

Selon une version, les révélations divines à Mahomet avaient

[39] Cf. par ex. Verg. *Aen.*, VI, 77 ss. avec le commentaire de Ed. Norden; Lucain, I, 677; Liv. V, 15, 5; Paus., IX, 23, 2; H. Lietzmann, *An die Galater*, *ad* I, 13–24; pour les prophètes cf. J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im Alten Testament* (1936), p. 95.

[40] Isr. Lévy, *Rev. ét. juiv.*, LXVIII, p. 148.

[41] Mani, *Kephalaia*, éd. H.-J. Polotski, p. 14 s.

[42] Mani était né en 216/7, l'an 5 d'Artaban V (Al-Biruni, dans H.-J. Polotski, *Real-Enc.*, Suppl. VI, c. 243). Je note que ce synchronisme important permet de fixer la chronologie du dernier Arsacide, qui est tout à fait confuse dans nos manuels historiques. Voir, par ex. N.-C. Debevoise, *History of Parthia*, 1938, p. 263.

[43] An-Nadim dans K. Kessler, *Mani* (1889), p. 384 ss. Cf. H. Ch. Puech, dans *Mélanges R. Dussaud* (1939), 597.

débuté lorsqu'il avait quarante ans. Selon un autre récit Mahomet ne reçut l'illumination qu'à l'âge de quarante-trois ans. Pour raccorder ces deux traditions, l'hagiographie musulmane a inventé une "pause" de trois ans après la première révélation.[44] Si l'informateur druse antidate de huit ans l'apparition de Hakim et raconte que celui-ci se faisait passer pour un descendant de Mahomet afin de cacher sa divinité, il est induit dans cette erreur par la connaissance d'une ordonnance de Hakim, publiée en 1009/10, et dont il n'a pas bien compris la teneur.[45]

D'autre part, la nécessité d'expliquer les atermoiements du héros peut échapper à un hagiographe distrait. Pârshva, un saint du Djaïnisme comme Mahâvîra, ne quitta lui aussi la vie séculière qu'à l'âge de trente ans. Cependant, son biographe n'a pas trouvé nécessaire d'expliquer ce retard.[46] Mar Abdulmasich, enfant juif converti au christianisme et tué pour cette raison par son père, a eu le temps avant son martyre de convertir sa mère, d'être béni par un évêque, etc. Son biographe, pour expliquer ce délai supposa que l'enfant avait été caché par sa mère après la conversion et que le père, trop occupé, n'avait fini par rencontrer son fils que plus tard.[47] Les mêmes éléments du récit se retrouvent dans la vie de S. Constantin. Mais cette fois l'hagiographe ne se soucie nullement de comprendre comment le saint enfant a pu rester parmi les Juifs infidèles jusqu'à son martyre sans être inquiété par eux.[48]

Aussi le thème de la vie cachée d'un saint avant sa manifestation, tel qu'il est employé par deux fois dans l'Evangile de Luc, n'est pas une création de la légende pieuse. C'est un artifice d'un esprit logique et historique qui juxtapose des traditions contradictoires et cherche ensuite à résoudre par cet arrangement les antilogies créées. Vous penserez, peut-être, que ce raisonnement ne correspond pas à l'esprit de l'auteur sacré? Mais S. Jean Chrysostome explique de la même manière ce fait remarquable que Jésus n'a opéré aucun miracle avant le baptême. Car, dit le prédicateur, "si, étant encore enfant Jésus avait opéré des miracles dès son premier âge, il ne pourrait pas être resté ignoré si long-

[44] A. Sprenger, *Z. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Ges.*, 1859, p. 173.
[45] S. de Sacy, *Religion des Druses*, I, p. 100.
[46] Voir H. v. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, 1935, p. 19.
[47] *Anal. Boll.*, 1886, p. 17.
[48] *Acta Sanct. Nov.*, IV, p. 628.

temps," et toute l' "économie" de sa vie serait bouleversée par sa manifestation prématurée.[48a]

VII

Revenons maintenant à l'Evangile de Luc. Pour l'histoire du ministère de Jésus, Luc suit la narration de Marc. Or, celle-ci ne commence qu'avec le baptême, au moment où le Saint-Esprit est descendu sur Jésus. L'autre source principale de Luc, le recueil de sentences de Jésus, ne contenait, par définition, que les paroles du Maître, énoncées dans sa prédication. En effet, pour la foi, les faits et les discours d'un homme inspiré de Dieu n'ont d'intérêt qu'à dater de sa vocation. *Unde igitur incipiam*, dit l'antique biographe de S. Cyprien,[49] *nisi a principio fidei el nativitate caelesti? Si quidem hominis Dei facta non debent aliunde numerari, nisi ex quo Deo natus est.* Pour cette raison toute histoire d'un prophète, d'un thaumaturge est substantiellement "arétalogique" et ne débute qu'avec son illumination. Mais c'est aussi pourquoi la date réelle ou fictive de sa vocation est particulièrement importante dans la narration de ses vertus et de ses miracles.[49a]

Ce qui est remarquable, c'est que l'ancienne tradition chrétienne ne donnait aucune indication chronologique sur Jésus. La "Bonne Nouvelle" est en dehors de la chronologie comme de la géographie. Mais Luc, qui écrivait pour les Gentils, avait besoin de repères chronologiques. Faute de mieux, il s'est servi de la date que les Baptistes donnaient pour la vocation de leur Maître: "en l'an quinzième de Tibère César . . . la parole de Dieu fut adressée à Jean, fils de Zacharie" (*Lc* 3, 1).

Il est à noter que ce sont les conventicules baptistes qui ont

[48a] Chrys. *Hom. XXI in Joh. P.G.* LIX, 130. Cf. Chrys. *Hom.* VIII *in Mth. P.G.* LVII, 85.

[49] Pontius, *Vita Cypriani*, c. 2 (Cypriani *Opera*, éd. W. Hartel, III, p. xc). Pontius imite Cicéron, *De fin.*, II, 31, 103: *quod si dies notandus fuit, eum ne potius quo natus* (sc. Epicurus) *an eum quo sapiens factus est?*

[49a] Cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenist. Wundererzählungen*, 1906, p. 97, et mes observations dans *Z. für neutest. Wiss.*, XXII, p. 124 ss., 130 s. L'Evangile de Marcion comme celui des Ebionites s'ouvrait par une notice chronologique sur l'apparition de Jean-Baptiste, ou (chez Marcion) de Jésus. La tradition donne une date exacte de la première manifestation de Mani, de Zoroastre, etc. Cf. encore, par ex., le début de l'histoire d'Audi, fondateur d'une secte gnostique: "En l'an 30 du règne de l'empereur Constantin parut un homme nommé Oudhi d'Edesse" (Agapius dans *Patr. Or.*, VII, p. 562. Cf. sur ce gnostique H.-C. Puech, dans *Mélanges Cumont*, II, p. 935 ss.).

donné cette indication chronologique détaillée, comportant plusieurs synchronismes. Il est probable que leur littérature contenait un recueil d'oracles de Jean-Baptiste, composé à l'imitation des livres prophétiques de la Bible.[50] Dans ceux-ci, comme on le sait, la vocation du prophète, qui coïncide nécessairement avec le début de son activité, est datée toujours exactement. Luc considérait cette date de l'illumination de Jean-Baptiste, qui correspond à l'an 27/28 de notre ère,[51] comme indiquant approximativement aussi le début de la carrière publique de Jésus. Il tenait d'autre part, de la source baptiste que S. Jean était né sous Hérode (*Lc* 1, 5). Il considérait Jésus comme étant du même âge que le Précurseur, et il en conclut qu'au début de son ministère Jésus avait trente ans environ (*Lc* 3, 22). Toute la chronologie de la vie de Jésus n'a d'autre fondement que ces deux conjectures de Luc.[52]

Venu après d'autres narrateurs "des faits accomplis parmi nous," Luc se proposait d'être plus complet que ses devanciers et de traiter son sujet "dès le début." Il inséra aussi dans son ouvrage les traditions sur les antécédents de Jésus et il y rattacha la narration baptiste sur les origines de S. Jean.[53] Mais ces récits merveilleux étaient d'abord incomplets. La légende raconte la conception miraculeuse du héros, mais elle passe sous silence sa croissance et son éducation, car ce sont des faits communs à tous les êtres humains.[54] D'autre part, la légende qui fleurit le berceau du héros

[50] Comme le système des synchronismes employés à cette occasion le montre, l'indication chronologique fut rédigée avant le règne de Caligula, qui avait donné à Agrippa Ier les tétrarchies d'Hérode Antipas et de Philippe, ainsi que la principauté de Lysanias. Comme la date est empruntée à une source baptiste, elle ne présente donc pas un indice, comme on l'a prétendu (M.-J. Lagrange, *ad l.*), que Luc écrivit avant 66.

[51] Cf. Lagrange, *in Lc.*, 3, 1; C. Cichorius, *Z. f. Neutest. Wiss.*, 1923, p. 17. La quinzième année de Tibère commença en Syrie le 1er octobre 27.

[52] Sur les assertions du quatrième Evangile touchant l'âge de Jésus et la polémique d'Irénée à ce sujet (Iren., *Adv. Haer*, II, 22) cf. A. Loisy, *Les origines du Nouveau Testament*, 1936, p. 59 ss.

[53] Sur l'origine baptiste de cette tradition cf. M. Goguel, *Jean-Baptiste*, 1928, p. 71; M. Dibelius, *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Ak.*, 1931–2, n° 4, p. 4 et 10. M. Dibelius discerne avec raison, semble-t-il, plusieurs récits indépendants que Luc a entrelacés dans sa narration de l'enfance de Jésus: légende baptiste sur S. Jean, récit sur la naissance de Jésus (*Lc* 1, 26–38), visite des bergers (*Lc* 2, 1–19); présentation au temple, etc. . . .

[54] De même, sur les monuments égyptiens montrant les origines du roi, les artistes ne choisissent que les moments critiques de l'existence: la conception, la naissance, le couronnement. Cf. G. Maspero, *J. des Savants*, 1899, p. 413.

est conçue en dehors de l'histoire et ne se préoccupe pas de ranger dans la biographie du saint les miracles qu'elle narre.

Luc qui écrivait pour les Gentils se proposait de donner, comme il le dit dans la préface de son livre, un récit "ordonné." Or les traditions relatives à l'enfance du Fils de Dieu et de son Précurseur anticipaient sur l'histoire de la prédication de Jean-Baptiste et sur le ministère salutaire de Jésus. Luc était donc contraint de mettre en harmonie ces versions contradictoires en apparence et de remplir la lacune entre les récits de la naissance et les débuts de la vie publique de Jésus et de Jean-Baptiste. Il recourut, comme font les historiographes dans ces cas-là, à des conjectures.[54a]

L'anecdote sur la découverte de Jésus dans le temple montrait le Sauveur à l'âge de douze ans. Pour masquer le vide de ses informations touchant la vie de Jésus avant et après cet épisode, Luc inséra, selon son habitude,[55] d'innocentes formules de transition, composées de réminiscences bibliques: "l'enfant grandissait en âge et en sagesse" (*Lc* 2, 40 et 52).[56]

Pour la jeunesse de Jean-Baptiste, l'évangéliste ne disposait d'aucun renseignement. De nouveau, une notice de transition, rédigée en imitation voulue des passages des Septante qui décrivaient le développement de Samson et de Samuel, servit à couvrir l'intervalle chronologique entre deux traditions indépendantes, l'une sur les origines, l'autre sur la prédication du Précurseur: "et l'enfant croissait et se fortifiait en esprit" (*Lc* 1, 80). On remarquera que Luc, qui parle en historien, s'abstient de toute invention pour suppléer aux lacunes de son information. Il raconte les faits comme ils ont été relatés par les "témoins oculaires et serviteurs de la parole" (*Lc* 1, 2) et les coordonne moyennant des conjectures aussi discrètes que possible.

[54a] Je ne citerai qu'un seul exemple, pris dans l'historiographie grecque. D'après Hérodote (I, 65), Lycurgue a légiféré lorsqu'il était le tuteur du roi Charilaos. Mais comme Ephore croyait plutôt que Lycurgue avait attendu la majorité de son pupille pour exécuter ses plans, il remplit le "trou" ainsi créé dans la biographie de Lycurgue en y plaçant de longs voyages à l'étranger du futur réformateur (Ephore, *ap.* Strabon, X, 4, 19; Just. III, 2, 5. Cf. K. Kessler, *Plutarch's Leben des Lykurgus*, 1910, p. 17).

[55] Sur ces artifices de transition chez Luc cf. H.-J. Cadbury, dans *The Acts of the Apostles* V (1933) 395, et J. Jeremias, *Z. f. neutest. Wiss.*, 1938, p. 206.

[56] Les docteurs de l'Eglise ont vu que ce progrès en sagesse concerne l'intelligence humaine de l'enfant et n'a rien de miraculeux. Cf. J. Turmel, *Histoire de la théologie positive*, 1904, p. 40; J. Lebreton, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité*, I, 1926, p. 573.

Ensuite, pour résoudre les antilogies créées par la juxtaposition de traditions indépendantes, Luc introduit dans la préhistoire de l'Evangile le thème de la vie cachée. Pouvait-il faire autrement? En rangeant chronologiquement les faits rapportés par ses sources, il constatait que c'est dès sa nativité que Jésus avait été qualifié de Sauveur. Or, selon la narration de Marc, où Luc a pris les grandes lignes de son œuvre et dont il respecte soigneusement l'ordonnance, c'est seulement au baptême, quand Jésus était âgé de trente ans environ, que Dieu l'a adopté pour son fils. Ce double établissement de Jésus comme le Fils de Dieu, la critique moderne l'explique par deux états différents de la croyance. La christologie adoptianiste s'est juxtaposée à la conception qui attribue à Jésus une divinité expliquée par ses origines. Mais comme Luc ne connaissait pas cette hypothèse, il dut penser que les deux versions ne se contredisaient qu'en apparence et que l'intronisation de Jésus comme le Fils de Dieu le jour du baptême ne faisait pas double emploi avec le miracle de sa conception, mais le réitérait et le rendait manifeste.

De même, quand Luc vit qu'il fallait placer en l'an quinzième de Tibère seulement la vocation de Jean-Baptiste, investi pourtant de la force divine dès sa naissance, l'expérience de son siècle, son expérience chrétienne et les exemples de la Bible qui donnait les modèles et les règles de toute expérience [57] lui apprirent que ce retard pouvait n'être qu'apparent, qu'en réalité l'inspiration qui fait parler et agir pour Dieu immédiatement le personnage élu avait été efficace également dans le cas du Précurseur. Comme tous les hagiographes qui se sont trouvés en face de contradictions du même genre, Luc a conjecturé que la prise de possession de Jésus et de Jean-Baptiste par l'Esprit divin avait dû rester d'abord ignorée du monde. Par quelques retouches inoffensives il isola donc les miracles qui avaient précédé ou accompagné la naissance de ses héros, et qui auraient dû rendre manifestes dès l'abord tant l'essence divine du Sauveur que l'élection prophétique du Précurseur. Et comme il ne savait rien de la jeunesse de celui-ci, il remplit cette lacune par l'hypothèse qui expliquait le mieux cette absence d'informations touchant la voix qui criait dans le désert:

[57] Cf. sur ce rôle de l'Ecriture les observations pénétrantes de L. Baeck, *Das Evangelium als Urkunde der jüdischen Glaubensgeschichte*, 1938, p. 17 ss. Cf. aussi N.-N. Glatzer, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtslehre der Tannaiten*, 1933, p. 32 ss.

le prophète aurait été caché dans le désert jusqu'au jour où Dieu lui adressa son appel et le révéla à Israël.[58]

VIII

Les lecteurs anciens ont parfaitement compris ces intentions de l'Evangéliste. Pourquoi, demande Chrysostome, n'est-ce pas le jour où Jésus est né, mais celui où il a reçu le baptême que l'on appelle l'Epiphanie et où l'on célèbre l'apparition de la grâce salutaire? "C'est que sa manifestation à tous les hommes ne date pas de sa naissance, mais de son baptême. Jusqu'à ce jour-là il était resté ignoré de la multitude." [59] Sa nativité, insistent les Pères, demeura pour ainsi dire secrète et il fut ignoré du monde jusqu'au début de son ministère.[60] *Homo apparuit inter homines latens Deus.*[61]

Et Jean-Baptiste? Ecoutons de nouveau le témoignage d'Origène. Le Précurseur vécut au désert dès sa plus tendre enfance, "car le temps n'était pas encore venu pour le sacrement du baptême et pour la prédication." [62]

Ainsi, à la question posée par les Pères, nous avons trouvé une réponse conforme à leur propre doctrine. Seulement, là où ils reconnaissent une suite d'événements s'accomplissant selon les desseins de la Providence, nos yeux, moins perspicaces, ne voient que l'arrangement littéraire. Mais cette différence de la perspective ne doit pas nous empêcher de chercher modestement des leçons chez des hommes qui étaient plus proches que nous de la langue et de l'esprit des Evangiles. Aucun philologue ne néglige les scholies des auteurs classiques. Or, l'œuvre exégétique de l'Eglise n'est pas moins imposante que le travail des grammairiens

[58] Sur le sens du terme *ἀνάδειξις* (*Lc* 1, 80) cf. mes remarques dans les *Mélanges Boisacq*, I, p. 117 ss. Le mot est en quelque sens technique pour la manifestation d'une qualité jusque-là cachée. Cf. par ex., *Const. Apost.*, V, 13, 2: le jour de l'Epiphanie, le 6 janvier, *καθ' ἣν ὁ κύριος ἀνάδειξιν ὑμῖν τῆς οἰκείας θεότητος ἐποιήσατο* cf. *ib.* II, 55, 1; VIII, 33, 7.

[59] Joh. Chrys., *De bapt. Christi*, éd. Montfaucon, II, p. 436 (*PG.*, XLIX, 365): *ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὅτε ἐτέχθη τότε πᾶσιν ἐγένετο κατάδηλος ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐβαπτίσατο. Μέχρι γὰρ ταύτης ἠγνοεῖτο τῆς ἡμέρας τοῖς πολλοῖς.* Cf. encore Chrys., *in Ps.* 49, 2.

[60] Voir, par ex., Hieron., *PL.*, XXV, 18: la nativité de Jésus n'est pas encore son épiphanie. *Tum enim absconditus est et non apparuit.* Cf. encore Ps. Hieron., *PL.*, XXX, 221, etc. . . .

[61] August., *Sermo*, CCXCIII, 5.

[62] Orig., *Hom. XI, in Lucam*, éd. Rauer, p. 80. Cf. Theophyl., *PG.*, CXXIII, 720.

alexandrins, et personne n'a surpassé l'élégance de Chrysostome, la subtilité d'Origène. Et c'est à S. Ambroise [63] que nous empruntons cette règle d'interprétation du troisième Evangile que nous avons suivie, à savoir que Luc écrivait en historien averti et consciencieux: *Est enim historicus.*

ECOLE LIBRE DES HAUTES ETUDES,
New York.
Juin, 1943.

[63] Ambros., *Explan. in Lucam*, I.

THE ORIGINAL LISTS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA, THE ROBBER-SYNOD AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

By Ernest Honigmann

There still exist lists of the bishops who attended the two first ecumenical councils, that of Nicaea (325) and that of Constantinople (381), not in the original form, to be sure, but doubtless based on authentic records. The original lists were rearranged after some time, and the members are grouped according to the provinces from which they came. They have been preserved in the collections of the canons of the councils. It was customary for compilers of such collections to add to the canons passed by a council a list of the members of that council, and these lists were always arranged on what we might call a "geographical" basis, i.e., according to the provinces whence the members came. Also the list of the members of the council of Chalcedon is preserved in this changed form in these collections; but in the case of this council, there are also other lists which are nearer to the original.

Of the council of Constantinople (381 A.D.) we have only a single list, preserved in Greek (Γ), as well as in Latin (Φ) and Syriac (Σ) transliterations. Two copies of the Greek list were discovered not long ago in the two MSS of Patmos $\overline{\text{POB}}$ and $\overline{\text{POΓ}}$, written in about 800 A.D. The Greek list, almost identical in both MSS, is in many cases more carelessly written than either the Latin or the Syriac version, but with the help of these and certain other evidence concerning the council it has been possible to arrive to a more correct form.

The original list, on which both the Greek texts and the Latin and Syriac versions are based, was somewhat confused towards the end where the Pontic and Thracian bishops were recorded. I have tried to rearrange the text of this final section and to determine the correct form of one particularly puzzling name;[1] it is of course impossible to maintain that my rearrangement of this part of the list corresponds exactly to the original. Moreover, the list

[1] E. Honigmann, "Recherches sur les listes des Pères de Nicée et de Constantinople," *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 440–449 ("Agrios, évêque d'Appiaria en 381").

is not quite complete, although not more than four or five names are missing out of the total of 150 bishops, the number usually cited in connection with the council of Constantinople in 381 A.D. The missing names can, however, be supplied from other texts. These texts mention several members of the council not included in the list. Three of these members, Peter, the brother of Gregory of Nyssa,[2] Acholios of Thessalonica [3] and Inos (?) of Z-b-nos (?) in Armenia Minor, a bishop found only in the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian,[4] are mentioned by name, while others are referred to as "Macedonians" and "Egyptians." [5] Now the list makes no mention of Macedonians and Egyptians, with the exception of the bishop of Oxyrhynchos and, of course, Timothy of Alexandria. There is still another case, though somewhat dubious, which is worth considering. According to the heading of the canons — and of the list — in the two Patmian MSS, these canons were found in the collection of canons (*κανονικόν*) of bishop Palladios of Amasia (about 431 A.D.). They had been procured by a certain bishop Valerian (*κομισθέντες παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ὁσίοις ἐπισκόπου Οὐαλεριανοῦ μετὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κανόνων τῶν ἐκτεθέντων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει επὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Νεκταρίου παρὰ τῶν* $\overline{\rho\nu}$). From this statement we may assume that Valerian was the bishop of Amasia who attended the council of 381 A.D. But Eduard Schwartz [6] explains it otherwise; according to him, this Valerian was the metropolitan of Iconium who attended the council of Ephesus in 431 A.D.

[2] Theodoretus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (= *H. E.*) V, 8, 4, ed. Léon Parmentier, p. 287, 22.

[3] Socrates, *H. E.*, V, 6, 8.

[4] Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, ed. J. B. Chabot, IV (Syriac text), 160, col. I, line 10; II (French translation), 316, No. 67.

[5] Gregory of Nyssa, *Περὶ ἑαυτοῦ*, in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (= *P. G.*), XXXVII, col. 1155, v. 1800. But these bishops arrived belatedly.

[6] Eduard Schwartz, "Buszstufen und Katechumenatsklassen," *Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*, Heft VII (1911), 31 f.; Id., "Die Kanonessammlungen der alten Reichskirche," *Zeitschrift der Savignystiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, LVI, Kanonistische Abteilung, XXV (Weimar 1936), 23. Cf. also A. Bretz, "Studien und Texte zu Asterios von Amasea," *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, XL, I, 77, n. 1.

I

The Original List of the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.)

Of the list of the fathers of Nicaea there are a great number of copies, in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian &c., all of which are based on a single source, a list arranged according to provinces, containing about 221 names, which was published in the *Corpus canonum* of Antioch. In a former article[7] I have shown that the list found in the *Corpus canonum* must, in its turn, have been based on an earlier and more exact list of about 194–203 names which is best preserved in the Latin class of MSS Λ V. The editors of the *Corpus canonum* took this list, already arranged according to provinces, as a model for their own, preferring it for their particular purpose to the original form.

In connection with the above-mentioned article I should like to remark: I had gathered from Robert Roesler that there existed a city called Tomea in Lower Moesia or Dacia, which was not the well-known Tomi. But my quotations have been proved to be erroneous, for Mr. J. Bromberg has convinced me that Tomea, mentioned by Theophylact Simokatta and Theophanes, to whom I referred in my article (p. 40), was in fact the famous Tomi in Scythia Minor.[7a] Mr. Bromberg thinks that the Dacian *Marcus Tomes* refers to a place, something like Μάργου στόμα. But I believe Marcus was the name of the bishop of Tomi; he therefore belonged neither to Dacia nor to Calabria nor to the province of Europa, as the different copies of the Nicaean lists pretend, but to Scythia. Accordingly, on p. 48 of my article, the heading <Σκυθίας> should be inserted between the names Nos. 187 and 188:

187. Πρωτογένης Σερδικῆς
<Σκυθίας·>
188. Μάρκος Τομέων or Τόμης.

[7] E. Honigmann, "La liste originale des Pères de Nicée," *Byzantion*, XIV (1939), 17–76.

[7a] There existed, however, a town Τόμες in the region of Remesiana (Procop., *De aed*, IV, iv; ed. Downey, VII, 263), a city of Dacia, and perhaps once of Calabria in Illyricum (cf. Gelas. Cyzic., *H.E.*, II, 28, 10; ed. Loeschke, p. 105, 20: ἐν Δακίᾳ, Καλαβρίᾳ, Δαρδανίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις τούτοις; Strabo, *Geogr.*, VII, 316: Γαλάβριοι).

We know that a bishop of Scythia (Σκύθης) was present at the council. This is clearly stated in the *Vita Constantini* and other texts based on the *Vita*. One might of course think it referred to bishops of Gotthia and Bosporus,[7b] but the latter do not appear in the Latin class Λ V which, as I believe I have proved, is the nearest approach to the lost original. But in that case, instead of Σκύθης, we would expect to find the plural Σκύθαι. There can be no doubt that the province of Scythia (Minor) existed at the time of the council of Nicaea, for it is mentioned by the Anonymus Valesianus and by Sozomenos. With the above correction the results of my research, to which I can now make some minor additions,[8] are still valid.

I pointed out above that the list based on the Latin class of MSS Λ V was already geographically arranged. But it is quite possible that originally there was still another list which was differently arranged. There is a text where vestiges of such a list are traceable. The *Vita Constantini*, generally ascribed to Eusebios,[9] contains an incomplete enumeration of the provinces represented at the council of Nicaea. The order of the provinces in this text is unusual, and it is worth while investigating whether this enumeration is not based on another list. If so, this would be older than the list based on the Latin class Λ V. In the *Vita* the provinces are enumerated in the following order (the numbers indicate the order in the *Vita*, and those in brackets refer to my numeration in *Byzantion*, XIV, 44–48; I have added, somewhat

[7b] J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrét. dans les provinces danubiennes* (Paris, 1918), p. 172.

[8] *Codex Vaticanus 1587* contains an unpublished list of the 318 fathers. Mgr Robert Devreesse kindly drew my attention to this list and sent me photographs of it, but as result of the war these are not at my disposal at the moment. This list is almost identical with and completes that of *codex Vatic. Reg. XLIV* (*Patrum Nicaenorum nomina*, ed. Gelzer, Cuntz, Hilgenfeld, list VI). Both texts are very late and distorted copies of the original list and cannot therefore be used to reconstruct the latter. — I here add a reference to the controversial question of the total number of Nicean fathers: A. L. Feder, "Die Zahl der Bischöfe auf dem Konzil von Nicäa 325," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, XXX (1906), 172–178, and an addition signed "K.", *ibid.*, 382–384; this paper had not come to my notice when I wrote my other article. — As to the so-called "historical note" (p. 72 ff.) and its date, cf. Eduard Schwartz, "Kanonessammlungen . . . ," *loc. cit.*, 14. 36. 42 f.

[9] "Eusebius," Εἰς τὸν βίον Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως, III, 7, ed. Heikel, p. 80. The general view, that the *Vita Constantini* is by Eusebios, has recently been questioned. H. Grégoire, "Eusèbe n'est pas l'auteur de la *Vita Constantini* dans sa forme actuelle," *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), 561–583.

arbitrarily, the names of the provinces omitted in the *Vita*): *Τῶν γοῦν ἐκκλησιῶν ἁπασῶν, αἳ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἅπασαν Λιβύην τε καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπλήρουν, ὁμοῦ συνῆκτο τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ λειτουργῶν τὰ ἀκροθίνια, εἷς τ' οἶκος εὐκτήριος ὥσπερ ἐκ θεοῦ πλατυνόμενος ἔνδον ἐχώρει κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ* 1 [7] *Σύρους ἅμα καὶ* 2 [10] *Κίλικας*, 3 [6] *Φοίνικας τε καὶ* 4 [8] *Ἀραβίους καὶ* 5 [5] *Παλαιστίνους, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις* 6 [1] *Αἰγυπτίους*, 7 [2] *Θηβαίους*, 8 [3.4] *Λίβυας* 9 [9] *τοὺς τ' ἐκ μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν ὁρμωμένους· ἤδη καὶ* 10 *Πέρσης* [scil. *Ἰωάννης Περσίδος* in 9] *ἐπίσκοπος τῇ συνόδῳ παρῆν, οὐδὲ* 11 *Σκύθης* [scil. *Μάρκος Τομέων*] *ἀπελιμπάνετο τῆς χορείας*. 12 [14.15] *Πόντος τε καὶ* <13 [16] *Παφλαγονία*,> 14 [17] *Γαλατία*, 15 [11] *Καππαδοκία*, <16 [12.13] *Ἀρμενία*> *τε καὶ* 17 [18] *Ἀσία*, <18 [19] *Λυδία*,> 19 [20] *Φρυγία*, <20 [21] *Πισιδία*, 21 [22] *Λυκία*> *τε καὶ* 22 [23] *Παμφυλία*, <23 [24] *Νῆσοι*, 24 [25] *Καρία*, 25 [26] *Ἰσαυρία*, 26 [27] *Κύπρος τε καὶ* 27 [28] *Βιθυνία*> *τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς παρεῖχον ἐκκρίτους ἀλλὰ καὶ* 28 [29] *Θρᾷκες* [i.e. *Εὐρώπη*] <*καὶ* 29 [30] *Δακοὶ*, 30 [32] *Μυσοὶ*> *καὶ* 31 [33] *Μακεδόνες*, 32 [34] *Ἀχαιοὶ*, <33 [35] *Θεσσαλοί*> *τε καὶ* 34 [–] *Ἠπειρῶται, τούτων θ' οἱ ἔτι προσωτέρω οἰκοῦντες ἀπήντων, αὐτῶν τε* 35 *Σπάνων ὁ πάνυ βοώμενος εἷς ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἅμα συνεδρεύων* [i.e. *Ὅσιος Κορδούβης*]. *τῆς δέ γε βασιλευούσης πόλεως ὁ μὲν προεστὼς ὑστέρει διὰ γῆρας*, 36 *πρεσβύτεροι δ' αὐτοῦ παρόντες τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἐπλήρουν* [i.e. *Βίτων καὶ Βικέντιος*].

Both, Sokrates [10] and Theodoret [11] quoted the above passage in their Church Histories as coming from Eusebios. Instead of "bishop of the Royal city," Theodoret wrote quite correctly "the [bishop] of Rome" (*ὁ δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης*). Later, Gelasios of Kyzikos [12] copied the passage from Sokrates, adding, quite arbitrarily, that Silvester, the bishop of the "greatest Rome" (*Ῥώμη μεγίστη*), attended the council together with the priests Biton and Bikentios. Besides, he inserted before the phrase "the Royal city," the word "present," intending it to refer to Constantinople, and interpolated in the text the name of the bishop of the new capital and that of the presbyter who succeeded him:

[10] Socrates, *H. E.*, I, 8. In Migne, *P. G.*, LXVII, col. 61a-b, the text is incorrectly reproduced.

[11] Theodoretus, *H. E.*, I, 7, 3, ed. Parmentier, p. 30, 22 f.

[12] Gelasius of Cyzicus, *H. E.*, ed. Loeschcke, p. 44, 22. Likewise Gelasius of Caesarea, *H. E.*, apud Photium, *Biblioth.*, cod. 88; the *Πολιτεία τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων Μητροφάνους καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου*, *ibid.*, cod. 256; and some Byzantine chroniclers.

(*Vita Constantini*)

Τῆς δέ γε βασιλευούσης πόλεως ὁ μὲν προεστὼς ὑστέρει διὰ γῆρας, πρεσβύτεροι δ' αὐτοῦ παρόντες τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἐπλήρουν.

(*Gelasios*)

Τῆς δὲ νῦν βασιλευούσης πόλεως ὁ μὲν προεστὼς Μητροφάνης τοὔνομα διὰ γῆρας ὑστέρει, πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτοῦ παρόντες τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἐτέλουν, ὧν ὁ εἷς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν, ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς αὐτῆς γεγονὼς πόλεως.

It is quite clear that Gelasios deliberately altered the text of his source in order to mention the court-bishop Metrophanes and his successor Alexander. This forgery served the interests of the bishop of "New Rome." [13] Possibly Gelasios of Kyzikos was not responsible for this forgery; it may have been his namesake Gelasios of Kaisareia, for Gelasios of Kyzikos's version seems to have been based on a *Vita Metrophanis et Alexandri* of a legendary character, which in turn was perhaps based on the work of Gelasios of Kaisareia.[14]

The mere fact that, in the *Vita Constantini*, Rome is called "the Royal city" may indicate that the incomplete enumeration of the provinces in the *Vita* was made at the time of the council, for it must have been written before Constantinople was made the capital (March 11, 330).[15] To be sure, the expression "Royal city" (*βασιλίς, βασιλεύουσα Ῥώμη*)[16] was still in use much later, but it is significant that in this passage the author uses the term *βασιλεύουσα πόλις* without considering that it might be misunderstood, i.e., interpreted as meaning the "present Royal city." The new Royal city probably did not exist at his time.

Before we definitely conclude from the *Vita* that there existed an older list of the Nicene fathers not arranged geographically, let us try to reconstruct its probable appearance and arrangement. It is possible, as is true in the case of most of the later lists, e.g., those of the council of Chalcedon, that it began by mentioning the leading personalities whom the *Vita Constantini* (III, 13) calls the "presidents of the synod" (*πρόεδροι τῆς συνόδου*); then, that

[13] According to Fr. Fischer, "De patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum catalogis . . . ," *Comment. philol. Ienenses*, III (Leipzig, 1884), 297–329, Metrophanes died already on June 4, 314, and Alexander became bishop in the same year.

[14] Cf. P. Heseler, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, IX (1932), 328 ff.

[15] As to the date, cf. Maurice, *Centenaire de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1904), 281 f.

[16] Ed. Schwartz, "Prosopographia et topographia actorum Chalcedonensium et Encycliorum," *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, tomus II, vol. VI (Berlin and Leipzig, 1938), 100, s. v. Ῥώμης.

it enumerated the metropolitans of the provinces; after the metropolitans probably came an enumeration of the ordinary bishops, arranged in the same order as the metropolitans. It is quite possible, however, that this principle was less strictly followed in the earlier councils than in the later ones. The order in which the metropolitans and bishops were listed, was determined by their respective ranks in the *dioeceses* and provinces. At the time of Nicaea, however, the rank of metropolitans and bishops was still in a state of flux.

Let us examine the list in the *Vita Constantini* and determine whether our assumption conforms with it. We assumed that in the original list the metropolitans preceded the suffragan bishops, and that the bishops were arranged correspondingly, i.e., that the provinces were enumerated twice, once for the metropolitans and once for the bishops. It is not surprising that the *Vita Constantini* did not follow the same procedure. The author naturally confined himself to naming the various provinces once.

All existing lists seem to bear some trace of the original non-geographical arrangement. For, though the provinces are ordered from East to West, the list is headed by Hosios (Ossius) of Corduba and the papal legates. We would expect to find this trace of the non-geographical arrangement in the *Vita Constantini.* But just here Hosios and the legates are placed towards the end. Probably the reason for this was that the author decided to place the most important personalities towards the end.

It seems odd that in the list of the *Vita* the Antiochene provinces are placed before those of Alexandria. But this is due to the fact that, until the time of Theodosios I, Egypt belonged to the *Dioecesis Oriens.* Eduard Schwartz [17] concludes from the existing lists that the church of the Empire took no official notice of the fact that Egypt belonged to the *Dioecesis Oriens*; but this conclusion does not apply to the *Vita Constantini.* This proves the antiquity of this enumeration of provinces. The preeminence of the Oriens explains the important role played at the council of Nicaea by Eustathios of Antioch, the head of the church of the whole Oriens.

It is also surprising that the Egyptian provinces are placed

[17] Ed. Schwartz, "Über die Bischofslisten der Synoden von Chalkedon, Nicaea und Konstantinopel," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,*

after most of the other provinces of the *Dioecesis Oriens*, but before Mesopotamia. But about 343 A.D. two imperial officials, known to us from certain inscriptions, bore the title *Comes Orientis, Aegypti et Mesopotamiae*.[18] Although this office did not yet exist in 325 A.D., its functions being performed by the *Vicarius Orientis*, the order of the provinces in this title may have reflected their actual position in relation to one another at about 325.

We supposed that the "Scythe" (No. 11) was bishop Marcus of Tomi or Tomea. According to the existing lists, this bishop should have been found towards the end among the bishops of the Thracian *Dioecesis* (Nos. 28–30). But instead we find him after the Persian bishop. This may be because the author of the *Vita* thought "Scythe" referred to the vast Scythian territories in Southern Russia, and purposely put two bishops representing nations beyond the frontier of the Empire together. But as I consider that Scythe refers to the bishop of Tomi, he was wrong in my opinion.

It is remarkable that the "Epirotes" are mentioned in the enumeration, while they do not appear in any other version of the Nicene list. This mention of Epirote bishops may enable us to solve one of the enigmas connected with the existing lists. In these we find a certain Marcus of Euboia among the bishops of Greece. Although he does not figure in the list of the Latin class of MSS Λ V, this fact does not necessarily prove that he did not appear in the original list. There could not have been only one bishop for the entire island of Euboia, nor do the variants Βοίας, Βυωτίας, Βυζαντίας explain the matter. If we could change Εὐβοίας into Εὐροίας,[19] there would be an Epirote bishop in the list. Now a certain Marcus, bishop of Euroia, is known to have existed in 449 and 451 A.D., but in the Syriac version of the list of 449 A.D.

Phil.-hist. Abt., Neue Folge, Heft XIII (Munich, 1937), 72, 87 (quoted henceforth: Schwartz, "*Bischofslisten*").

[18] *Codex Theodosianus*, XII, 1, 33. CIL, X, 1700 = Dessau, *Inscr. lat. sel.*, I (Berlin, 1892), p. 271, No. 1231 (Napoli, Puteoli); ibid., p. 272, No. 1237 (Roma). O. Seeck, *Real-Encyclopädie* . . . of Pauly-Wissowa (quoted henceforth: *R. E.*), I A, col. 1187, 30 s. v. *Rufinus*, No. 15; Kroll, *ibid.*, XIV, col. 236 f., s. v. *Maecius* No. 16 (Kroll does not mention that he occupied the quoted office).

[19] The Latin lists have always [*Eu*]*boias* &c.; one MS. of Λ IV has *Euloensis*, but none *Euroias*. C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*, tom. I, fasc. I, pars I (Oxford, 1899), p. 85, No. 211 c; p. 87–8, No. 211.

he is wrongly called Marcus of Euboia.[20] Also in the principal list of 451, the writer of codex M changed Euroia into Euboia. This shows that there was often confusion between these two geographical names.

Both the list I have based on the Latin class Λ V and the enumeration in the *Vita* omit the provinces, which appear towards the end of the list of the *Corpus canonum*.

It is thus quite obvious that the list of provinces in the *Vita Constantini* in some measure represents the original list of the fathers of Nicaea. This view is strengthened by the fact that the arrangement of the provinces in the *Vita* coincides with the arrangement of the original list in so far as it was made according to the *Dioeceses* of the Empire. The enumeration of the *Vita* however is too short to make an exact reconstruction of the original possible.

II

The Original List of the Robber-Synod of Ephesos (449 A.D.)

There exist several lists of the members of the so-called *Latrocinium* [21] or Robber-Synod of Ephesos of 449 A.D. Many passages of the minutes of the first session were quoted in Greek at the council of Chalcedon. These quotations included several lists, one enumerating those present,[22] another those voting on the case of Eutyches,[23] and a third those who declared Flavian and Eusebios guilty.[24] This third list is immediately followed by a list of signatories at the first session.[25] In the Greek text this last list includes only eleven names, adding: *καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οὕτως ὑπέγραψαν.* But in the Latin version of the minutes the list of signers is complete.[26]

[20] L'abbé [Jean Pierre Paulin] Martin, *Actes du brigandage d'Ephèse* (Amiens, 1874), p. 7, note a.

[21] *Act. Conc. Oec.*, ed. Schwartz, t. II, vol. IV, p. 51, 4 (Leonis papae *epist.* 51, of July 20, 451).

[22] "Acta Chalcedon., I, 78," in *Act. Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars I, p. 78, 15–82, 6 (= Mansi, VI, col. 608 ff.): list of 135 bishops (= P).

[23] "Acta Chalc. I, 884," *ibid.* p. 182, 11–186, 12 (= Mansi, VI, col. 836 ff.): list of 113 names.

[24] "Acta Chalc. I, 966–1065," *ibid.*, p. 192, 3–194, 38 (= Mansi, VI, col. 909 ff.): 95 names, not numbered by Schwartz.

[25] "Acta Chalc., I, 1067," *ibid.*, p. 194, 39–41, and 195, 1–9.

[26] "Act. Chalc., I 1070 [1067]," in *Act. Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. III, pars I (1935),

In addition to these lists of the first session of August 8, there is a list comprising 113 members of the second session on August 22, preserved in a Syriac version of the minutes;[27] the Greek original of the minutes of this session has been lost. Of the various lists we have mentioned, we are more particularly concerned with the following three: the list of those present (P); that of those who signed at the first session (Φ); and that of those present at the second session (σ). The two others are almost identical with P.

Each of the three lists P, Φ and σ contains names not found in the other two. Accordingly P and Φ, which relate to the same session, must be incomplete. With respect to the second session, it has been generally supposed heretofore, that it was attended by no more than the 113 bishops who are enumerated in the Syriac list.[28] But we shall prove by a comparison of P, Φ and σ that all three are based on a single original list.

If we compare the Greek (P) and Syriac (σ), that is, the list of those present at the first and that of those present at the second session, we see that all the names mentioned, with the exception of three, are given in exactly the same order. The three exceptions [29] are:

(1) Thalassios of Kaisareia in Kappadokia is placed before Stephen of Ephesos in σ 3, while he is found after him in P 7. But in this case the Syriac list agrees with one of the other two Greek lists of the first session.[30]

(2) John of Sebasteia in First Armenia is placed after the bishop of Ankyra in P 9, while he is found in a lower place in σ 10, viz. after that of Kyzikos (= P 18). However we find the order of σ again in the other two Greek lists.[31]

(3) Photeinos of Teucheira is placed before the bishoprics of Kleopatris and Paralos in σ 100, while he is placed behind them in P 30. But here again σ coincides with the other two Greek lists.[32] The Latin list Φ mentions Photeinos twice, both

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p. 252, 20–258, 12 (= Φ): list of CXL numbered and five unnumbered names (XIIIa. XXXa. LIXa [= CVI]. CIIIa. CXa).

[27] J. Flemming, "Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449 syrisch mit Georg Hoffmanns deutscher Übersetzung und seinen Anmerkungen hrsg.," *Abhandlungen der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., N. F. XV (Berlin, 1917), No. 1, p. 6, 18–8, 22 (= σ).

[28] L'abbé Martin, *Revue des questions historiques*, XVI (1874), p. 13, n. 4. S. G. F. Perry, *The second synod of Ephesus;* English version (Dartford, Kent, 1881), p. 14, n. * . Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, II, I (Paris, 1908), p. 586, n. 1. Ed. Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. VI ("Prosopographia . . . ," 1938), *passim*: "adest sessioni alteri."

[29] Numbered according to the editions of Schwartz and Hoffmann-Flemming.

[30] "Acta Chalc., I, 968–9," *Act. Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars I, p. 190, 15. 20.

[31] "Acta Chalc., I, 884. 975," *ibid.*, p. 183, 22 and 192, 33.

[32] "Acta Chalc., I, 884, 99. 1054," *ibid.*, p. 185, 30 and 194, 24.

before (No. CXVI: Teuchiranorum) and after (No. CXIX: Teuchiron) the bishops of Kleopatris and Paralos.

Thus we see that the order is identical in P and σ except in three cases; and even in these cases the order in σ coincides with that of one or both of the other Greek lists. Further P and σ differ in that σ omits 25 names, listed in P, viz., P 2.4.5.12.13.16.17. 21.22.25.28.30.45.48.62.64.68.82.92.103–107.112, and lists nine names omitted in P: σ 51.54.84–90.

If the arrangement of the bishops in these lists represented the order of their rank, the similarity of P and σ in this respect would be insignificant. But this is not so, for in both lists seven metropolitans (P 47–51.54.55. σ 32–35.38.39) are placed after a group of ordinary bishops. Nor is the list arranged according to seniority, although the first few names of the Greek list P (Nos. 3–5) are apparently in that order.[33]

Thus the fact that the order, in which the members of the council are listed in the Greek (P) and the Syriac (σ) version, is identical, can only be explained if we assume that they are based on the same source. We can reconstruct the original source by completing one list with the help of the other, inserting the names missing in the first exactly where they are found in the second.

But this reconstruction would not be complete, if we did not take into consideration the Latin list of those who signed at the first session (Φ); for Φ contains names missing in both P and σ. The order of the names in Φ is almost identical with that in P. But Φ differs from P in the following instances:[34] in Φ, P 2 (Julius, the legate of the pope) and P 5 (Flavian of Constantinople) are missing. Further in Φ, where we would expect P 37, we find (No. XXXa) *Lucianus episcopus Bizoae agens vices Cyriaci episcopi civitatis Heracliae Thraciae*, while P 37 comes much later (No. LXII). True, we know Lucian from the council of Chalcedon and from the *Enkyklia* of 457–8; but it was not he who represented Cyriacus of Heraclea in 449, but Peter of Chersonesus (= σ 84), as even list Φ (No. XCVI) states; so Schwartz was

[33] Cf. Erich Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, I (Tübingen, 1930), p. 484.

[34] In his edition of the list P, Eduard Schwartz gives a number both to the representative of a bishop and to this bishop himself (P 12–17. 31. 32), while in Φ he enters both only under one number (Φ X–XII. XXIV). This fact must be taken into account, when viewing the total number of bishops of the different lists given by Schwartz, which we have quoted above (notes 22–27).

right in bracketing and not giving a number to Lucianus, who is mentioned in only three of the nine Mss. of Φ. Φ XLI corresponds to P 48, but has, in addition: *per Romanum episcopum Myrorum, eo quod nesciam litteras.* These words show that Helias of Adrianopolis was a Lycian bishop; I shall speak about his bishopric later. The bishops P 63 and 64 correspond to Φ LVII and LVI. Φ LVIII is a repetition of Φ XII. Epiphanius of Perge (P 75) is listed in Φ among the additions as No. XCV. Dionysius of Sycamazon (P 80 = Φ LXXIII) signed for Kaïumas of Phaino (P 81) according to Φ LXXIV, "because I do not know the letters" (*propter quod litteras ignorem*). P 82 is also placed among the additions in Φ IC.

Just before the enumeration of the Egyptian bishops [35] in all three lists, there are certain entries which we have already referred to as "additions." In Φ, two of the additions correspond to names in the main part of P;[36] two are mere repetitions of names occurring in the main part of the same list Φ;[37] and some correspond to names found in a similar place in σ.[38] If in Φ we place Nos. XCV and IC in the positions given them in P (to Φ XCV also in σ), and leave the repetitions out of account, there still remain some other entries. Here again we can reconstruct the original text by completing one list with the help of the two others, inserting the missing names in the most appropriate place.

In Φ we find, after the Egyptian group, the three bishops Marinianus of Gaza, Martyrius of Gortyna and Gennadius of Cnosus; they even occur twice, as CXXX–CXXXII and as CXXXVIII–CXL. This double entry shows that the copyist did not know where to place them. But probably they should have been placed where they are in σ, viz. σ 51.87.88.

At the very end of Φ (CXXXIII–CXL) we find the names of the presbyter and archimandrite Barsumas, of four priests representing four metropolitans of the *Dioecesis Pontica*, and finally of the three bishops Marinianus, Martyrius and Gennadius once

[35] P 108–130. Φ CVII–CXXIX. σ 91–112.

[36] Φ XCV = P 75. Φ IC = P 82.

[37] Φ CIV = LXVIII and CVI (Uranios of Himeria) = LIX^a = σ 48. Φ LIX^a is omitted in some MSS. To Φ CVI is added that the priest Eulogios signed for him; this statement is also found in the Greek lists I, 884, 54 and 1006, p. 184, 24 f. and 193, 21 f.

[38] Φ XCVI = σ 84. Φ CV = σ 89.

again. Rusticus informs us that these eight names were missing in two Greek Mss. at his disposal (. . . *duo Graeci codices non habent*).

Φ shows that the differences between P and σ are not due (except in a few cases to which we shall revert) to the fact that P reports the members of the first session and σ those of the second. For Φ, which reports the bishops who signed at the first session, contains six of the nine names listed in σ and not in P. This proves that at least these six bishops were present at the first session, although they do not appear in P. It is quite possible that the omission in P and Φ of the other three names figuring in σ is due to the negligence on the part of the copyists.

The omission in σ of some of the 25 names figuring in P can perhaps be explained as follows: first, the legate of the pope refused to attend the second session; second, Domnos of Antioch pleading illness absented himself on account of his pending expulsion;[39] and third, Flavian of Constantinople was deposed already during the first session. The omission of the names of three ordinary bishops (P 25.28.30) is obviously due to another reason; in P, as doubtless also in the original list, these three bishops are intercalated among the metropolitans, and the copyist probably passed them over temporarily, intending to insert them later in the list of the bishops, but for some reason forgot to do so. In the same manner the omission of P 48 can be explained. That of P 45 is probably due to the fact, that it is followed by the same phrase *Ἠπείρου παλαιᾶς* which appears after P 46. It is however possible, that the representative of the bishop of Thessalonica (P 12–13. Φ X = XXVIII) and some bishops of Illyricum (P 45.62.64), imitating the papal legate, really stayed away from the council. All the other omissions may have been caused by the carelessness of the copyist.

The incompleteness of the Syriac list is already proved by the minutes of the second session; for these make mention of a bishop not figuring in the list of those present. The minutes of the second session mention very few bishops as actually taking part in the discussions, viz., about 30 out of the 113 enumerated in the list;[40]

[39] Syriac version of the acts of August 22, ed. Flemming, p. 114–150.

[40] These are: σ 1–6. 8–18. 20–22. 24. 33. 35. 43. 48. 50. 78. 80. 85. 89. But only 13 among these express an opinion more than once (σ 1–6. 9–11. 13. 15. 16. 21).

had the participation of more bishops been recorded, this might have led to the discovery of further omissions in the list. In the very beginning of the Syriac minutes of the session, Onesiphoros of Ikonion is cited [41] as one of the four delegates sent to Domnos of Antioch. He is omitted in σ,[42] but mentioned in P, where he is placed far down in the list, viz. under P 104, although he was a metropolitan. Here the omission of his name in σ may again be explained by the fact that the copyist temporarily passed him over intending to insert him higher among the metropolitans, but failed to do so.

My investigation has thus lead me to the conclusion that the lists of both sessions, viz., those of the first (PΦ) and that [43] of the second (σ), are based on the same source, and that the numerous omissions, especially those in the Syriac list, are not due to the failure of many of the bishops who attended the first session on August 8 to attend the second session on August 22. This view is supported by certain general considerations: as Eduard Schwartz has stressed,[44] "the synod was formally a legitimate council of the Eastern Empire, convoked by the Emperor and directed by the bishops to whom he had given authority, especially by Dioskoros and Juvenal." This would have made it very dangerous for the members to express their disapproval by absenting themselves from the second session. Furthermore, if there were such cases, they were more likely to have been among the influential metropolitans. But in actual fact the names omitted are principally those of ordinary bishops, while σ contains the names of nearly all the metropolitans. Moreover we know that Dioskoros permitted only his adherents to take notes of the proceedings of the synod,[45] and these persons are not likely to have omitted

[41] Syriac acts, p. 10, 14 f., ed. Flemming; p. 11, 21, transl. G. Hoffmann. English translation: Perry, *loc. cit.*, p. 25.

[42] Martin, *Actes du brigandage d'Ephèse* (Amiens, 1874), p. 10, note d, has already observed this fact. G. Hoffmann, on the contrary, said nothing about Onesiphoros, while he asserts erroneously (p. 179, ad p. 151, 14), that the name of Marēs or Maras of Dionysias is missing in the Syriac list (p. 7–9); it figures in his own edition p. 9 f., No. 89. Eduard Schwartz also has not noticed the presence of the Lycaonian metropolitan in the Syriac minutes either (*Prosopographia*, p. 50, s. v. *Ὀνησιφόρος* [2]).

[43] In the *Histoire de l'Eglise* ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, IV, p. 220, n. 2, reference is wrongly made to "les listes syriaques."

[44] E. Schwartz, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXIV (1934), p. 135.

[45] "Acta Chalc., I, 122," *Act. Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars I, p. 87, 11: *τοὺς*

names, for absence from the second session was synonymous with disapproval of the synod.

I here add a list of 150 names representing my attempt at reconstructing the original. To my own numeration I adjoin the numeration of the lists P, Φ and σ as they appear in Eduard Schwartz's and Flemming's editions.

CONCILIVM EPHESIANVM a. 449

P = Conc. Chalc. I 78; *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars I, p. 78, 15–82, 6.
Φ = ib. I 1070 [1067], versio latina; *Act. Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. III, pars I, p. 252, 20–258, 12.
σ = actorum sessionis alterius versio syriaca, ed. Joh. Flemming, *Abh. d. Kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Goettingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., N. F. t. XV, Berlin, 1917, No. 1, p. 6.

1. Διόσκορος Ἀλεξανδρείας [P 1. Φ I. σ 1]
2. Ἰούλιος ἐπ. ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ ὁσιωτάτου ἐπ. τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Δέοντος [P 2]
3. Ἰουβενάλιος Ἱεροσολύμων [P 3. Φ II. σ 2]
4. Δόμνος Ἀντιοχείας [P 4. Φ III]
5. Φλαβιανὸς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως [P 5]
6. Στέφανος Ἐφεσίων [P 6. Φ IV. σ 4]
7. Θαλάσσιος Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας πρώτης [P 7. Φ V. σ 3]
8. Εὐσέβιος Ἀγκύρας Γαλατίας πρώτης [P 8. Φ VI. σ 5]
9. Ἰωάννης Σεβαστείας Ἀρμενίας πρώτης [P 9. Φ VII. σ 10]
10. Κύρος Ἀφροδισιάδος τῆς Καρίας [P 10. Φ VIII. σ 6]
11. Ἐρασίστρατος Κορίνθου τῆς Ἑλλάδος [P 11. Φ IX. σ 7]
12. 13. Κυίντιλλος Ἡρακλείας ἐπέχων καὶ τὸν τόπον Ἀνασταστίου τῆς Θεσσαλονικέων [P 12–13. Φ X = XXVIII]
14. 15. Μελίτιος Λαρίσσης ἐπέχων καὶ τὸν τόπον Δόμνου τοῦ εὐλαβ. ἐπ. τῆς Ἀπαμέων [P 14–15. Φ XI = XXVII. σ 8]
16. 17. Κυριακὸς ἐπ. Τροκνάδων ἐπέχων τὸν τόπρν Θεοκτίστου τοῦ εὐλ. ἐπ. Πισινοῦντος Γαλατίας β̄ [P 16–17. Φ XII = LVIII]
18. Διογένης Κυζίκου [P 18. Φ XIII. σ 9]
19. Βασίλειος Σελευκείας τῆς Ἰσαυρίας [P 19. σ 11]
20. Ἰωάννης Ῥόδου [P 20. Φ XIIIa. σ 12]
21. Θεόδωρος Ταρσοῦ [P 21. Φ XIV]
22. Ῥωμανὸς Μύρων τῆς Λυκίας [P 22. Φ XV]
23. Φώτιος Τύρου [P 23. Φ XVI. σ 13]
24. Θεόδωρος Δαμασκοῦ [P 24. Φ XVII. σ 14]
25. Ἰουλιανὸς Ταβίας [P 25. Φ XVIII]
26. Φλωρέντιος Λυδῶν [P 26. Φ XIX. σ 15]
27. Μαρινιανὸς Συννάδων [P 27. Φ XX. σ 16]
28. Μουσώνιος Νύσης [P 28. Φ XXI]
29. Κωνσταντῖνος Βόστρας [P 29. Φ XXII. σ 17]
30. Ἰωάννης Νικοπόλεως Ἀρμενίας πρώτης [P 30. Φ XXIII]

ἑαυτοῦ ἐποίησεν γράφειν. Later Akakios of Ariaratheia even said (*ibid.*, I, 134, p. 88, 11 f.): "We were locked up in the church until evening, until we had signed." In spite of this coercion, Akakios attended both sessions.

31.32. Ἀκάκιος Ἀριαραθείας δευτέρας Ἀρμενίας ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον Κωνσταντίνου ἐπ. Μελιτηνῆς [P 31.32 Φ XXIV. σ 18]
33. Στέφανος Ἱερᾶς πόλεως [P 33. Φ XXV. σ 19 (Mabog)]
34. Ἄττικος Νικοπόλεως Ἠπείρου παλαιᾶς [P 34. Φ XXVI. σ 20]
35. Εὐστάθιος Βηρύτου [P 35. Φ XXIX. σ 21]
36. Νουνέχιος Λαοδικείας Τριμιταρίας [P 36. Φ XXX. σ 22]
37. Ὀλύμπιος Κωνσταντίας τῆς Κύπρου [P 37. Φ LXII. σ 23]
[37a. Lucianus ep. Bizoae (Βύζης) agens uices Cyriaci ep. Heracliae Thraciae Φ XXXa]
38. Κανδιδιανὸς Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Πισιδίας [P 38. Φ XXXI. σ 24]
39. Στέφανος Ἀναζάρβου [P 39. Φ XXXII. σ 25]
40. Γερόντιος Σελευκείας Συρίας [P 40. Φ XXXIII. σ 26]
41. Ῥουφῖνος Σαμοσάτων [P 41. Φ XXXIV. σ 27]
42. Ἴνδιμος Εἰρηνουπόλεως [P 42. Φ XXXV. σ 28]
43. Τιμόθεος Βαλανέων [P 43. Φ XXXVI. σ 29]
44. Θεοδόσιος Κανώθας [P 44. Φ XXXVII. σ 30]
45. Εὐτύχιος Ἀδριανουπόλεως Ἠπείρου παλαιᾶς [P 45. Φ XXXVIII]
46. Κλαύδιος Ἀγχιεσμοῦ Ἠπείρου παλαιᾶς [P 46. Φ XXXIX. σ 31]
47. Συμεὼν Ἀμίδης Μεσοποταμίας [P 47. Φ XL. σ 32]
48. Ἡλίας Ἀδριανουπόλεως [P 48. Φ XLI: per Romanum ep. Myrorum eo quod nesciam litteras]
49. Σέλευκος Ἀμασείας [P 49. Φ XLII. σ 33]
50. Πέτρος Γαγγρῶν [P 50. Φ XLIII. σ 34]
51. Λουκᾶς Δυρραχίου [P 51. Φ XLIV. σ 35]
52. Ἀντώνιος Λυχνίδου [P 52. Φ XLV. σ 36]
53. Μάρκος Εὐροίας [P 53. Φ XLVI. σ 37]
54. Βιγιλάντιος Λαρίσσης [P 54. Φ XLVII. σ 38]
55. Βασίλειος Τραιανουπόλεως ἐπαρχίας Ῥοδόπης [P 55. Φ XLVIII. σ 39]
56. Δοκιμάσιος Μαρωνείας ἐπαρχίας Ῥοδόπης [P 56. Φ XLIX. σ 40]
57. Κωνσταντῖνος Δημητριάδος [P 57. Φ L. σ 41]
58. Ἀλέξανδρος Σεβαστῆς τῆς Ταρσοῦ [P 58. Φ LI. σ 42]
59. Σῴζων Φιλίππων [P 59. Φ LII. σ 43]
60. Εὐσέβιος Δοβήρου Μακεδονίας πρώτης [P 60. Φ LIII. σ 44]
61. Μαξιμῖνος Σερρέων Μακεδονίας πρώτης [P 61. Φ LIV. σ 45]
62. Ἑρμογένης Κασανδρείας Μακεδονίας πρώτης [P 62. Φ LV]
63. Λουκᾶς Βεροίας Μακεδονίας πρώτης [P 63. Φ LVII. σ 46]
64. Διογενιανὸς Ῥεμεσιανῆς τῆς Δακίας [P 64. Φ LVI]
65. Ἰωάννης τῆς Μεσσήνης τῆς Ἀχαΐας [P 65. Φ LIX. σ 47]
66. Οὐράνιος Ἱμερίας ἐπαρχίας Ὀσδροηνῆς [P 66. Φ LIXa; Φ CVI Eulogius presb. hortatu Uranii ep. ciu. Himeriorum *etc.*; σ 48]
67. Ἀθανάσιος Ὀποῦντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας [P 67. Φ LX. σ 49]
68. Θεόδωρος Κλαυδιουπόλεως τῆς Ἰσαυρίας [P 68. Φ LXI]
69. Λεόντιος Ἀσκάλωνος [P 69. Φ LXIII. σ 50]
70. Μαρινιανὸς Γάζης [Φ CXXX = CXXXVIII. σ 51]
71. Φωτεινὸς Λύδδων [P 70. Φ LXIV. σ 52]
72. Ἀναστάσιος Ἀρεοπόλεως [P 71. Φ LXV. σ 53 εἰρηνοπόλεως]
73. Παῦλος Ἀνθηδόνος [σ 54]
74. Θεοδόσιος Ἀμαθοῦντος [P 72. Φ LXVI. σ 55]
75. Παῦλος Μαιουμᾶ [P 73. Φ LXVII. σ 56]
76. Ζώσιμος Μινωΐδος [P 74. Φ LXVIII = CIV. σ 57]
77. Ἐπιφάνιος Πέργης [P 75. Φ XCV. σ 58]
78. Βαρούχιος Σῳζούσης Παλαιστίνης [P 76. Φ LXIX. σ 59]

79. Ἡράκλειος Ἀζώτου [P 77. Φ LXX. σ 60]
80. Ἰωάννης Τιβεριάδος [P 78. Φ LXXI. σ 61]
81. Μουσώνιος Ζοόρων [P 79. Φ LXXII. σ 62]
82. Διονύσιος Συκαμαζόνος [P 80. Φ LXXIII. σ 63]
83. Καιουμᾶς Φαινοῦς [P 81. Φ LXXIV + per coepiscopum meum Dionysium (82) propter quod litteras ignorem. σ 64]
84. Αἰθέριχος Σμύρνης [P 82. Φ XCIX]
85. Κωνστάντιος Σεβαστείας [P 83: Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστῆς. Φ LXXV. σ 65]
86. Ζέβεννος Πέλλης [P 84. Φ LXXVI. σ 66]
87. Ἀλύπιος Βακάθων [P 85. Φ LXXVII. σ 67]
88. Πολυχρόνιος Ἀντιπατρίδος [P 86. Φ LXXVIII. σ 68]
89. Παγκράτιος Λιβιάδος [P 87. Φ LXXIX. σ 69]
90. Αὐξόλαος Σαρακηνῶν τῶν ὑποσπόνδων [P 88 αὐξίλαος. Φ LXXX. σ 70]
91. Δομνῖνος Πλαταιῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος [P 89. Φ LXXXI. σ 71]
92. Θεοδόσιος Μασταύρων [P 90. Φ LXXXII. σ 72]
93. Κυριακὸς Αἰγάης [P 91. Φ LXXXIII. σ 73]
94. Φλαβιανὸς Ἀτραμυττίου [P 92. Φ LXXXIV]
95. Κυριακὸς Λεβέδου [P 93. Φ LXXXV. σ 74]
96. Λεόντιος Μαγνησίας Μαιάνδρου [P 94. Φ LXXXVI. σ 75]
97. Εὐτρόπιος Περγάμου τῆς Ἀσίας [P 95. Φ LXXXVII. σ 76]
98. Γεννάδιος Τηίων [P 96. Φ LXXXVIII. σ 77]
99. Ὀλύμπιος Εὐάζων [P 97. Φ LXXXIX. σ 78]
100. Μάξιμος Τράλλεων [P 98. Φ XC. σ 79]
101. Ἰουλιανὸς Ἁπαίπων [P 99. Φ XCI. σ 80]
102. Χρυσάνθιος Βάγης [P 100 δαγη. Φ XCII balgenus. σ 81]
103. Πολύκαρπος *Ταβάλων [P 101 γαβάλων. Φ XCIII Gabalenus. σ 82 qblwn]
104. Παύλος Τριπόλεως Λυδίας [P 102. Φ XCIV. σ 83]
105. Μελίφθογγος Ἰουλιουπόλεως [P 103]
106. Ὀνησίφορος Ἰκονίου [P 104 (*post* 104 *sequitur iterum* 56); cf. σ p. 10, 14–15]
107. Λογγῖνος Χερσονήσου [P 105]
108. Εὐδόξιος Βοσπόρου [P 106]
109. Τιμόθεος Πριμουπόλεως τῆς Παμφυλίας [P 107]
110. Petrus ep. Chersonissensis (Πέτρος Χερρονήσου) faciens uerba et pro Cyriaco ep. Heracliae Thraciensis [Φ XCVI. σ 84]
111. Ὀλύμπιος Σῳζοπόλεως [Φ XCVII + prouinciae Pisidiae. σ 85]
112. Παυλῖνος Θεοδοσιουπόλεως [σ 86]
113. Florentius ep. Tenedu et Pordoselenae et littorum [Φ XCVIII]
114. Bassus ep. Sion [Φ C]
115. Danihel ep. ciuitatis quondam Cadusinae [i.e., Δανιὴλ ἐπ. πόλεως Κάδων, a. 451] sanctae dei ecclesiae [Φ CI]
116. Symmach⟨i⟩us ep. attulae [i.e., Ἀττούδων] sanctae dei ecclesiae [Φ CII]
117. Philetus ep. sanctae dei ecclesiae quae est cerassiae [i.e., Κερατάπων?] [Φ CIII]
118. Epiphanius ep. Colassaenorum [Φ (cod. Y) CIIIa]
119. Γεννάδιος Κνώσσου [Φ CXXXII = CXL. σ 87]
120. Μαρτύριος Γορτύνης Κρήτης [Φ CXXXI = CXXXIX. σ 88]
121. Μάρας Διονυσιάδος [Φ CV (Maris ep. ciu. Dionysiae). σ 89]
122. Ἀννιανὸς Καπετωλιάδος [σ 90]
123. Θεόπεμπτος Καβάσων [P 108. Φ CVII. σ 91]
124. Καλοσίριος Ἀρσινοίτου [P 109. Φ CVIII. σ 92]
125. Ἰωάννης Ἡφαίστου [P 110. Φ CIX. σ 93]
126. Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλέως [P 111. Φ CX. σ 94]
127. Ἰσαὰκ Ἐλεαρχίας [P 112. Φ CXa]

128. Γεμελλῖνος Ἐρυθροῦ [P 113. Φ CXI. σ 95]
129. Ἀπολλώνιος Τάνεως [P 114. Φ CXII. σ 96]
130. Γεννάδιος Ἑρμουπόλεως μεγάλης [P 115. Φ CXIII. σ 97]
131. Κῦρος Βαβυλῶνος [P 116. Φ CXIV. σ 98]
132. Ἀθανάσιος Βουσίριδος [P 117. Φ CXV. σ 99]
133. Θεόφιλος Κλεοπατρίδος [P 118. Φ CXVII. σ 101]
134. Πασμήιος Παράλου [P 119. Φ CXVIII. σ 102]
135. Φωτεινὸς Τευχείρας [P 120. Φ CXVI = CXIX. σ 100]
136. Σώσιος Σῳζούσης [P 121. Φ CXX. σ 103]
137. Θεόδουλος Τησιλᾶ [P 122. Φ CXXI. σ 104]
138. Θεόδωρος Βάρκης [P 123. Φ CXXII. σ 105]
139. Ῥοῦφος Κυρήνης [P 124. Φ CXXIII. σ 106]
140. Ζήνων Ῥινοκουρούρων [P 125. Φ CXXIV. σ 107]
141. Λούκιος Ζύγρων [P 126. Φ CXXV. σ 108]
142. Αὐσόνιος Σεβεννύτου [P 127. Φ CXXVI. σ 109]
143. Ἰσαὰκ Ταύα [P 128. Φ CXXVII. σ 110]
144. Φιλόκαλος Ζαγυλέων [P 129. Φ CXXVIII. σ 111 ζαγυέλων]
145. Ἡσαίας Ἑρμουπόλεως μικρᾶς [P 130. Φ CXXIX. σ 112]
146. Βαρσουμᾶς πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης [P 131. Φ CXXXIII. σ 113]
147. Λογγῖνος πρεσβύτερος ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον Δωροθέου ἐπισκόπου Νεοκαισαρείας [P 132. Φ CXXXIV]
148. Ἄνθιμος πρεσβύτερος ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον Πατρικίου ἐπ. Τυάνων Καππαδοκίας β̄ [P 133. Φ CXXXV]
149. Ἀρίστων πρεσβύτερος ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον Εὐνομίου ἐπ. Νικομηδείας [P 134. Φ CXXXVI]
150. Ὀλύμπιος πρεσβύτερος ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον Καλογήρου ἐπ. Κλαυδιουπόλεως τῆς Ποντικῆς [P 135. Φ CXXXVII]
Ἴλαρος διάκονος Ῥώμης
Δουλκίτιος νοτάριος Ῥώμης.

My reconstruction of the original list contains all traceable members of the Robber-Council. Before I can make use of the list, however, I should examine the few cases where doubt exists concerning the identity of bishops or bishoprics:

No. 28. Nysa, the bishopric of Musonios, was that of Asia, as we know from the lists of Chalcedon.

No. 48. Helias of Adrianopolis was a Lycian bishop, as is shown by Φ XLI, where he is represented by the Lycian metropolitan Romanos. Some scholars think they have found a reference to his bishopric in the writings of Maximus Confessor,[46] where he says: Ἀνάγνωθι Μεθοδίου τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος καὶ Ὀλυμπίου Ἀδριανουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου τῆς Λυκίας τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ [Ὠριγένους] ὑπ' αὐτῶν περὶ ἀναστάσεως γραφέντα. Valesius[47] changed καὶ Ὀλυμπίου to Ὀλύμπου and deleted ὑπ' αὐτῶν, for he supposed that Adrianopolis was another name for the Lycian city of Olympos ("*quae et Adrianopolis*"), and that the passage refers to *one* pamphlet against Origenes, viz. that by Methodios of Olympos. But Olympos and Adrianopolis must have been two different bishoprics, for that of Olympos was held by Aristokritos in 431

[46] Maximus Confessor, *Scholia ad Dionysium Areopagitam de ecclesiæ hierarchia*, Migne, *P. G.*, IV, col. 176B.

[47] H. Valesius *ad* Euseb. *H. E.*, VI, 24, reprinted in Migne, *P. G.*, XX, col. 578D not. 50.

and 451, while that of the Lycian Adrianopolis was held by Helias, the only known bishop of the city at about the same time, i.e., in 449.[48] Theodor Zahn,[49] Erwin Preuschen[50] and, following the latter, Eduard Schwartz[51] changed this passage by inserting a name from another quotation from Maximus Confessor:[52] *Ἄμμων ὁ Ἀδριανίτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀναστάσεως κατὰ Ὠριγένους.* Schwartz gives the text as follows: *Ἀνάγνωθι Μεθοδίου τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος [καὶ] Ὀλυμπίου <καὶ Ἄμμωνος> Ἀδριανουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου τῆς Λυκίας*, and cites this emended passage as further evidence of the Lycian bishopric of Adrianopolis. But his alteration is not justified, for the Egyptian Ammon, who is mentioned as member of the council of Constantinople of 394 and in another connection in 399,[53] was bishop of the Thracian Adrianopolis[54] and not of the Lycian city of that name. As it is hardly likely that two pamphlets *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* against Origenes were written by two bishops (Ammon and "Olympios") of two different cities both called Adrianopolis, I think that the passage by Maximus Confessor must be emended as follows: *Ἀνάγνωθι Μεθοδίου τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος καὶ Ὀλυμπίου* (or *Ὀλύμπου*) *ἐπισκόπου τῆς Λυκίας <καὶ Ἄμμωνος> Ἀδριανουπόλεως τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῶν περὶ ἀναστάσεως γραφέντα*, and accordingly cannot be used as a proof of the existence of a Lycian Adrianopolis. Ramsay's[55] identification of the Adrianopolis in Lycia with Olbasa-Adriane in Pamphylia is of little value. Henderson[56] does not mention a Lycian city called after Hadrian. There is not possibility of locating this city or of establishing its identity with another city in Lycia.

No. 74. Eduard Schwartz[57] considers Theodosios to be the bishop of Amathūs in Cyprus. But as Theodosios is mentioned among the Palestinian bishops, he was presumably bishop of the Amathūs in Palestina II, as was hitherto assumed.[58]

No. 85. Sebasteia (Sebastē), Konstanti(n)os's bishopric, was probably the one in Palaestina I, as is generally supposed,[59] for his name is also placed among the Palestinian bishops.

[48] It would be far-fetched to suppose that the Aristokritos of 451 A.D. was not the one of 431, and that Helias had been bishop of the bishopric in the meantime.

[49] Th. Zahn, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, VIII (1886), 19, n. 1.

[50] E. Preuschen *apud* A. v. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, I, I (1893), 473.

[51] Ed. Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 82, s. v. *Ἀδριανουπόλεως* (3).

[52] Maximus Confessor, *Scholia ad Dionysii Areopagitae de coelesti hierarchia*, Migne, *P. G.*, IV, col. 65C.

[53] E. Gerland and V. Laurent, "Les listes conciliaires," *Corpus Notitiarum Episcopatuum Ecclesiae Orientalis Graecae*, vol. I, fasc. I (Kadiköy, 1936), p. 8, No. 12. Palladius, *Dialogus de vita Ioannis Chrysostomi*, p. 83, 13, ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton (Cambridge, 1928).

[54] Palladius, *loc. cit.*: *ἀπὸ Θράκης Ἄμμωνος τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου.* Cf. E. V[enables], *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, I, 101. A. Lehaut, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastique*, II (1914), col. 1310, s. v. *Ammon* No. 9.

[55] W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), p. 421. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, I (1740), col. 1049–50, makes even Olympios bishop of the Pisidian Adrianopolis.

[56] B. W. Henderson, *The life and principate of the emperor Hadrian* (London [1923]), p. 85. 292 (e).

[57] E. Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 83.

[58] M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, III, col. 715 f. S. Vailhé, "Amathus (2)" *Dict. d'Hist. et de Géogr. ecclés.*, II (1914), col. 983.

[59] M. Le Quien, *ibid.*, III, col. 652. E. Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 101.

No. 87. According to Cyril of Scythopolis,[60] Bakatha was apparently situated in Palaestina I. This statement is corroborated by the fact that Gregory of Bakatha (Βακάθας) and Barachos of Bakatha (ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Βακάναν, read Βακάθας)[61] attended the councils of Jerusalem, in which only Palestinian bishops participated, in 518 and 536 A.D. On the other hand, there are two pieces of evidence pointing to Bakatha having been in Arabia: in a letter from Pope Martinus I to Bishop John of Philadelphia in Arabia,[62] dated 649 A.D., Bishop Antonios of Bakatha is referred to jointly with two other bishops of the province Arabia, viz. Theodore of Esbūs and Peter of Adraa, as being Monotheletes,[63] and secondly, according to S. Epiphanios of Salamis, Bakatha was a μητροκωμία Ἀραβίας τῆς Φιλαδελφίας.[64] Probably the same bishopric is referred to in each case; for had there been two, the Arabian bishopric Bakatha would have been listed in the *Notitia Antiochena*, published in 570 A.D. Some scholars have even placed Bakatha in Palaestina III, for an alleged "ecclesiastical *Notitia*," actually George of Cyprus's brief description of the Eastern Empire (v. 1056, ed. Gelzer), mentions a place there called Μητροκωμία, supposing it to be the μητροκωμία Bakatha of S. Epiphanios.[65] This deduction is obviously erroneous.[66]

No. 107. Longinos was bishop of Chersonesos (Cherson) in the Crimea, while Peter (No. 110) represented the Chersonesos of the province of Europa. The omission of my Nos. 107–109 (= P 105–107) in σ can be explained by the supposition that the copyist skipped from the first to the second Chersonesos; perhaps this also applied to Φ.

No. 112. Theodosiopolis, the bishopric of Paulinos, was that in the province of Asia (also called Perperene), as we know from the lists of 451.

No. 117. As Philetus of Cerassia is here placed between the bishops of Attuda and Kolassai (Κολασσάη), he can hardly have been the bishop of Κέρασα or Κήρασσα in Lydia,[67] where two years later Μενεκράτης Κιράσσων was bishop. The name Cerassia must be a corruption of Κεράταπα (or Χαιράταπα), where Philetos was still bishop in 451.

Let us now examine how many members of the "Robber-Council" participated in the council of Chalcedon two years later. Among those who did not participate, there were some well-known personalities whose absence is easily explained: Dioskoros (No.

[60] Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, 73, ed. E. Schwartz (*Texte und Untersuchungen z. Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit.*, II, Leipzig, 1939), p. 177, 20: Barachos of Bakatha, at the request of Patriarch Peter, built a church to the Virgin, which was completed in 543 A.D.

[61] Mansi, VIII, col. 1074A. 1174C. Le Quien, *Or. Christ.*, III, col. 761–2.

[62] Regarding the representation of the vacant see of Jerusalem by John of Philadelphia, cf. R. de Vaux, *Revue biblique*, XLVII (1938), 255.

[63] Mansi, X, col. 813D; a letter to Antonios himself, written after his conversion to orthodoxy, *ibid.*, col. 817.

[64] Epiphanius, *Panarion*, ed. K. Holl, II, 213, 8 (*Anakephal.*); 358, 7 (*haeres.* 58, 1, 2).

[65] Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*, III, col. 761 f.

[66] F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II (Paris, 1938), p. 178, identifies Metrokomia with aṭ-Ṭafīle, and suggests (p. 201, n. 5) that Bakatha was Ṣafūt, "qui commande la Buqeï'a entre Salṭ et 'Ammān."

[67] As assumes Ed. Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 92, s. v. Κιράσσων.

1), who was deposed on October 13, 451; Julius or Julianus (of Puteoli, No. 2), the Pope's representative, and the two other papal legates (without number at the end of P), who had returned to Rome; Domnos of Antioch (No. 4), who was deposed in 449 and preferred to accept an indemnity in 451; and finally Flavian of Constantinople (No. 5), who died at the beginning of 450. Apart from these, all but 26 metropolitans and bishops, who attended the council of 449, were present or represented in Chalcedon. These 26 are:

METROPOLITANS

10. Kyros of Aphrodisias
11. Erasistratos of Korinthos
38. Kandidianos of Antiocheia (Pisidia)
39. Stephanos of Anazarbos

BISHOPS

48. Helias of Adrianupolis (Lykia)
52. Antonios of Lychnidos
62. Hermogenes of Kassandreia
63. Lukas of Beroia (Makedonia)
64. Diogenianos of Remesiana
66. Uranios of Himeria
72. Anastasios of Areopolis
74. Theodosios of Amathūs
75. Paulos of Maïuma
78. Baruchios of Sozusa (Palestine)
82. Dionysios of Sykamazōn
83. Kaïumas of Phainō
85. Konstantios of Sebaste(ia)
87. Alypios of Bakatha
90. Auxolaos of the Saracens
92. Theodosios of Mastaura
95. Kyriakos of Lebedos [68]
102. Chrysanthios of Bagē
107. Longinos of Cherson(esos)
108. Eudoxios of Bosporos
109. Timotheos of Primupolis (= Aspendos, Pamphylia)
114. Bassos of Sia.

In none of these 26 cases do we know the reason for their absence in 451, but it is not likely that any of them were deposed. Only four [69] of the 41 metropolitans [70] and 22 of the 104 ordinary

[68] His successor Julian, who was bishop of Lebedos in 451 A.D., was present at the *Latrocinium* as one of the two secretaries of Stephen of Ephesos whom those of Dioskoros tore away the tablets and effaced their notices ("Acta Chalced., I, 130," *Acta Conc. Oec.*, vol. II, t. I, pars I, p. 87, 35).

[69] Nos. 10. 11. 38. 39.

[70] Nos. 6–11. 13. 15. 17–24. 26. 27. 29. 32–39. 47. 49–51. 54. 55. 77. 106. 110b [= 37a]. 120. 147–150.

bishops,[71] who were present in 449 A.D., fail to appear in the list of 451 A.D. The four metropolitans, who were present at Ephesos but not at Chalcedon, and four [72] of the 22 bishops had already been replaced, while the bishoprics of the other 18 were not represented in 451.[73]

Whereas 23 Egyptian bishoprics were represented at the *Latrocinium*,[74] only 19 were represented at Chalcedon.[75] In 9 cases the same bishops attended both councils. Of the 14 bishops who failed to attend, two (viz., those of Kabasa and Erythron) had already been replaced, while the bishoprics of the other twelve [76] were not represented at all. The 10 newcomers at the council of Chalcedon were sent by bishoprics not represented in Ephesos. The small proportion of Egyptian bishops at the council of Chalcedon is due to the fact, that they were adherents of Dioskoros, who was deposed on October 13; this adherence and Dioskoros' popularity in Egypt were the reasons of their disappearance from the council after the first session. It is for this reason that I have dealt with the Egyptian bishops separately.

III

The Original List of the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.)

There exists a number of lists of the members of the council of Chalcedon, some of them being more or less complete,[77] some of

[71] Nos. 12. 14. 16. 25. 28. 30. 31. 40–46. 48. 52. 53. 56–76. 78–105. 107–119. 121–145.

[72] Nos. 90. 92. 95. 114.

[73] Besides attending the council of 449, three of these 18 bishops (Nos. 107–109) had attended the *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα* in November 448.

[74] Nos. 123–145.

[75] Nos. 129. 132–134. 137. 138. 142. 143. 145 = *Act. Conc. Oec.*, t. II. vol. I, pars I, p. 59, Nos. 142. 144. 147. 145. 148a. 148b. 151. 152. 154. As to Nos. 137–138 (of 449 A.D.) = 148a–b (of 451), in my opinion the text should be completed according to the Latin version and read as follows:

148a. *Θεοδούλου <Τησιλᾶ*
148b. *Θεοδώρου Βάρκης> Πενταπόλεως.*

Incidentally this *Theodorus Pentapolitanus* is also to be found in the list of the *Collectio Prisca* (*Act. Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. II, pars II, p. 44 [136], 30, No. 145). Schwartz identifies him wrongly with Theodoros of Tripolis in Phoenicia (6, 9^{117}).

[76] Four of these twelve (Nos. 125–127. 143) had attended the synod of Ephesos in 431.

[77] PL I. III. IV. VI. ("PL" stands for the list of those present in the . . .

them greatly abbreviated.[78] Eduard Schwartz has proved [79] that all the lists found in the Greek acts of this council, with the exception of two which deal with the second session,[80] are based on one particular list,[81] the most complete in existence. This is the list of those who signed the minutes of the solemn sixth session of October 25, during which the definition of faith of the synod was approved. We shall refer to this list, which Schwartz calls SL 6,9, simply as *s*. The shorter lists enumerate no more than 53 or, if Berytos is placed among them, 54 metropolitans and four bishops, viz. three *ἐπαρχιῶται* of Syria I and Eusebios of Dorylaion, and then follows the remark: *καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς συνόδου συγκροτηθείσης*. One of these lists, the one of the so-called 19th session,[82] was added, according to Schwartz, in the beginning of the seventh century. Furthermore Schwartz has demonstrated that the list of those signing the acts of the second session is without value, while that of those present at this session is independent of all other lists and thus of some interest.

Besides these lists, contained in the report of the council's transactions, there is another preserved in the Syriac (Σ) and Latin (Δ) translations [82a] of the original *Corpus canonum* of Antioch.[83] I shall in future refer to this list as ΣΔ. As in the case of the lists of Nicaea and Constantinople, the Chalcedonian list of the *Corpus canonum* is arranged "geographically," i.e., the metropolitans and bishops of the same province are grouped together. This list differs from *s* in many respects, but more especially in the total number of bishops given. While *s*, according to the numeration of Schwartz, contains 452 or rather, as we shall show, 457 names,

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session). SL VI ("SL" stands for the list of those who signed the minutes of the . . . session).

[78] PL V. VIII–X. XII. XIV–XVII.

[79] Ed. Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 1 ff.

[80] PL II and SL II.

[81] The "Einheitsliste" SL 6, 9; *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars II, p. 141 [337]–155 [351].

[82] Actually that of October 20, held between the "fourth" and "fifth" sessions, but not numbered in the minutes.

[82a] Σ ed. Schulthess, *Abh. Gött. Ges. Wiss.*, NF X, 2, pp. 130–144; Δ ed. Schwartz, *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. II, pars II, p. 65 [157]–77 [169].

[83] The two later Greek collections of canons, the *συναγωγή* of 50 *τίτλοι* by John Scholastikos (about 550 A.D.) and the collection of 14 *τίτλοι* (7th–9th century), which have been radically changed and rearranged, do not contain any lists. Cf. the editions by N. V. Beneševič, "Ioannis Scholastici synagoga L titulorum ceteraque eiusdem opera iuridica," I (Munich, 1937), *Abhandl. d. Baier. Akademie der Wissensch.*, N. F., Heft XIV. Idem, *Kanoničeski sbornik XIV titulov so vtoroi četverti VII věka do 883 goda*, S. Petersb., 1905.

the Syriac list (Σ) includes only 362, and the Latin (Δ) 353 names. Schwartz, who has thoroughly examined both ΣΔ and *s* and compared them with each other, has come to the conclusion that, like *s*, ΣΔ is reliable and therefore useful; for where one of them shows an excess of entries in comparison with the other, it can almost always be proved or at least assumed with good reason, that these names "were personally or through representatives affixed to the minutes of the proceedings during the synod." [84] Thus *s* and ΣΔ are based upon equally authentic records, which were probably available only at the time of the council, and, like the lists of the council of 449 A.D., complete each other.

Nevertheless Schwartz insists emphatically that the two lists, *s* and ΣΔ, must have been compiled and published quite independently of each other.[85] He bases this view chiefly on the fact that each contains a number of names which are missing in the other, and that *s* includes an addition, an appendix of 109 bishops (actually 114, for we must add Nos. 390a. 396a. 397a. 425bis. 426bis, as will be shown below). These bishops were not present at the council, but were represented by their metropolitans, who signed the acts for them after the sixth session, but before July 18, 452. Although most of these later signatures are missing in ΣΔ, not all of them are. The fact that some of these signatures are found in ΣΔ is for Schwartz sufficient proof that this list was compiled independently from *s*.

Despite Schwartz's insistence, we find that he produces no convincing evidence of his assertion that the two lists were compiled independently of each other. I find that his own statements contradict it. There is every reason to believe that the list, on which the Greek original of ΣΔ is based, had no appendix. Exactly when

[84] Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 55: "Ueberblickt man das Material im ganzen, so findet sich kein Grund, daran zu zweifeln, dass die in ΣΔ erhaltenen, in SL ausgelassenen Unterschriften wirklich während der Synode persönlich oder durch Vertreter geleistet sind."

[85] E. Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 22, n. 2: "Das eine ist jedenfalls klar: die Liste ΣΔ ist von SL unabhängig"; p. 57: "Eine Tatsache ist sicher und unwiderleglich: die ausdrücklich nach den mit Namen genannten Provinzen geordnete Liste ΣΔ ist von der Einheitsliste der Aktenpublikation unabhängig"; p. 58: "Dass die Einheitsliste diese Stücke aus der offiziellen entlehnt haben sollte, ist ebenso undenkbar wie das Umgekehrte: der Nachweis, dass die beiden Listen voneinander unabhängig sind, kann durch die Beobachtung eines nur teilweise zutreffenden *consensus* nicht umgestossen werden."

the appendix was added to *s* is not known; it may be it was added after the 17th session, the date of which, although not found in the minutes, was probably October 30.[86] For in the list of this session (17,9) we find under Nos. 183–185 a much shorter appendix, partly identical with the appendix of the sixth session, containing a number of bishops who were represented by their metropolitans and whose names appear in the more complete appendix which we have mentioned. The shorter appendix includes only the bishops of three provinces, those of Hellespontos, Augustoeuphratesia and Phrygia Pakatiane, but it is just possible that it was once more complete and contained all the names found in the other appendix. If these two appendices were really identical, which is probable, it would mean that the metropolitans who approved, in the name of the suffragan bishops they represented, the resolutions concerning the privileges of the see of Constantinople which were passed in the 17th session, added these names subsequently to the end of the list of signatures of the minutes of the sixth session, thereby indicating their approval of the definition of faith reached at that session. In any event, the appendix of *s* must have been added before July 18, 452, for the decree of Emperor Markianos, issued on this day, already speaks of 520 bishops,[87] this number certainly including the 114 bishops enumerated in the appendix.

We have already pointed out that some of the bishops (about 30) mentioned in the appendix to *s* and represented *in absentia* by their metropolitans, are also to be found in ΣΔ, where most of them are listed as represented either by their metropolitans or by other bishops. This fact, which greatly puzzled Eduard Schwartz, must in my opinion be explained as follows: none of these 30 bishops personally participated in the council, but each had on his own account asked either his metropolitan or a fellow-bishop to represent him. Afterwards, presumably at the request of the Emperor, some metropolitans undertook to represent several absentee suffragan bishops, and it was then that the appendix was added to *s*. Thus isolated cases of represented bishops figured in

[86] Ed. Schwartz, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1930, p. 614; *Byzantinische Zeitschr.*, XXXIV (1934), 132. Cf. *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars III, p. XXII.

[87] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars III, p. 122 [481], 34. Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 11, n. 1; p. 56.

the list, before the appendix was added. Probably the compiler of *s* noticed that some of the bishops in the appendix were already in the original list he used as source, and to avoid duplication he omitted their names in the body of his list. For it made no difference whether he placed Matronianos of Pompeiopolis (*s* 349) or Flaccus (Plakkos) of Gerasa (*s* 427), represented by their metropolitans (Σ 49. Δ 43 and Σ 98. Δ 92), in the body of his list or in the appendix, nor did he think it important to indicate that Salustios of Korykos was represented by his fellow-bishop Philippos of Adana (Σ 55. Δ 49) and not by his metropolitan (*s* 348). We must also suppose that after such names as Philippos of Ankyra Sidera (Σ 348. Δ 337), the two Mesopotamian bishops Eusebios of Ingila (Σ 120. Δ 113) and Kaïumas of Suphanene (Σ 121. Δ 114), and Maximinos (in 458 A.D. *Maximus*) of Zo<r>zila in Pisidia (Σ 311. Δ 302), in the original list there followed a phrase indicating that they were represented by their metropolitan or a fellow-bishop. For although this phrase does not appear in ΣΔ, there is no doubt that it was added to the original list, for we know from the appendix to *s* that these bishops were represented by their metropolitans.[88] Besides, as Eduard Schwartz has already pointed out, cases of representation are not very carefully indicated in ΣΔ; he cites nine instances, where mention is omitted.[89]

In the appendix of *s* is stated that the metropolitan of Pisidia signed for the bishops Eutropios and Musonios, but this is perhaps an error, for Eutropios and Musonios are probably identical with the bishops of Adada (*s* 282) and Limena (*s* 295) who signed personally. There are besides two other bishops whose names are included in the appendix, who affixed their own signatures (*s* 424 = *s* 185. *s* 425 = *s* 188).

We cannot quite understand Schwartz's explanation of the "origin" of the appendix. According to him, the appendix was added to the main list in order to reach a total of 520 members of the council.[90] But there is no reason why this number should have been 520. It is quite conceivable that in the case of the council of

[88] s 390a (see below). 396. 397. 402.

[89] Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 55.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 56: ". . . die offizielle Zahl 520 sollte soweit erreicht werden, dass sie als zulässige Abrundung gelten konnte."

Nicaea tradition fixed the total of the participants at 318, though actually it was far smaller, so that it might be the same as that of the 318 servants of Abraham. But in the case of Chalcedon, there is no apparent *isopsephic* significance in the number 520 nor do we find any hint that this number had a metaphorical significance. Moreover in later times, when it became customary to seek a further meaning in the number of the fathers of Chalcedon, it was increased from 520 to 636, i.e. twice the number of the bishops at Nicaea (we also find 630, $\overline{\chi\lambda}$, which may perhaps be an abbreviation of the name Χαλκηδών, and 636, $\overline{\chi\lambda\varsigma}$, may be derived from Χαλκηδόνος). In view of the fact that we can give no explanation of the number 520, it may have been the actual total of those who attended, or were represented at, the council of Chalcedon. Schwartz points out that Rusticus gives 519 ($\overline{\Phi\mathrm{I}\Theta}$) as the number of bishops who attended this council; but he thinks that Rusticus arrived at this figure arbitrarily, and that therefore this does not represent the actual number of bishops who participated in the council.[91]

If we assume that as many as 520 ecclesiastics actually participated or were represented in the council, what elements besides metropolitans and bishops did this number include? The metropolitans and bishops alone fell short of 520. But if we add the names of the priests, deacons, readers, chorbishops &c., who also acted as representatives of bishops, we arrive at the number of 520. Needless to say, a member of the council in his own right, who also represented another and consequently appeared twice in the list, only counted as one.[92]

Frequently the bishops represented, but not actually present, were counted in the total number of members. This was even done in cases where the number of the absentees who registered their assent by letter was large in comparison with that of those present. Evidence of this in connection with the synod of Serdica is found in the writings of St. Athanasios.[93] Generally most of the repre-

[91] Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 11, n. 1: "ΦΙΘ p. 434, 7 wird erreicht dadurch, dass Vertretungen doppelt gezählt werden."

[92] E.g. Apragmonios of Tios, who signed (*s* 36) for his absent metropolitan and (*s* 164) for himself.

[93] Athanasius, *Werke*, ed. H. G. Opitz, t. II, pars I, p. 132, 7; cf. Athanas., "Hist. Arian. 28," Migne, *P. G.*, XXV, col. 725A. Opitz, *loc. cit.*, p. 123.

sentatives were bishops who were also members of the council in their own right and thus already figured in the number of those present. It was only one step further then to include, in the total, the representatives, who were not members in their own right, not being bishops. This was apparently done in the case of the council of Chalcedon.

Let us now see if the total number of the members of this council, given by Rusticus, was reached according to this procedure. We find that Rusticus is often careless; in addition to many other errors, he frequently counts the same person twice, as the following enumeration shows (Rusticus used Greek numbers, which are often missing, but can be guessed from the context): ΙΒ = Ο. [ΜΒ] = ΡϹ. [ΜΔ] = ΡΞΒ. ΞΑ = ΤΜΑ. Οϛ = ΟΔ. ΡΙΓ = ΡΙϛ. ΡΙΕ = ΚΓ. ΣΜΔ = ΣΜΒ. ΣΞΕ = ΣΞϛ. ΤΚΔ = ΤΙΖ. No. 285 without Greek cipher in Schwartz's edition is = ΤΚΖ. The cipher ΤΛΘ is twice employed for two different bishops of Adrianopolis and Lesbos (Nos. 293 and 297) of the same name Florentius. ΤΜΕ = ΤΜΓ. ΤΜΖ = ΤΜΒ. ΤΜΘ = ΤΜΓ. ΤΝΓ = ΤΜΓ. ΤΟϛ = ΤΟΗ. ΤϹΓ = ΙΕ. Υ = Κϛ. Rusticus considers ΥΒ *Curico*, var. *Cyriaco*, i.e., the Cilician city Korykos, to be a personal name and therefore gives it a separate number. ΥΔ = Ν. ΥΙΒ = ΚΖ. ΥΙϛ = ΝΑ. ΥΚϛ = ΚΒ. ΥΛϛ = ΜΘ. ΥΝ = ΛΕ. ΥΝΑ = ΤΜΒ. ΥΝΔ = ΛΓ. [ΥΞ] = [ΛΔ]. ΥΞΑ = ΝΒ. ΥΟ = ΙΑ. ΥϹΓ = ΣΚΖ. ΥϹΔ = ΚΗ. ΦΖ = Λ. ΦΙΔ = ΛΑ.

We see from these cases that Rusticus was quite thoughtless in numbering his entries. Therefore his total does not help us to ascertain whether the actual number was 520. But this does not affect the possibility that 520 is the correct total.

The supposition that *s* and ΣΔ were based on a common source, which I henceforth call Γ, is supported by another fact, to which Schwartz, however, has attributed no importance. We often find series of names, varying in length, arranged in exactly the same order in both lists, but here and there a single name from such a series is omitted in *s*. Furthermore we sometimes find these missing names in other Greek lists of this council exactly or almost in the same place as in ΣΔ; so it is very probable that they figured already in Γ. Schwartz [94] attributes the existence of these series to the fact, that the compilers of *s* and ΣΔ independently made use

[94] Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 60.

of a catalogue of bishoprics arranged in that order. This explanation would account for the order of the bishoprics, but not for the correctness of the names of the bishops occupying these bishoprics in 451 A.D.; other evidence generally establishes this correctness.

As an example of the above-mentioned similarity between *s* and ΣΔ, I add an almost identical series appearing in both:

(GALATIA II)

s 38. Σ 170. Δ 163. Θεόκτιστος Πισινουντίων
s 171. Σ 171. Δ 164. Ἐλπίδιος τῶν Θέρμων
s 172. Σ 172. Δ 165. Ἀκύλας Εὐδοξιάδος
s 173. Σ 173. Δ 166. Μυστήριος Ἀμορίου
s 174. Σ 174. Δ167. Κυριακὸς Τροκνάδων
— Σ 175. Δ168. Πίος Πετηνίσσων
s 175. Σ 176. Δ 169. Λογγῖνος Ὀρκιστοῦ.

It is clear that Pios of Petenissoi must have been left out before No. 175 in *s*. In another series, that of the Lycian bishops (*s* 219–228. Σ 277–287. Δ 268–278), Kratianos of Panormos has obviously been omitted in *s* between Nos. 225 and 226. This bishop also figures in a list of the second session,[95] but in this case he is placed after the No. 226.[96] We are of course only able to ascertain the exact place of an omission, if the whole series of bishops of a province or at least the names before and after the name concerned is identical in both lists. Schwartz refers to the existence of such almost identical series in *s* and ΣΔ. But taking into account only those provinces, in which the similarity is especially obvious, he underestimates the frequency of the occurrence, merely remarking[97] that "a few groups show the same order of suffragan bishops." There are however other groups where the similarity is less apparent either because the group is very small, or because its order is slightly different, as in the case of Galatia I and Pamphylia Pergensis. Thus we should add these to the provinces already mentioned by Schwartz as well as the small groups of Bithynia, Galatia II, Armenia I and II, the Island province, Cyprus and Kappadokia II. We then obtain out of a possible total of 300,

[95] "Acta Chalced. II, 97 [121]," *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars II, p. 37 [233], 26.

[96] And not after No. 225, the bishop of Kaunos, as would have been correct, as Panormos was the harbor of Kaunos. *Stadiasmus maris magni*, § 517 (262), ed. R. Helm, *Hippolytos Werke*, IV (Leipzig, 1929), p. 125. Bürchner, *R. E.*, XI, col. 85, s. v. Καυνίων Πάνορμος, and col. 87, s. v. *Kaunos*.

[97] Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 57: . . . "dass einige wenige Listen die gleiche Reihenfolge der Suffraganbischöfe aufweisen."

120 names, the order of whose entries coincides. The above-mentioned 300 exclude about 50 metropolitans, whose names are arranged differently in *s* and ΣΔ. It is true that the greater part of the names are differently arranged. But still in a number of cases we are able by means of comparing other lists to indicate the exact or approximative place where the name was passed over. Sometimes it is possible to fix it merely according to some outward characteristic, in other cases we can try to discover it by more or less plausible combinations. So only a small number of entries will remain, whose exact place in the original list cannot be determined. This fact strongly supports the assumption that a complete original list must have existed. Besides this assumption would eliminate all Schwartz's doubts as to whether ΣΔ is older or "more official" than *s*; for of course Γ must have contained all the entries which are now missing either in *s* or ΣΔ.

Another argument in favor of assuming the existence of this common source Γ is the fact, that the Latin *Collectio Prisca*[98] contains a list (P), in which besides names figuring in *s* there are three which exist only in ΣΔ: P 124.125.148 = Σ 14.276.118. Δ 15.267.111. It is not probable that the compiler of this careless list collected the names from two different sources; he certainly found these three names in his original, viz., the presumed list Γ. P is very fragmentary, containing no more than 165 names (while *s* has 457, Σ 362, and Δ 353), i.e., less than a third of the total number.[99]

I here add my reconstruction of Γ containing (together with the appendix) 521 names. Here again I adjoin my own numeration to that of *s* or, where this omits names, to those of Σ and Δ, as they appear in the editions of Schwartz and Schulthess.

[98] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. II, pars II, p. 44 [136]–45 [137].

[99] In his edition Schwartz adds the corresponding number of *s* (SL 6, 9) to the names of P. In a few cases, where he assumes certain corruptions, I do not agree with him. I see in John of Tripolis (P 117) the successor of Paul of Tripolis in Lydia, who is mentioned in 458 A.D. (*Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. V, p. 57, 39) and was apparently his rival bishop in 451 A.D. Concerning P 145 see above, p. 41, n. 75. The entry "Bassianus chorepiscopus" should be read "Bassianus <Mopsuhestiae per Sophronium> chorepiscopum" (*s* 111. Σ 61. Δ 55). I suppose that P 118, "Rusticianus chorepiscopus," was the African bishop Resti(tu)tianus (*s* 338). To P 150 "Paternus chorepiscopus" no number is added, but Schwartz saw later (*Prosopographia*, p. 70), that this was the name of the representative of Iordanes of Abila (*s* 126), known from *actio* XVII, 9[43].

CONCILIVM CHALCEDONENSE a. 451 [ACTIO VI die 25 mens. Octob.]

Γ = catalogus Graecus qui sequitur restitutus
s = catalogus subscriptionum actionis VI (SL 6, 9) sec. numeros Schwartzii
M = cod. Venetus 555 s. XI
B^a = cod. Vindobon. hist. gr. 27 s. XII
B^b = cod. Vatican. 831 s. XV
$Φ^a$ = versio antiqua
$Φ^c$ = versio antiqua correcta
$Φ^r$ = versionis antiquae correctae editio Rustici
Σ = catalogi in ordinem sec. provincias redacti versio Syriaca
Δ = eiusdem catalogi versio latina
P = catalogus sec. Priscam q. d. versionem
II = catalogus episcoporum in actione altera praesentium (PL II = 2, 2)

1 <SANCTVS LEO DEPVTATVS>
2 [s 1] Πασκασῖνος ἐπ. <Λιλυβαίου II 94> ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον τοῦ (1) ἐπ. πόλεως Ῥώμης Λέοντος
3 [s 2] Λουκίνσιος ἐπ. [πόλεως] ἐκκλησίας Ἀσκουλάνων ἐπέχ. τ. τόπ. τοῦ . . . (1.) ἐπ. πόλεως Ῥώμης Λέοντος
4 [s 3] Βονιφάτιος πρεσβύτερος πόλεως Ῥώμης ἐπέχων τ. τόπον τοῦ . . . (1) ἐπ. πόλεως Ῥώμης Λέοντος
5 [s 4] Ἀνατόλιος ἐπ. Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης
6 [s 5] Μάξιμος ἐπ. Ἀντιοχείας
7 [s 6] Ἰουβενάλιος ἐπ. Ἱεροσολύμων
8 [s 7] Κύντιλλος ἐπ. Ἡρακλείας ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον τοῦ . . . 9 ἐπ. τῆς Θεσσαλονικέων Ἀναστασίου
10 [s 8] Θαλάσσιος ἐπ. Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας
11 [s 9] Στέφανος ἐπ. Ἐφέσου
(66) [s 10] Λουκιανὸς ἐπ. Βύζης ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον 12 Κυριακοῦ τοῦ . . . ἐπ. Ἡρακλείας
13 [s 11] Εὐσέβιος ἐπ. Ἀγκύρας
14 [s 12] Διογένης ἐπ. Κυζίκου
15 [s 13] Πέτρος ἐπ. Κορίνθου
16 [s 14] Φλωρέντιος ἐπ. Σάρδεων
17 [s 15] Εὐνόμιος ἐπ. Νικομηδείας
18 [s 16] Ἀναστάσιος ἐπ. Νικαίας
19 [s 17] Ἰουλιανὸς . . . ἐπ. <τῆς Κῶ> καὶ πρεσβευτὴς (1) τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου
20 [s 18] Ἐλευθέριος ἐπ. Χαλκηδόνος
21 [s 19] Βασίλειος ἐπ. Σελευκείας τῆς μητροπόλεως Ἰσαυρίας
22 [s 20] Μελέτιος ἐπ. Λαρίσσης ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον καὶ ὑπὲρ . . . 23 Δόμνου ἐπ. Ἀπαμείας Συρίας δευτέρας καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
24 [s <21>] <Ἀμφιλόχιος ἐπ. Σίδης ΦΣ 266 Δ 257>
25 [s 22] Θεόδωρος ἐπ. τῆς μητροπόλεως Ταρσοῦ
26 [s 23] Κῦρος ἐπ. τῆς ἐν Ἀναζάρβῳ τῇ πόλει ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας
27 [s 24] Κωνσταντῖνος [Constantius $Φ^a$] Βόστρων μητροπόλεως
28 [s 25] Φώτιος ἐπ. τῆς Τυρίων μητροπόλεως
29 [s 26] Θεόδωρος ἐπ. [μητροπόλεως $MΦ^a$] Δαμασκοῦ
30 [s 27] Στέφανος ἐπ. Ἱερᾶς πόλεως
31 [s 28] Νόννος ἐπ. τῆς Ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλεως
32 [s 29] Συμεώνης ἐπ. Ἀμίδης τῆς μητροπόλεως . . . διὰ 33 Πέτρου πρεσβυτέρου
34 [s 30] Ὀλύμπιος ἐπ. τῆς μητροπ. Κωνσταντίας . . . διὰ (371) Ἐπιφανίου ἐπισκόπου <Σόλων> [per (369) Didymum ep. Lapithensem Σ 354. Δ 345]

35 [s 31] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Σεβαστείας
36 [s 32] Σέλευκος ἐπ. τῆς μητροπόλεως Ἀμασείας
37 [s 33] Κωνσταντῖνος [Constantius Φ^a P 31] ἐπ. Μελιτηνῆς
38 [s 34] Πατρίκιος ἐπ. τῆς Τυάνων μητροπόλεως
39 [s 35] Πέτρος ἐπ. τῆς μητροπόλεως Γαγγρῶν
40 [s 36] Καλόγηρος ἐπ. τῆς μητροπ. Κλαυδιουπόλεως . . . διὰ (206) Ἀπραγμονίου ἐπ. <Τίου>
41 [s 37] Δωρόθεος ἐπ. τῆς μητροπ. Νεοκαισαρείας . . . διὰ (174) Ἀταρβίου ἐπ. Τραπεζοῦντος
42 [s 38] Θεόκτιστος ἐπ. τῆς Πισινουντίων μητροπόλεως . . . διὰ 43 Φωτεινοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου
44 [s 39] Ῥωμανὸς ἐπ. τῆς μητροπόλεως Μύρων
45 [s 40] Κριτωνιανὸς ἐπ. Ἀφροδισιάδος Καρίας
46 [s 41] Νουνέχιος ἐπ. Λαοδικείας τῆς μητροπόλεως
47 [s 42] Μαρι<νι>ανὸς ἐπ. Συνάδων τῆς μητροπόλεως
48 [s 43] Ὀνησιφόρος ἐπ. μητροπόλεως Ἰκονίου
49 [s 44] Περγάμιος ἐπ. Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Πισιδίας
50 [s 45] Ἐπιφάνιος ἐπ. Πέργης τῆς μητροπόλεως Παμφυλίας
51 [s 46] Ἀττικὸς ἐπ. Νικοπόλεως τῆς κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν Ἤπειρον
52 [s 47] Μαρτύριος ἐπ. Γορτύνης τῆς Κρητῶν μητροπόλεως
53 [s 48] Λουκᾶς ἐπ. τῆς Δυρραχηνῶν μητροπόλεως
54 [s 49] Βιγιλάντιος ἐπ. μητροπόλεως Λαρίσσης Θεσσαλίας
55 [s 50] Φραγκίων [Φρόντων Σ 8 Frontion Δ 9] ἐπ. τῆς μητροπόλεως Φιλιππουπόλεως
56 [s 51] Σεβαστιανὸς ἐπ. [πόλεως M] Βερόης
57 [s 52] Βασίλειος ἐπ. τῆς Τραιανουπολιτῶν μητροπόλεως
(364) [s 53] Τρύφων ἐπ. τῆς Χίου . . . ὑπὲρ 58 Ἰωάννου ἐπ. Ῥόδου
59 [s 54] Θεόκτιστος ἐπ. Βεροίας
60 [s 55] Γερόντιος ἐπ. Σελευκείας
61 [s 56] Μακάριος ἐπ. Λαοδικείας . . . διὰ 62 Εὐσεβίου πρεσβυτέρου Ἀντιοχείας
63 [s 57] Εὐσέβιος ἐπ. Δορυλαίου
64 [s 58] Σάβας [Σάββας B] ἐπ. Πάλτου [B *add.*:] διὰ 65 Θαλασσίου διακόνου
66 [s 59] Λουκιανὸς ἐπ. Βύζης ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον (12) Κυριακοῦ ἐπ. Ἡρακλείας Θρᾴκης
67 [Σ 39 Δ 40] <Οὐράνιος ἐπ. Γαβάλων>
68 [s 60] Πέτρος ἐπ. Γαββούλα [Γαβουλᾶ B]
(168) [s 61] [Σωφρόνιος ἐπ. Κωνσταντίνης]
69 [s 62] Πατρίκιος ἐπ. Νεοκαισαρείας
70 [s 63] Μάρας ἐπ. Ἀνασάρθας
71 [s 64] Ῥωμύλος ἐπ. Χαλκίδος . . . χειρὶ (70) Μάρα τοῦ συνεπισκόπου μου
72 [Σ 123 Δ 116] <Γλύκων Καισαρείας [μητρ. Παλαιστίνης ᾱ] διὰ . . . (85) Ζωσίμου ἐπ. Μηνωίδος>
73 [Σ 131 Δ 124] <Σευηριανὸς Σκυθοπόλεως [μητρ. Παλαιστίνης β̄]>
74 [s 65] Εὐστάθιος ἐπ. τῆς Βηρυτίων μητροπόλεως
75 [s 66] Λεόντιος ἐπ. Ἀσκάλωνος
76 [s 67] Ἀννιανὸς [Ἀνανίας actio IV 9, 107] ἐπ. Καπετωλιάδος
77 [s 68] Ζέβεννος ἐπ. πόλεως Πέλλης
78 [s 69] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. πόλεως Τιβεριάδος
79 [s 70] Ἀντίοχος ἐπ. Ἄρκης
80 [s 71] Βήρυλλος ἐπ. Διλᾶ
81 [s 72] Ἀρέτας ἐπ. Ἐλούσης
82 [s 73] Μουσώνιος ἐπ. Σηγώρ [Ζωόρων *actio* IV 9, 113]

83 [s 74] Ῥουφίνος ἐπ. Βίβλου [Βύβλου B^a]
84 [s 75] Παγκράτιος ἐπ. Λιβιάδος
85 [Σ 123 Δ 116] <Ζώσιμος ἐπ. Μηνωίδος [Medinensem Δ]>
86 [s 76] Νατηρᾶς ἐπ. τῆς κατὰ Γάζαν
87 [s 77] Πολυχρόνιος ἐπ. Ἀντιπατρίδος
88 [s 78] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. τῆς Γαδαρέων
89 [s 79] Παῦλος ἐπ. τῆς Ἀνθηδονέων
90 [s 80] Φωτεινὸς ἐπ. Λύδδης
91 [s 81] Ἡράκλειος ἐπ. Ἀζώτου
92 [Σ 140 Δ 133] <Μαρινιανὸς [Σ Μαριανός Δ Marcianus] ἐπ. Γάζης> [Μαρινιανός a. 449: I 1070 Φ CXXX. CXXXVIII. σ 51]
93 [s 82] Μαρκιανὸς ἐπ. Γεράρων [Σ 139 ἰδιωτα Δ 131 diotanus IV 9, 114 Ἰωτάπης]
94 [s 83] Στέφανος ἐπ. Ἰαμνείας [Ἰαμνίας B]
95 [s 84] Ἐπίκτητος ἐπ. Διοκλητιανουπόλεως
96 [s 85] Ῥωμανὸς ἐπ. Εὐδοξιουπόλεως
97 [s 86] Ἴβας ἐπ. Ἐδέσσης [Ἐδέσης MB]
98 [Σ 67 Δ 61] <Παμπρέ<πι>ος [Σ, *cod.* F: παπαρος; Δ mampreus] Τιτι[αν]ουπόλεως>
99 [s 87] Θεόδωρος ἐπ. Κλαυδιουπόλεως Ἰσαυρίας
100 [s 88] Ἰούλιος [Iulianus Φ^cr] Κελενδέρεως τῆς Ἰσαυρίας
101 [s 89] Τύραννος ἐπ. Γερμανικουπόλεως τῆς Ἰσαυρίας
102 [s 90] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. πόλεως Διοκαισαρείας . . . διὰ 103 τοῦ ἀναγνώστου μου Νείλου
104 [s 91] Αἰλιανὸς ἐπ. πόλεως Σελινοῦντος . . . διὰ 105 τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου μου Παύλου
106 [s 92] Ἀκάκιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας <*Λαμωτίδος [leamanditos Δ] διὰ 106a. Πάπα διακόνου Σ 69 Δ 62>
107 [s 93] Ἐπιφάνιος ἐπ. πόλεως Κέστρων
108 [Σ 267 Δ 258] <Γάιος ἐπ. Συέδρων>
109 [s 94] Ἀμμώνιος ἐπ. Ἰωτάπης
110 [s 95] Μάταλος [Magalus Φ^a Μεγάλος MB^bΦ^r Metalus Φ^c Μέγελλος B^a] ἐπ. πόλεως Φιλαδελφείας
111 [s 96] Μάρκος ἐπ. Ἀρεθούσης . . . διὰ (112) Τιμοθέου ἐπ. Βαλανέων
112 [s 97] Τιμόθεος ἐπ. Βαλανέων
113 [s 98] Εὐσέβιος ἐπ. πόλεως Σελευκοβήλου . . . διὰ (115) Παύλου ἐπ. Μαριάμμης [-μνης B^a *corr.* B^bΦ^cr]
114 [s 99] Εὐτυχιανὸς [Eutychius Φ^cr] ἐπ. Ἐπιφανείας . . . διὰ (22) Μελετίου ἐπ. Λαρίσσης
115 [s 100] Παῦλος ἐπ. Μαριάμμης [Μαριάμνης B^a *corr.* B^b Φ^cr]
116 [s 101] Λαμπάδιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ῥαφανέων διὰ . . . 117 Ἰανουαρίου διακόνου μου
118 [s 349] [Ματρωνιανὸς ἐπ. Πομπηιουπόλεως <διὰ (25) Θεοδώρου τοῦ μητροπολίτου Σ 49 Δ 43>]
119 [s 102] Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπ. πόλεως Σεβαστῆς [Sebastiae Φ]
120 [s 103] Φίλιππος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀδάνης
121 [s 104] Ὑπάτιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ζεφυρίου
122 [s 105] Θεόδωρος ἐπ. πόλεως Αὐγούστης
123 [s 106] Χρύσιππος ἐπ. πόλεως Μάλλου [Μάλου MB]
124 [s 348] [Σαλούστιος ἐπ. Κωρύκου [Κορ. M] <διὰ (120) Φιλίππου Ἀδάνης Σ 55 Δ 49 >]
125 [s 107] Πολυχρόνιος ἐπ. Ἐπιφανείας
126 [s 108] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Φλαβιάδος
127 [s 109] Ἴνδιμος ἐπ. Εἰρηνουπόλεως

128 [s 110] Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπ. πόλεως Ῥωσοῦ
129 [s 111] Σωφρόνιος χωρεπίσκοπος ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ 130 Βασσιανοῦ ἐπ. <Μοψουεστίας Σ 61 Δ 55>
131 [s 112] Εὐλόγιος ἐπ. πόλεως Φιλαδελφείας
132 [s 113] Πρόκλος [Petrus Φcr] ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀδράων
133 [s 114] Θεοδόσιος ἐπ. πόλεως Κανώθας
134 [s 115] Ὁρμίσδας ἐπ. Φιλιππουπόλεως
135 [s 427] [Πλάκκος ἐπ. πόλεως Γεράσων <διὰ (27) Κωνσταντίνου ἐπ. (τῆς μητρ.) Βόστρων Σ 98 Δ 92>]
136 [s 116] Δαμιανὸς ἐπ. πόλεως Σιδῶνος
137 [s 117] Θεόδωρος ἐπ. Τριπόλεως
138 [s 118] Ὀλύμπιος ἐπ. Πανεάδος
139 [s 119] Παῦλος ἐπ. Πτολεμαίδος
140 [s 120] Παῦλος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀράδου
141 [Σ 79 Δ 73] <Πέτρος ἐπ. Βύβλου διὰ (28) Φωτίου Τύρου>
142 [Σ 82 Δ 76] <Ἡράκλειτος [Ἡρακλείδης ΣΔ] ἐπ. Ἄρκης [XVII 9, 111: διὰ (28) Φωτίου Τύρου]>
143 [Σ 83 Δ 77] <Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπ. Ἀνταράδου>
144 [s 121] Θωμᾶς ἐπ. Πορφυρεῶνος
145 [s 122] Πορφύριος ἐπ. Βοτρύων . . . διὰ 146 Σέλα [Σ 84; Seloseum Δ 78 Τιμοθέου MB] διακόνου
147 [s 123] Φωσφόρος ἐπ. Ὀρθωσιάδος . . . διὰ 148 Τιμοθέου διακόνου
149 [s 124] Οὐράνιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἐμίσης <διὰ 150 Πορφυρίου ἀρχιδιακόνου VI 1, 123 et alias>
151 [s 125] Ἰωσὴφ ἐπ. Ἡλιουπόλεως Φοινίκης
152 [s 126] Ἰορδάνης ἐπ. Ἀβίλης [*act.* XVII, 9, 43: Πατέρνιος χωρεπίσκ. (= P 150) ὑπὲρ Ἰ. ἐπ. Ἀ.]
153 [s 127] Βαλέριος [Βαλλ. B Valens P 149] ἐπ. πόλεως Λαοδικείας τῆς Φοινίκης
154 [s 128] Θωμᾶς ἐπ. Εὐαρίας [+ Φοινίκης M, Εὐαρείας BΦ]
155 [s 129] Θεοδώρητος [Θεοδώριτος B] ἐπ. Κύρου
156 [s 130] Ῥουφῖνος ἐπ. Σαμοσατέων
157 [s 131] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Γερμανικείας
158 [s 132] Τιμόθεος ἐπ. Δολίχης
159 [s 133] Εὐόλκιος ἐπ. Ζεύγματος
160 [s 134] Ἀθανάσιος ἐπ. Πέρρης
(171) [s 135] [Ζέβεννος ἐπ. Μαρτυροπόλεως]
161 [s 136] Καλλίνικος ἐπ. Ἀπαμείας
162 [s 137] Καιουμᾶς ἐπ. Μαρκουπόλεως
163 [s 138] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. πόλεως Καρρῶν [καρῶν B]
164 [s 139] Ἀβραάμιος [ἀβράμιοσ B] ἐπ. Κιρκηνσίου
165 [Σ 112 Δ 105] <Δανιῆλος ἐπ. Μακεδονουπόλεως [Βίρθων Σ]>
166 [Σ 113 Δ 106] <Δαμιανὸς ἐπ. Καλλινίκου>
167 [s 61] <Σωφρόνιος ἐπ. Κωνσταντίνης>
168 [Σ 115 Δ108] <Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Σαρακηνῶν [Ταιηνῶν Σ]>
(181) [s 140] [Λευκάδιος ἐπ. Μνίζου (*om.* MΦc)]
169 [s 141] Νώης ἐπ. Κηφᾶς
170 [Σ 118 Δ 111] <Μάρας ἐπ. [τοῦ ἔθνους Δ] Ἀνζιτηνῶν [Ἀνζίτ Σ]>
171 [s 135] <Ζέβεννος [ζέβενοσ B ζεθέννοσ M] ἐπ. Μαρτυροπόλεως>
(466) [Σ 120 Δ 113] <Εὐσέβιος [s 396] ἐπ. Ἰγγίης (διὰ [32] Συμεώνου ἐπ. Ἀμίδης μητρ.)>
(468) [Σ 121 Δ 114] <Καιουμᾶς [s 397] ἐπ. Σουφανηνῆς (διὰ [32] Συμεώνου ἐπ. Ἀμίδης μητρ.)>

172 [Σ 178 Δ 171 P 80] <Μουσώνιος ἐπ. Νύσης>
173 [Σ 179 Δ 172] <Φιρμῖνος ἐπ. Θερμῶν>
174 [s 142] Ἀτάρβιος ἐπ. πόλεως Τραπεζοῦντος
175 [s 143] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Πολεμωνίου
176 [s 144] Γρατιδιανὸς [Κρατιδ. MB Gratianus *duo codd.* Φ^c] ἐπ. πόλεως Κερασοῦντος
177 [s 145] Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπ. Ταβίας [ταβείασ B]
178 [s 146] Μελίφθογγος ἐπ. Ἰουλιουπόλεως [Ἡλιουπόλεως B]
179 [s 147] Ὑπερέχιος ἐπ. Ἀσπώνων [Ἀσπόνων B]
180 [s 148] Ἀκάκιος ἐπ. Κίννης
181 [s 140] <Λευκάδιος [Λουκάδιος B^b] ἐπ. Μνίζου>
182 [s 149] Εὐφράσιος ἐπ. Λαγανίας
183 [s 150] Κεκρόπιος ἐπ. Σεβαστουπόλεως
184 [s 151] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Νικοπόλεως
185 [s 152] Ἀνατόλιος ἐπ. πόλεως Σατάλων . . . διὰ 186 Δωροθέου πρεσβυτέρου
187 [s 153] Ἀττικὸς ἐπ. πόλεως Ζήλων
188 [s 154] Ἀντίοχος [Σ 202 Δ 193 P 43. Ἀντίλοχος MBΦ] ἐπ. Σινώπης
189 [Σ 198 Δ 189] <Ἀντωνιανὸς [Antoninus Δ] ἐπ. Ἀμισοῦ δι' 190 Ὀλυμπίου διακόνου>
191 [s 155] Παράλιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀνδράπων . . . διὰ 192 Εὐχαρίου [Ἐλπιδίου Σ 199 Δ 190] διακόνου
193 [s 156] Οὐράνιος ἐπ. Ἰβώρων διὰ 194 Παύλου πρεσβυτέρου μου
195 [s 157] Ἀκάκιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀριαραθείας
196 [s 158] Ἡράκλειος ἐπ. πόλεως Κομάνων
197 [s 159] Ἀδόλιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀραβισσοῦ διὰ 198 Ἀδελφίου χωρεπισκόπου
199 [s 160] Δόμνος ἐπ. Κουκουσοῦ . . . διὰ 200 Εὐφρονίου πρεσβυτέρου
201 [s 161] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Ἄρκης . . . χειρὶ 202 πρεσβυτέρου Ὀτρηίου [Ὀτρείου MB Εὐφρονίου Σ 192 Δ 183]
203 [s 162] Θεοδόσιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ναζιαζοῦ [Ναζιανζοῦ B]
204 [s 163] Ἀριστόμαχος ἐπ. (πόλεως M) Κολωνείας
205 [Σ 183 Δ 176] <Κῦρος ἐπ. Κυβίστρων>
206 [s 164] Ἀπραγμόνιος ἐπ. πόλεως Τίου
207 [s 165] Ῥῆνος ἐπ. Ἰουνοπόλεως [Ἰωνοπόλεως B]
208 [s 166] Αἰθέριος ἐπ. Πομπηιουπόλεως . . . δι' 209 Ἐπιφανίου πρεσβυτέρου [209 *om.* B^b]
210 [s 167] Θεμίστιος ἐπ. Ἀμάστριδος . . . διὰ 211 Φιλοτίμου πρεσβυτέρου
212 [s 168] Θεόδωρος ἐπ. Ἡρακλείας Πόντου
213 [s 169] Γενέθλιος ἐπ. Κρατείας . . . διὰ 214 Εὐλογίου πρεσβυτέρου
215 [Σ 213 Δ 204] <Ὀλύμπιος ἐπ. Προυσιάδος [διὰ 216 Μοδέστου πρεσβυτέρου Σ 213 Δ 204 Φ 173]>
217 [s 170] Θεόφιλος ἐπ. Ἀδριανουπόλεως . . . διὰ 218 πρεσβυτέρου μου Πελαγίου
219 [s 171] Ἐλπίδιος ἐπ. πόλεως τῶν Θέρμων [Μυρικηνῶν Σ 171 Δ 164]
220 [s 172] Ἀκύλας ἐπ. πόλεως Εὐδοξιάδος
221 [s 173] Μυστήριος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀμορίου [Ἀμμωρίου B]
222 [s 174] Κυριακὸς ἐπ. Τροκνάδων . . . διὰ [+ χειρὸς B] 223 Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου
224 [Σ 175 Δ 168] <Πίος ἐπ. Πετηνίσσων>
225 [s 175] Λογγῖνος ἐπ. πόλεως Ὀρκιστοῦ
226 [s 176] Σερῆνος [Σερῖνος B] ἐπ. Μαξιμιανουπόλεως
(39) [s 177] Πέτρος ἐπ. τῆς μητροπ. Γαγγρῶν . . . ὑπὲρ 227 Πολυχρονίου ἐπ. Δαδύβρων καὶ 228 Θεοδώρου ἐπ. *Σώρων [Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος B^b; σούρων MB, Soronensis Δ 198]

229 [s 178] Αἰθέριχος ἐπ. Σμύρνης . . . διὰ 230 Παύλου διακόνου
231 [s 179] Εὐσέβιος ἐπ. πόλεως Κλαζομενῶν
232 [s 180] Κυριακὸς ἐπ. πόλεως Αἰγάης
233 [s 181] Μάμας ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀνινήτων [Ἀνηρίτου B]
234 [s 182] Λεόντιος ἐπ. Μαγνησίας Μαιάνδρου
235 [s 183] Κόιντος ἐπ. πόλεως Φωκαίας [φωκείασ MB]
236 [s 184] Πρόκλος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀργίζων [Ἀλγίζων Σ 233 Δ 224]
237 [s 185] Θωμᾶς ἐπ. Αὐλίου κώμης [Οὐαλεντινιανουπόλεως Σ 227 Auliocomenus et Valentinianupolitanus Δ 218]
238 [s 186] Ὀλύμπιος ἐπ. Θεοδοσιουπόλεως [Εὐάζων Σ 237 Δ 228]
239 [s 187] Φίλιππος ἐπ. Νέας αὐλῆς
240 [s 188] Ῥουφῖνος ἐπ. πόλεως Βριούλων
241 [s 189] Μαρκελλῖνος ἐπ. πόλεως Μητροπόλεως
242 [s 190] Ἡσαίας ἐπ. Ἐλαιτῶν
243 [s 191] Παυλῖνος [Paulus Φcr] ἐπ. Θεοδοσιουπόλεως [Περπερηνῆς Σ 242 Δ 233]
244 [s 192] Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπ. πόλεως Ὑπαίπων [Ὑπέπων M]
245 [s 193] Ἑσπέριος [Ἕσπερος Σ 239 Δ 230] ἐπ. πόλεως Πιτάνης
246 [s 194] Προτέριος ἐπ. Μυρίνης [Μυρρίνης Mcorr Bb]
247 [s 195] Βασιλικὸς [Basilius Φac] ἐπ. Παλαιᾶς πόλεως
248 [s 196] Πέτρος ἐπ. πόλεως Δαρδάνου
249 [s 197] Θαλάσσιος ἐπ. πόλεως Παρίου
250 [s 198] Δαυὶδ ἐπ. Ἀδριανῶν
251 [s 199] Εὐλάλιος ἐπ. πόλεως Πιονίων
252 [s 200] Πιόνιος ἐπ. πόλεως Τρωάδος
253 [s 201] Μαιόνιος [νεονιοσ Σ 241 Δ 232. Musonius P 80 *et* a. 449] ἐπ. πόλεως Νύσσης
254 [s 202] Στέφανος ἐπ. Ποιμανηνοῦ [Ποιμανινοῦ M]
255 [s 203] Θεοσέβιος [Θεοδόσιος MB *var. lect. in* Φc, Theodulus Φr *var. lect. in* Φc] ἐπ. Ἰλίου
256 [s 204] Ἑρμῆς ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀβύδου
257 [s 205] Δανιὴλ ἐπ. πόλεως Λαμψάκου
258 [s 206] Πατρίκιος ἐπ. Ἀδριανοῦ θηρῶν
259 [s 207] Μενεκράτης ἐπ. πόλεως Κερασέων [κερασαίων MB]
260 [s 208] Κοσσίνιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἱεροκαισαρείας
261 [s 209] Ἀνδρέας ἐπ. Σατάλων [Φcr; ἀγαλῶν MB] . . . διὰ 260 Κοσσινίου ἐπισκόπου
262 [s 210] Ἡλίας ἐπ. πόλεως Βλανδοῦ
263 [s 211] Πολύκαρπος ἐπ. (πόλεως B) Ταβάλων [γαβάλων Ba Φcr Δ 239]
264 [s 212] Πατρίκιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀκρασσοῦ
265 [s 213] Παῦλος ἐπ. Τριπόλεως
266 [s 214] Ἀμάχιος ἐπ. Σεττῶν
267 [s 215] Λεύκιος [Σελεύκιος B] ἐπ. Ἀπόλλωνος ἱεροῦ
268 [s 216] Γέμελλος ἐπ. πόλεως Στρατονικείας
269 [s 217] Ἀλκιμήδης ἐπ. Σιλάνδου [Σιλάνδρου B] Λυδίας
270 [s 218] Διονύσιος ἐπ. Λυδὸς Ἀτταλεώτης
271 [Σ 273 Δ 264] <Ἀριστόκριτος [a. 431; Ἀριστόκλειτος ΣΔ] ἐπ. Ὀλύμπου>
272 [s 340] <Εὐδόξιος ἐπ. Χώματος>
273 [s 341] <Παλλάδιος ἐπ. Κορυδάλλου>
274 [Σ 276 Δ 267] <Κυρῖνος ἐπ. Πατάρων>
275 [s 219] Στέφανος ἐπ. Λιμύρων . . . διὰ (284) Νικολάου ἐπ. τῆς Ἀκαρασσέων πόλεως . .
276 [s 220] Ζηνόδοτος ἐπ. τῆς Τελμισσέων [μητρο]πόλεως καὶ Μακρᾶς τῆς νήσου

277 [s 221] Φρόντων [Χρονίων Σ 279 cronton Δ 270] ἐπ. τῆς Φασηλιτῶν πόλεως
278 [s 222] Φίλιππος ἐπ. πόλεως Βαλβουρέων
279 [s 223] Θεόδωρος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀντιφέλλου
280 [s 224] Λεόντιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀράξων
281 [s 225] Ἀντίπατρος ἐπ. *Καύνου [Καύμων Σ 283 caumenos Δ 274 καρασσαιων MB]
282 [Σ 284 Δ 275] <Κρατιανὸς ἐπ. Πανόρμου>
283 [s 226] Ἀνδρέας ἐπ. τῆς Τλωέων πόλεως
284 [s 227] Νικόλαος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀκρασσοῦ [Ἀκρασοῦ B Acarasi Φ[a]]
285 [s 228] Ῥωμανὸς ἐπ. τῆς Βουβωνέων πόλεως
286 [s 229] Δοκιμάσιος ἐπ. πόλεως Μαρωνείας
287 [s 230] Νικίας ἐπ. πόλεως Μεγάρων
288 [s 231] Ἀθανάσιος ἐπ. (+ πόλεως B[b]) Ὀποῦντος
289 [s 232] Δομνῖνος ἐπ. Πλαταιέων [Πλαταιῶν M]
290 [s 233] Ὀνήσιμος ἐπ. Ἄργους
291 [s 234] Μάρκος [Σ 142 Δ 135 Φ *et alias*; Μαρκιανός MB] ἐπ. πόλεως Εὐροίας [Εὐβοίας M[corr]]
292 [s 235] Περεγρῖνος ἐπ. πόλεως Φοινίκης
293 [s 236] Εὐτύχιος ἐπ. Ἀδριανουπόλεως
294 [s 237] *Κλαύδιος [κλάδεος M κλαδαῖος B] ἐπ. Ἀγχιεσμοῦ [Ἀγχιασμοῦ B[a]]
295 [s 238] Σωτήριχος ἐπ. πόλεως Κερκύρας
296 [Σ 147 Δ 140] <Φιλόκτητος ἐπ. Δωδώνης>
297 [Σ 148 Δ 141] <Ἰωάννης ἐπ. *Φωτικῆς [φρωτικῆς Σ pruticensis Δ] διὰ 298 Ζηνοβίου . . .>
299 [s 239] Διονύσιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας
300 [s 240] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Ἀλίνδων πόλεως
301 [s 241] Φλάγκιλλος [Φλαγκίλιος B] ἐπ. Ἰασσοῦ
302 [s 242] Παπίας ἐπ. πόλεως Ἐρίζης
303 [s 243] Διονύσιος [δονύσ. M] ἐπ. πόλεως Ἡρακλείας Λάτμου [ἀλάτμου B ἀτάλμου B[b]]
304 [s 244] Μένανδρος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἡρακλείας Σαλβάκης
305 [s 245] Εὐπείθιος ἐπ. πόλεως Στρατονικείας
306 [s 246] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀμαζόνος [Ἀμυζόνος Σ 320 Δ 311]
307 [s 247] Τυγχάνιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀπολλωνιάδος
308 [s 248] Θεοδώρητος [Θεοδώριτος B] ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀλαβάνδων
309 [s 249] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Κνίδου
310 [s 250] Καλανδίων ἐπ. πόλεως Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ διὰ 311 Ἰουλιανοῦ πρεσβυτέρου [311 *om.* B[b]]
312 [s 251] Δανιὴλ ἐπ. πόλεως Κάδων
313 [s 252] Μόδεστος ἐπ. πόλεως Σεβαστῆς
(457) [Σ 341 Δ 332] <Ματθίας ἐπ. Τημενουθύρων (διὰ Νουνεχίου ἐπ. Λαοδικείας μητρ.)>
314 [s 253] <Παῦλος ἐπ. Ἀριστίου [Φ 252 Σ 342 (ἀρίσπων) Δ 333 *om.* MB]>
315 [s 254] Εὐλάλιος ἐπ. πόλεως Σιβλίας [Σιβλείας B; Σιβρίων Σ 340, Sibriensis Δ 331]
316 [s 255] Χάρης ἐπ. Διονυσουπόλεως [Σ 343 Δ 334, Διονυσιουπόλεως MB]
317 [s 256] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Τραπεζοπόλεως [Τραπεζουπόλεως M[corr]]
318 [s 257] Γεννάδιος ἐπ. Ἀκμονέων
319 [s 258] Θωμᾶς ἐπ. Θεοδοσιουπόλεως
320 [s 259] Γεννάδιος ἐπ. πόλεως Μοσύνων
321 [s 260] Εὔανδρος ἐπ. πόλεως Διοκλείας
322 [s 261] Γερόντιος ἐπ. πόλεως Βασιλινουπόλεως

323 [s 262] Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ. πόλεως Μύνδου
324 [s 263] Διογένης ἐπ. πόλεως Ὀρθωσιαίων διὰ 325 Θεοκτίστου πρεσβυτέρου [325 om. B^b]
326 [s 264] Ζωτικὸς ἐπ. πόλεως Ἁρπάσων . . . διὰ 327 Φιλοθέου πρεσβυτέρου
328 [s 265] Μεῖρος [Μίρος B Myro Φ^cr] ἐπ. Εὐλάνδρων [BΦ^cr, εὐλάδρων *rell.*]
329 [s 266] Λουκιανὸς [Μώκιμος Σ 328 Δ 319] ἐπ. πόλεως Ἰψοῦ
330 [s 267] Φίλιππος ἐπ. πόλεως Λυσιάδος
331 [s 268] Ἐπιφάνιος ἐπ. πόλεως Μιδαΐου [M, Μηδαΐου B]
332 [s 269] Ἀβέρκιος ἐπ. Ἱερᾶς πόλεως
333 [s 270] Κυριακὸς ἐπ. πόλεως Εὐκαρπίας [Εὐκαρπείας B^a]
334 [s 271] Εὐστόχιος [Eustathius Φ] ἐπ. πόλεως Δοκιμίου
335 [s 272] Ἀκύλας ἐπ. Αὐρόκρων
336 [s 273] Βασίλειος ἐπ. Νακωλείας
337 [s 274] Στρατήγιος ἐπ. Πολυβότου [Πολυβωτοῦ M]
338 [s 275] Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπ. πόλεως Κόρνων
339 [s 276] Παῦλος ἐπ. πόλεως Δέρβης
340 [s 277] Πλούταρχος ἐπ. πόλεως Λύστρων
341 [s 278] Εὐγένιος ἐπ. πόλεως Κάνων
342 [s 279] Ῥουφῖνος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἴδης
343 [s 280] Τύραννος ἐπ. πόλεως Οὐμανάδων
344 [s 281] Ἀχόλιος ἐπ. πόλεως Λαράνδων [ἀλαρανδῶν B *et var. lect. in* Φ^a]
345 [s 282] Εὐτρόπιος ἐπ. Ἀδάδων [ἀλαδῶν MB^a, ἀλανδῶν B^b]
346 [s 283] Παῦλος ἐπ. Φιλομηλίου
347 [s 284] Παυλῖνος ἐπ. Ἀπαμείας
348 [s 285] Θεότεκνος [Theoctistus ΦΔ 291] ἐπ. Τυραείου [Τυραΐου M τυρασίου B]
349 [s 286] Ἑορτίκιος ἐπ. Μητροπόλεως
350 [s 287] Κῦρος [Σ 302 Δ 293 Φ, κύριλλος MB] ἐπ. Σινιάνδου
351 [s 288] Λιβάνιος ἐπ. πόλεως Παρλαέων [Παραλέων MBΦ]
352 [s 289] Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπ. Σελευκείας
353 [s 290] Ὀλύμπιος ἐπ. Σῳζοπόλεως
354 [s 291] Φοντηιανὸς [Φροντ. B, Frontianus Fotianus *al. varr.* Φ] ἐπ. Σαγαλασσοῦ [Ἀγαλάσσου B^b]
355 [s 292] Μεσσαλῖνος ἐπ. Λαοδικείας . . . διὰ 356 Ἀδήλου [δαδήτου MΦ^r -ίτου BΦ^a] χωρεπισκόπου
357 [s 293] Βασσωνᾶς ἐπ. Νέας πόλεως
358 [s 294] Φλωρέντιος ἐπ. Ἀδριανουπόλεως
359 [s 295] Μουσώνιος [Σ 310 Δ 301, μουσιανόσ MBΦ, Μουιανός Schw.] ἐπ. Λιμένων
(474) [s 402] [Μάξιμος ἐπ. Ζορζίλων (διὰ 49 Περγαμίου ἐπ. Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Πισιδῶν μητροπόλεως)]
360 [s 296] Μανασσῆς ἐπ. Θεοδοσιουπόλεως
361 [s 297] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Βαργυλίου
362 [s 298] Φλωρέντιος ἐπ. Λέσβου Τενέδου [Μυτιλήνης Σ 351 Δ 342] διὰ 363 Εὐελπίστου χωρεπισκόπου
364 [s 299] Τρύφων [Εὐφρόντιος Σ 352 Δ 343] ἐπ. Χίου τῆς νήσου
365 [Σ 353 Δ 344] <Βαράχιος [Barachus Δ] ἐπ. Νάξου>
366 [s 300] Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἐπ. πόλεως Ταμάσου
367 [s 301] Σωτηρᾶς ἐπ. πόλεως Θεοδοσιανῆς
368 [s 302] Ἡλιόδωρος ἐπ. Ἀμαθοῦντος [per (367) Soterem episcopum Φ]
369 [s 303] Δίδυμος ἐπ. Λαπίθου [per (366) Epaphroditum ep. Φ]
370 [s 304] Προέχιος [Φ, Προσέχιος MB] ἐπ. Ἀρσινόης . . . διὰ (367) Σωτηρᾶ ἐπ.
371 [s 305] Ἐπιφάνιος ἐπ. Σόλων . . . διὰ (367) Σωτηρᾶ ἐπ. [*sed cf.* 34]
372 [s 306] Φωτεινὸς ἐπ. Κύθρων . . . διὰ 373 Διονυσίου διακόνου

374 [s 307] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. πόλεως Μεσσήνης [Μεσήνης B]
375 [s 308] Ὠφέλιμος ἐπ. (+ πόλεως B^b) Τεγέας
376 [s 309] Εἰρηναῖος [Εἰρηνικός Σ 28 Δ 29] ἐπ. πόλεως Ναυπάκτου
377 [s 310] Κύριλλος ἐπ. πόλεως *Σουβρίτου [Σούβριτος MB]
378 [s 311] Γεννάδιος ἐπ. πόλεως Κνωσσοῦ
379 [s 312] Εὐσέβιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀπολλωνιάδος
380 [s 313] Δημήτριος ἐπ. Λάμπης [λαυπησ Σ 157 Δ 150, Lappes Φ^a]
381 [s 314] Εὐφρατᾶς [Φ, Εὔφρατος MB] ἐπ. Ἐλευθέρνης
382 [s 315] Παῦλος ἐπ. Καντάνου . . . διὰ 383 Χρυσογόνου πρεσβυτέρου
384 [s 316] Σῴζων ἐπ. πόλεως Φιλίππων
385 [s 317] Εὐσέβιος ἐπ. Δοβήρου
386 [s 318] Μαξιμῖνος ἐπ. Σερρῶν
387 [s 319] Νικόλαος ἐπ. Στοβῶν
388 [s 320] Δαρδάνιος ἐπ. Βαρλαᾶ [Σ 18, farula Δ 19 παρλάων *et varr.* MB, *i.e.* Βαργάλων]
389 [s 321] Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Παρθικοπόλεως [Π. *om.* Φ] . . . διὰ 390 Κυρίλλου [Cyriacum Φ] πρεσβυτέρου
391 [s 322] Ὀνωράτος ἐπ. πόλεως Θάσου
392 [s 323] Θεόφιλος ἐπ. Ἀριασσοῦ
393 [s 324] Νέων ἐπ. πόλεως Σιλλύου
394 [s 325] Διόδοτος ἐπ. πόλεως Λυσινέων [Λυσιναίων MB]
395 [s 326] Μάρας ἐπ. πόλεως Κοδρούλων . . . διὰ (397) Μαρκελλίνου ἐπισκόπου
396 [s 327] Παῦλος ἐπ. (πόλεως M) Πόγλων [Πώγλων M]
397 [s 328] Μαρκελλῖνος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἰσίνδων
398 [s 329] Μακεδὼν ἐπ. πόλεως Μαγύδου [Μαυδοῦ B]
399 [Σ 14 Δ 15] <Μακάριος ἐπ. Αἴνου [enuntos Δ]>
400 [s 330] Εὐδόξιος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἐτέννων [ἐτενῶν B^b]
(408) [s 331] [Αὐρήλιος ἐπ. Ἀδραμετηνός]
401 [s 332] *Μαρκελλῖνος [Φ^cr, Μαρκιανός MBΦ^a Σ 269 Δ 260] ἐπ. πόλεως Κοραλλίας
402 [s 333] Εὐγένιος ἐπ. πόλεως Κοτέννων
403 [s 334] Ὄβριμος ἐπ. πόλεως Κορακησίου
404 [s 335] Πέτρος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἐχινέων . . . διὰ χειρὸς (405) Σωφρονίου συνεπισκόπου μου
405 [s 335] <Σωφρόνιος ἐπ. . . .>
406 [s 336] Εὐστάθιος ἐπ. (φύλης Δ 85) Σαρακηνῶν
407 [s 337] Κωνσταντῖνος ἐπ. πόλεως Δημητριάδος
408 [Σ 361 Δ 352] <Οὐαλεριανὸς ἐπ. Βασσιανῆς>
409 [s 331] <Αὐρήλιος ἐπ. Ἀδραμετηνός [Ἀδραμυτηνός M *in ras.*]>
410 [s 338] Ῥεστιτιανὸς [ῥεστιανόσ B, Restitutianus Φ^cr] ἐπ. Ἀφρικῆς [*om.* Φ^a]
411 [Σ 362 Δ 353] <*Αὐρήλιος [αὔλερι(α)νοσ, αὔλεριοσ Σ, ualerius Δ] ἐπ. Πάπου [Afrus Δ]>
412 [s 339] Σαβινιανὸς ἐπ. Πέρρης [πέτρασ M]
(272) [s 340] [Εὐδόξιος ἐπ. Χώματος]
(273) [s 341] [Παλλάδιος ἐπ. Κορυδάλλων]

APPENDIX

(14) Διογένης ἐπ. μητροπόλεως Κυζίκου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόντων ἐπισκόπων ὑπ' ἐμέ, τουτέστιν
413 [s 342] Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλεως Ὤκης [ὄκησ B]
414 [s 343] Γεμέλλου Μελιτουπόλεως
415 [s 344] Εὐστοργίου [Φιλοστοργίου *actio* XVII 9, 183] Σκηψίου
416 [s 345] Εὐτυχιανοῦ Βάρης

417 [s 346] Ἀκακίου Προκοννήσου [Προκονήσου B]
418 [s 347] καὶ Τιμοθέου Γέρμης
συναινῶν ὑπέγραψα: —
(25) Θεόδωρος ἐπ. Ταρσοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόντων ἐπισκόπων τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ
(124) [s 348] Σαλουστίου Κωρύκου [κορύκου M]
(118) [s 349] καὶ Ματρωνιανοῦ Πομπηιουπόλεως
συναινῶν ὑπέγραψα: —
(47) Μαριανὸς [Marinianus Φ] ἐπ. Συνάδων τῆς μητροπόλεως καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόντων εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ
419 [s 350] Ἑλλαδίου πόλεως <Σ>τεκτορίου [τεκτορίου MΦ, τετοκτορίου B]
420 [s 351] Παύλου πόλεως Ἀμαδάσσης
421 [s 352] Αὐξάνοντος πόλεως Προμισσοῦ
422 [s 353] Ὀτρέως πόλεως Κινναβορίου [κιναβορίου B, κινναμορίου M]
423 [s 354] Αὐξάνοντος πόλεως Βρύζου
424 [s 355] Ἰακώβου πόλεως Πρυμνιάσσης
425 [s 356] καὶ Βασιλείου πόλεως Ὄτρου
συναινῶν ὑπέγραψα: —
(26) Κῦρος [Κύριλλος MB] ἐπ. Ἀναζάρβου [Anazarborum Φ^{a}] τῆς μητροπόλεως καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόντων ἐπισκόπων τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ
426 [s 357] Παρηγορίου Κασταβάλης [καστάβησ MB]
427 [s 358] Ἰουλιανοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας [Ἀλεξάνδρου B^{b}]
428 [s 359] Εὐσταθίου Αἰγῶν [Aegeorum Φ^{a}]
συναινῶν ὑπέγραψα: —
(48) Ὀνησιφόρος ἐπ. Ἰκονίου μητροπόλεως . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόντων ἐπισκόπων τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ
429 [s 360] Εὐγενίου πόλεως Βαράτων [Φ^{ar}, βαράγων MΦ^{c}, βαράγγων B]
430 [s 361] Διομήδους πόλεως Ἀμβλάδων
431 [s 362] Ἀετίου Ἰσαυροπόλεως
432 [s 363] Εὐσταθίου πόλεως Σανάτρων
433 [s 364] Ἡγεμονίου πόλεως *Γδαμμαοῦ [Gedammao Φ^{cr}, γδαμαυτοῦ MΦ^{a}, γδμ-B, ὑδμ-B^{b}]
434 [s 365] Κόνωνος πόλεως Πέρτων [περσῶν B]
435 [s 366] Ἀρματίου πόλεως Μισθίας
436 [s 367] Ὀνησίμου πόλεως Ἰλίστρων
437 [s 368] Ὀλυμπίου πόλεως Οὐ<α>σάδων
(21) Βασίλειος ἐπ. Σελευκείας μητροπόλεως Ἰσαυρίας ὁρίσας ὑπέγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόντων ὑπ' ἐμὲ ἐπισκόπων
438 [s 369] Ἀντωνίου Νεφελιάδος [B^{a}, Νεφελίδος MB^{b}]
439 [s 370] Ἰακώβου Ἀνεμωρίου
440 [s 371] Νουνεχίου Χαράδρων
441 [s 372] Διαφεροντίου Ὄλβης
442 [s 373] Ἀντωνίου Δομετιουπόλεως
443 [s 374] Στεφάνου Δαλισάνδου
444 [s 375] Παύλου Ἱεραπόλεως
445 [s 376] Μηνοδώρου Εἰρηνουπόλεως
446 [s 377] Κόνωνος Σβίδης [isbidae Φ^{c}, isidae Φ^{r}, bidis Φ^{a}, βίδησ B, βήδησ M]: —
(46) Νουνέχιος ἐπ. Λαοδικείας τῆς μητροπόλεως ὁρίσας ὑπέγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόντων ὑπ' ἐμὲ ἐπισκόπων
447 [s 378] Συμμαχίου πόλεως Ἀττούδων
448 [s 379] Φιλητοῦ πόλεως Χαιρατάπων [χαρατάπων MB, *corr.* M]
449 [s 380] Ἐπιφανίου πόλεως Κολασσῶν

450 [s 381] Εὐαγόρα πόλεως Ἰλούζων [εἰλούζων M]
451 [s 382] Ζωσίμου πόλεως Θεμισσ<ωνί>ου [θεμισσοῦ MB, Themisonii Φcr, Themissonii Φa]
452 [s 383] Ἀντιόχου πόλεως Σανάων [συναῶν M, sanao Φa]
453 [s 384] Φιλαδελφ<ί>ου [φιλαδέλφου MB, Filadelfio Φa, Philadelphio Φcr] πόλεως Ἀτανασσοῦ
454 [s 385] Ἀραβίου [ἀραμίου B] πόλεως Συννάου
455 [s 386] Ἡρακλείου πόλεως Κυδισσοῦ [κηδισσοῦ Mcorr]
456 [s 387] Γάιου πόλεως Ἀλίων
457 [s 388] Ματθία πόλεως Τημενουθύρων [τεμένου θηρῶν Mcorr, Τημεσιανοῦ Σ 341 Δ 332]
458 [s 389] Φιλίππου πόλεως Πελτῶν
459 [s 390] Τατιανοῦ [Tatiano Φ, τατίνου MB; Titiano *actio* XVII, 9, 185 *in* Φa] πόλεως
460 [s 390a] Φιλίππου πόλεως [φιλιππουπόλεωσ MB] <Ἀγκύρας σιδηρᾶς Σ 348 Δ 337>: —
(34) Ὀλύμπιος ἐπ. τῆς μητροπόλεως Κύπρου ὁρίσας ὑπέγραψα διὰ (366) Ἐπαφροδίτου ἐπ. πόλεως Ταμάσου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόντων
461 [s 391] Ἑρμολάου πόλεως
462 [s 392] Καρτερίου πόλεως [καρτεριουπόλεωσ MB]
463 [s 393] Ἀριστοκλέους
464 [s 394] Τιβερίου πόλεως [τιβεριανουπόλεωσ M, τιβεριουπόλεωσ B, Tiberio Φ]
465 [s 395] Νικοπολίωνος [MBΦa, nicopolis Φcr]: —
(32) Συμεώνης ἐπ. Ἀμίδης τῆς μητροπόλεως ὑπέγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ
466 [s 396] Εὐσεβίου <Ἰγγίλης [ἰγγήλησ Σ 120, inceles Δ 113]>
467 [s 396a] Μαρων<ί>ου [μαρωνουπόλεωσ M, μακρο- B, Maronio Φ, Maronius a. 458: *Act. Conc.* II, V, p. 41, ll. 42, 31] πόλεως
468 [s 397] Καιουμᾶ <Σουφανηνῆς Σ 121, sufaninensis Δ 114>
469 [s 397a] Οὐαλαρσέκου [gualaras Φ, balursachius, ualarus, -ras a. 458: *Act. Conc.* II, V, p. 41, ll. 42, 35] πόλεως [οὐαλαρσεκουπόλεως MB]
470 [s 398] *Τιρικίου [tiricio Φ, σηρικίου MB, turuhius, reticius a. 458, *ib. p.* 41, ll. 42, 34] πόλεως
διὰ (33) Πέτρου πρεσβυτέρου: —
(49) Περγάμιος ἐπ. Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Πισιδῶν μητροπόλεως ὑπέγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόντων θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων τῆς προειρημένης ἐπαρχίας
471 [s 399] Ἀπελλίου [Apellino Φ] πόλεως
472 [s 400] Πρωτογένους πόλεως
473 [s 401] Μαρκελλίνου πόλεως
474 [s 402] Μαξίμου [Φcr *et* a. 458; μαξιμίνου MB] πόλεως <Ζοζύλων Σ 311 Δ 302; *lege* Ζορζίλων>
475 [s 403] Τιμοθέου πόλεως
(345) [s 404] Εὐτροπίου πόλεως <Ἀδάδων>: —
476 [s 405] Ἀρμενίου πόλεως
(359) [s 406] Μουσωνίου πόλεως <Λιμένων>: —
(11) Στέφανος ἐπ. Ἐφέσου τῆς μητροπόλεως καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ ἀπόντων θεοσεβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων, τουτέστιν
477 [s 407] Εὐτροπίου πόλεως Περγάμου
478 [s 408] Φλαβιανοῦ πόλεως Ἀδραμυττίου
479 [s 409] Μαξίμου πόλεως Ἀσσοῦ

480 [s 410] Ἀρετιανοῦ πόλεως Ἀντάνδρων [ἀττάνδρων MB]
481 [s 411] Χρυσογόνου πόλεως *Κύμης [Φ, μύκης MB]
482 [s 412] Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλεως Μαγνησίας
483 [s 413] Εὐσταθίου πόλεως *Τημένου [Timeni Φ^{a}, τεμένου MB]
484 [s 414] Δρακοντίου πόλεως Ἐρυθρῶν
485 [s 415] Γενναδίου πόλεως *Τηίων [τέων MB]
486 [s 416] Ἰουλιανοῦ πόλεως Λεβέδου
487 [s 417] Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλεως Κολοφῶνος
488 [s 418] Ζωτικοῦ πόλεως Ἀναίας
489 [s 419] Ἰσιδώρου πόλεως *Πριήνης [Prienae Φ, πριαίνησ M, τριαίνησ B]
490 [s 420] Μαξίμου πόλεως Τράλλεων [Τράλλεων *om.* B]
491 [s 421] Σαββατίου πόλεως Μασταύρων [Σαββατίου πόλεως *om.* B]
492 [s 422] Εὐστοργίου πόλεως Διὸς ἱεροῦ
493 [s 423] Γεροντίου πόλεως Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως
(237) [s 424] Θωμᾶ πόλεως Αὐλίου κώμης
(240) [s 425] Ῥουφίνου πόλεως <Βριούλων> [*om.* B^{b}]
494 [s 426] Ἰωάννου πόλεως Βαρέττων [*om.* B^{b}]
495 [s 425 bis] Βασιλείου πόλεως *Σίων [σέων M, ἀσαίων B, teorum Φ^{cr}, reorum Φ^{a}]
496 [s 426 bis] Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλεως Μοναύλης [μεναύλησ B]

συναινέσας ὑπέγραψα διὰ (245) Ἑσπερίου ἐπισκόπου Πιτάνης: —

(27) Κωνστάντιος [Constantinus Φ^{cr}] ἐπ. τῆς μητροπόλεως Βόστρων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων
(135) [s 427] Πλάκκου [πλάκου B] πόλεως Γεράσων [= Σ 98 Δ 92]
497 [s 428] Ζώσυος πόλεως Ἐσβοῦντος
498 [s 429] Μάλχου πόλεως Αἴνου
499 [s 430] Γαύτου πόλεως Νεέλων
500 [s 431] Νόννου πόλεως Ζεραβένης [$B^{b}\Phi$, ζεραμένησ MB^{a}]
501 [s 432] Χίλωνος [χείλωνοσ B] πόλεως Νέας πόλεως
502 [s 433] Ἰωάννου πόλεως Ἔρρης
503 [s 434] Ἰοβίου πόλεως Νέβης
504 [s 435] Γαιανοῦ πόλεως Μηδάβων
505 [s 436] Σευήρου Μαξιμιανουπόλεως
506 [s 437] Ἀναστασίου πόλεως Εὐτιμίας
507 [s 438] Σολέμου πόλεως Κωνσταντιανῆς [Constantianae *et* Constantinae Φ]
508 [s 439] Μάρα [βάρα B] πόλεως Διονυσιάδος

συναινέσας ὑπέγραψα: —

(29) Θεόδωρος ἐπ. τῆς μητροπόλεως Δαμασκοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπ.
509 [s 440] Ἰωάννου πόλεως Παλμύρας
510 [s 441] Δάδα πόλεως Χοναχάρων
511 [s 442] Εὐσεβίου πόλεως Ἰαβρούδων
512 [s 443] Θεοδώρου πόλεως Δανάβων [δάβων B^{a}, δάβρων B^{b}]
513 [s 444] Ἀβραμίου [Ἀβρααμίου M] πόλεως Ἀρλάνων [ἀρχάων B^{b}]
514 [s 445] Πέτρου πόλεως Κοραδέων [κοραδαίων MB]

συναινέσας ὑπέγραψα: —

(30) Στέφανος ἐπ. τῆς μητροπόλεως Ἱεραπόλεως καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων
515 [s 446] Οὐρανίου πόλεως Σούρων
516 [s 447] Μάρα πόλεως Ὠρίμων
517 [s 448] Δαυὶδ πόλεως Εὐρωποῦ
518 [s 449] Κοσμᾶ πόλεως <Βαρβαλισσοῦ>

519 [s 450] Μαρι<νι>ανοῦ [μαριανοῦ MB, marianus (marinianus R^{corr}) Φa; βαρινιανοῦ XVII, 9, 184 M] πόλεως Ῥοσαφᾶ [Ῥωσαφᾶ M] συναινέσας ὑπέγραψα: —

520 [s 451] Γρηγόριος ἐπ. Ἀδριανουπόλεως [*om.* Φ]

521 [s 452] Ἰοβιανὸς [Σ 15 Δ 16; a. 448: *actio* I 552; ἰουβενάλιοσ MB, *om.* Φ] ἐπ. Διβέλτου [διβέλλου MB] ὁρίσας ὑπέγραψα

My reconstruction of Γ confirms the view I pointed out above that the number of 520 members, already cited in the Imperial decree of 452 A.D., is no invention. My list even comprises 521 entries, but it is quite possible that Pamprepios of Titiopolis (Γ 98) like the Egyptian bishops attended only the first session and was therefore not mentioned in the list of the sixth (see pp. 67–68). By rejecting Schwartz's suggestion that the two lists *s* and ΣΔ were compiled independently, we avoid a number of difficulties. Schwartz reflects "whether the minutes of the council were published before the compilers had finished their task." Moreover he believes that the lists were constructed and arranged by their compilers by means of very complicated manipulations, and does not consider them simply as enumerations of bishops and representatives. Despite all his valuable contributions to the elucidation of a large number of details, the result of Schwartz's research is unsatisfactory due to this preconceived idea, which explains neither the origin of the two chief lists nor their partial conformity. He himself finally admits the inadequacy of his explanation avowing: "Et scientiae pars est quaedam nescire."

If my reconstruction of Γ is correct on the whole, all difficulties disappear. To prove this, let me first try to justify the general arrangement of my reconstruction of Γ and then examine the details in which Γ differs from *s* and ΣΔ.

Certainly Γ corresponded more closely to *s* than to ΣΔ, for doubtless it also took the hierarchical order of rank into account. In fact, Γ and *s* are more or less identical, if we leave out of account the 30 names figuring in ΣΔ, but missing in *s*. It is true, here and there the order of *s* is confused, and one is sometimes tempted to straighten it out. But it is possible that this real or perhaps merely apparent disorder resulted from circumstances which are no longer discernible, and already existed in the original list. E.g., in the Greek lists we always find Amphilochios of Side [100]

[100] His name is omitted in *s*, but figures both in the Latin version (Φ) and in the

in the same place, namely between the metropolitans of Apameia in Syria and Tarsos, generally as the 21st metropolitan,[101] but sometimes as 16th, 20th, 22nd or 24th.[102] His suffragan bishops however are placed at the end of all the bishops present at the council (*s* 330–334), even after the suffragan bishops of the metropolitan of Perge, who occupies the 45th place in the list of metropolitans. The divergence between the respective places of Amphilochios and of his suffragan bishops in the list reveals that the order is here somewhat confused, perhaps due to the fact that Side was only the ecclesiastical metropolis of a part of Pamphylia (Σ 266: Παμφυλίας ἑτέρας), while Perge, the ecclesiastical metropolis of the rest, was the political capital of the entire province of Pamphylia. Hence the suffragan bishops of Amphilochios of Side and those of Epiphanios of Perge may have formed one group at the council. The fact that in the enumeration of metropolitans Amphilochios occurs long before his colleague Epiphanios, is obviously not due to the higher rank of his see, but to his seniority and authority. Side retained this precedence: in the *Notitia Epiphanii* it occupies the 10th place and Perge the 25th. At Ephesos in 431 A.D., i.e., before the council of Chalcedon, Amphilochios of Side figures as the 9th metropolitan in the list of signatories at the session of June 22, while Berinianos of Perge stands nearly at the end of the list, i.e. No. 192 out of 197; if we suppose that the almost complete disorder of this list of signatories resulted from the fact that the members signed when they arrived, this would mean that Berinianos arrived late.[103] In the list of those present at the same session, Perge and Side occupy the 22nd and 23rd places respectively,[104] in that of those present on July 22, the 20th and 21st places,[105] and in the list of the signatories on July 22, the 8th and 20th places;[106] thus in the list of

Greek list of those present at the sixth session; thus he was no doubt present at the sixth session.

[101] PL V. VI. VIII. IX.

[102] Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 10.

[103] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. I, vol. I, pars II (1927), p. 55–64.

[104] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. I, vol. I, pars II, p. 3–7. This fact suggests that the list of those present at the session of July 22 is not copied from the corresponding list for June 22, as Schwartz suggests in his annotation to the text, but vice versa. For if, as I suppose, Berinianos arrived toward the end of the session of June 22, we should not find him in his right place in the list of those present there.

[105] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. I, pars VII (1929), p. 84–88.

[106] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. I, pars VII, p. 11–117.

431 A.D. Perge is always placed before Side except in the list of signatories of June 22.

We find a similar divergence in the case of Rhodos.[107] While the metropolitan of the province of the Islands, which belonged to the *Dioecesis Asiana*, stands at the end (*s* 53), even after the metropolitans of Illyricum and Thracia, his suffragan bishops (*s* 298–299) are recorded between those of Pisidia (under the 44th metropolitan) and those of Cyprus (under the 30th metropolitan), the latter also being in an unusual place. In this case we can neither explain nor rectify the anomaly; for we know too little of the historical causes and evolution of the hierarchical order that prevailed at this time to be able to check the correctness of every entry in the list of 451 A.D. For this reason, I prefer, in my reconstruction of Γ, to leave such entries as those of the metropolitans of Side and Rhodos, in their places perhaps erroneously assigned to them in *s*.

Now let me examine the details in which Γ differs from *s*.

No. 67. *Οὐράνιος ἐπ. Γαβάλων.*
In ΣΔ he occupies the last place (Σ 39. Δ 40) among the bishops of Syria I, whose arrangement is different in *s*. It was probably because of the resemblance of the names of the bishoprics Gabala and Gabbula that his name was omitted in *s* before 60 *Πέτρος ἐπ. Γαββούλα.*

No. 72. *Γλύκων ἐπ. Καισαρείας διὰ Ζωσίμου ἐπ. Μηνωίδος.*

No. 73. *Σευηριανὸς ἐπ. Σκυθοπόλεως.*
In the list arranged according to provinces Glykon, metropolitan of Palaestina I, is placed (Σ 123. Δ 116) between Juvenal of Jerusalem (= *s* 6) and the bishops of the three Palestinian provinces, who in *s* (66–69. 71–73. 75–83) are thrown together. Metropolitans represented by bishops are generally registered among the metropolitans (*s* 7.10.20.30.36.37.53), while these bishops usually affixed their signatures in their own rights among the other bishops of their province; the only exception was Meletios of Larissa in Syria II who signed for his metropolitan (*s* 20) adding the words "and for myself" (*καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ὁρίσας ὑπέγραψα*). I shall discuss below the probable place in Γ where Zosimos of Menoïs signed in his own right. The place where the name Glykon of Kaisareia has been omitted in *s* is all the more difficult to fix as the name of the metropolitan of Palaestina II (Σ 131. Δ 124: Severianos of Skythopolis) is also missing, both names figuring only in ΣΔ. Since the metropolitan of Petra, capital of Palaestina III, was not present at the council, none of the metropolitans of the three Palestinian provinces occurs in *s*. In any case the names Glykon and Severianos would have followed that of Juvenal of Jerusalem (*s* 6) and preceded those of their own suffragan bishops (*s* 66–83). One is tempted to assume that in Γ the entry of the two metropolitans of Palaestina I and II followed those of the metropolitans subordinated to Antioch as capital of the entire *Dioecesis Oriens* (*s* 19–29), since Jerusalem in its turn follows Antioch (*s* 5), and that they preceded the group of "*eparchiotai*" of Syria I, suffragan bishops of

[107] Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 19.

Antioch as capital of the province, enjoying certain privileges, but ranking below the provincial metropolitans. The fact that several metropolitans of the patriarchate of Constantinople (*s* 11–18) are placed before those of Antioch, and others (*s* 31–53) after them, indicates that the compiler considered the first group as direct suffragan bishops of Constantinople and the latter as suffragan bishops of Kaisareia, Ephesos and Herakleia, which in their turn ranked below Antioch. Consequently, according to the rank of Jerusalem, the names of the Palestinian metropolitans should be placed after Antioch and probably before Kaisareia, Ephesos and Herakleia, thus between *s* 29 and 31, i.e., either before or after the name of the metropolitan of Cyprus (*s* 30). Since the bishops of Cyprus are given in a very low place of the list (*s* 300–306), we might suppose that their metropolitan was placed after his Palestinian colleagues who would then have been omitted between *s* 29 and 30.

But deductions of this kind are not conclusive, for, as we have seen in the cases of Side and Rhodos, the order of the provinces in *s* often differs from that of their metropolitans.

Other considerations support the supposition that the metropolitans of Palaestina I and II figured between the *eparchiotai* of Syria I and the bishops of the three Palestinian provinces;[108] the metropolitans of Palaestina I and II occupied the place next to the Phoenician titular metropolitan Eustathios of Berytos (*s* 65). As I have already mentioned, the bishops of the three Palestinian provinces are thrown together in *s*. This arrangement shows that all of them were considered as direct suffragan bishops of Jerusalem, notwithstanding the rights of the three provincial metropolitans. Jerusalem aspired to an absolute sovereignty over them similar to that enjoyed by Alexandria over the church of the Egyptian and Libyan provinces. Accordingly the two Palestinian metropolitans probably only signed as *primi inter pares* before the other Palestinian bishops, and merely separated from these by the Phoenician metropolitan Eustathios of Berytos. This sequence of names clearly shows what was not perceptible until now, that Eustathios, as an adversary of Photios of Tyre and a protégé of Juvenal, sat beside the metropolitans of Palestine. Having been reduced to a titular metropolitan on October 20, he was doubtless placed in Γ after the metropolitans of Palaestina I and II, and before the ordinary bishops of the three Palestinian provinces. It is well known, that Juvenal had formerly claimed the provinces of Phoenicia Paralos, Phoenicia Libanesia and Arabia, and that Eustathios of Berytos had assisted him in his struggle against the patriarch of Antioch.[109] In accordance with the place assigned to Eustathios in *s*, two bishops of Northern Phoenicia, ordained by him, viz. Antiochos of Arka (*s* 70) and Ruphinos of Byblos (*s* 74), are inserted among the Palestinian bishops. The list of the *Corpus canonum* of Antioch (ΣΔ) mentions, instead of them, two other bishops of the same cities, ordained by Photios of Tyre, their representative at the so-called 17th session,[110] viz. Herakleitos (Σ 82 and Δ 76: Herakleides) of Arka and Peter of Byblos (Σ 79. Δ 73). The list ΣΔ being arranged according to provinces, these bishops naturally figure among the Phoenicians. I do not believe that the compiler of *s* deliberately selected the two followers of Eustathios and the compiler

[108] The enumeration of the Palestinian bishops begins with Leontios of Askalon. According to the *Plerophoriai* of John of Bēth Rufinā, this bishop was a "Nestorian" who "pressa Juvenal de signer l'apostasie" in 451 and went later to Cyprus, because he did not dare to return to his see (Jean Rufus, "Plérophories," ch. LII, ed. F. Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis*, VIII, I, p. 106–108).

[109] Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 45: "Eustathios und Iuvenal hatten ja auf der ἐνδημοῦσα 450 ihr Spiel gemeinsam gemacht."

[110] *Acta Chalced.*, XVII, 9, 110–111.

of ΣΔ those of Photios. I explain their choice simply by the circumstance that the Palestinian bishops occupied the first place in *s* and the Phoenician bishops the first in ΣΔ; thus each compiler omitted the bishops of Arka and Byblos there, where their bishoprics, represented by two other bishops, occurred for a second time. The compiler of ΣΔ must have been surprised at the insertion of the two Phoenician bishops among those of Palestine. Even recent scholars were led astray until Schwartz disclosed the real facts. The confusion has been increased by the accidental circumstance, that some old editions of the Latin minutes of the council of Chalcedon, e.g. that of Mansi,[111] give as equivalent for the entry *Ἀντίοχος ἐπ. Ἄρκης*: *Antiochus episc. *Archelaidis* (in the margin: **Arcae*). It is true that Mansi already annotated (note f): "*Haec lectio non est bona. Divion. & Corb. habent* Archae, *Paris.* Arcis."[112] Nevertheless scholars have preferred to accept the spelling Archelaïdis, for, contrary to Arka, a town of this name existed in Palestine. Le Quien[113] already considered Arka an incorrect form of Archelaïs, and until recently subsequent scholars accepted his opinion.[114] *Archelaïdis*, which may have been a misprint in an old edition, does not actually appear in any manuscript. Incidentally there exists another passage in which the bishopric of "Arka in Palestine" is apparently mentioned, and here modern commentators did not hesitate to change Arka into Archelaïs again.[115] One of the members of the *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα* of 448 A.D. is called *Τιμόθεος ἐπ. τῆς Ἀρκηνῶν πόλεως ἐπαρχίας Παλαιστίνης*.[116] The Latin version reads *Timotheus episc. Saracinorum civitatis provinciae Palaestinae*,[117] and Ensslin[118] accordingly calls him "episc. Saracenorum in Palaestina," considering him to be the predecessor of John, bishop of the Saracens in 451 A.D. But we know from Cyril's *Vita Euthymii*,[119] that there were only two predecessors of John, Peter and Auxolaos, both known as members of the councils of 431 and 449 A.D. It is obvious that according to the Greek text *Ἀρκηνῶν πόλεως* the Latin version should read: *episcopus [s]Ar[a]cinorum civitatis*. Schwartz[120] is right when he follows Arka by the remark: "falso *ἐπαρχίας Παλαιστίνης* I 555,[18]" although he did not investigate the origin of the mistake. The reading of codex B, *Ἀρκηνῶν Παλαιστινοῦ*[121] gives us a key to the problem: we know from the Syriac minutes of the *Latrocinium* that Timothy, bishop of Arkai (in Phoenicia), was actually a Palestinian, who "ought to have been ordained by Juvenal, bishop of *Ψάλτων* (i.e. *Σάλτων*) in Palestine,"[122] but subsequently was translated by Domnos of Antioch "in violation of all canonical

[111] Mansi, VII, col. 141B.

[112] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. III, pars II, p. 159 [418], 25. In Schwartz's edition *Arcis* and *Arcae* are also the only variants of the name.

[113] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, III, col. 675.

[114] R. Janin, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclés.*, III (1924), col. 1539–40.

[115] Janin, *loc. cit.*

[116] "Acta Chalced., I, 555 [18]," *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars I, p. 148, 25–26.

[117] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. III, pars I, p. 132, 20.

[118] W. Ensslin, "Timotheos 56," *R. E.*, VI A (Stuttgart, 1937), col. 1361.

[119] Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, ch. 27," ed. Schwartz (*Texte und Untersuchungen . . . IL*), p. 25, 6. 41, 12.

[120] Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 85, s. v. *Ἄρκης* (2).

[121] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars I, p. 148, 25 f. (*varia lectio*).

[122] Psalton is probably identical with *Σάλτων* (Hierocles, *Synekdemos*, p. 721, 11; Georgius Cyprius, v. 1057: *Σάλτον Ἱερατικόν*; p. 43 and 68 of my edition). Cf. G. Hoffmann *apud* J. Flemming, *Abhandl. d. kgl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., N. F., Band XV (Berlin, 1917), p. 178, *adnot. ad* p. 127, 3.

order" to Arkai in "the other" Phoenician province;[123] Domnos ordered Uranios (of Hemesa) "to do nothing more than to lay hands on him."[124]

No. 85. Ζώσιμος ἐπ. Μηνωΐδος.

At the sixth session the representative of (No. 72) Glykon of Kaisareia in Palestine probably placed his signature in his own right among those of his fellow-bishops. The place of this entry in Γ is determined by a comparison with other lists; for Zosimos occurs in those of the first, third and fourth sessions[125] exactly in the place in *s* (No. 76) which is occupied by Natiras of Gaza, who however does not appear in these lists; and as Zosimos figures before Natiras in the list of those present at the sixth session (VI 1[75]), his name must have been omitted between Nos. 75 and 76 in *s*.

No. 92. Μαριανὸς (Σ 140. Marcianus Δ 133) ἐπ. Γάζης.

He occurs as Natiras's (*s* 76) rival bishop of Gaza, which in ΣΔ is erroneously attributed to Palaestina III instead of Palaestina I. He is identical with the Marinianos of 449 A.D.[126] Natiras was already bishop of Gaza in 431 A.D. and according to *s* signed in 451 as ἐπ. τῆς κατὰ Γάζαν. The omission in *s* of Marcianus, as Marinianos is spelled in Δ, may be before or after the entirely or almost homonymous (*s* 82) Μαρκιανὸς ἐπ. Γεράρων.[127]

No. 98. Παμπρέ<πι>ος (παπαροσ codex F of Σ, *mampreus* Δ) ἐπ. Τιτιουπόλεως (Σ 67. Δ 61). In *s* he does not appear among the nine Isaurian bishops present at the council.[128] Since their names are arranged quite differently in the two lists, it is impossible to fix the place where he may have figured in Γ. It is even doubtful whether his name was ever mentioned in this list. For Pamprepios probably left the council long before the sixth session. We know several details of his life from some passages of the *Plerophoriai* by the Antiochene John of Bēth Ruphinā, bishop of Maïuma, ignored by Eduard Schwartz. John, who wrote this treatise during the

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Σάλτου: John of Bēth Rufinā, *Plerophoriai*, ed. F. Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis*, VIII, I, p. 100; cf. p. 177.

[123] The cities of Hemesa and Laodikeia in Phoenicia Libanensis had previously been mentioned. Therefore the Syriac word in question means "the other" (viz. Phoenician) province, and not "another" province. S. G. F. Perry, *The second Synod of Ephesus* (Dartford, Kent, 1881), p. 313, n.*) here adds the remark: "Arcai was, it seems, in Palaestina Prima, and Psalton nowhere"!

[124] *Syriac acts of Ephesos*, ed. Flemming, p. 126, 1–4. It would only have been an offense against the canons, if Timothy had really been appointed bishop of Salton. As bishopric however Salton is quite unknown, unless it was identical with the Gerara of 451 A.D. (*s* 82). In this case, it was Σάλτον Γερα<ρ>ιτικόν in Palaestina I (Georgius Cyprius, v. 1027) and not Σ. Ἱερατικόν, as had hitherto been assumed.

[125] *Acta Chalced.*, I, 3[76]. III, 1[60]. IV, 1[63].

[126] W. Ensslin, *R. E.*, XIV, col. 1759, speaking about this Marinianos, says: "an ihn gerichtet Io. Chrysost. ep. 128 (Migne, *P. G.*, LII, col. 638)." But this letter of 406 A.D. (!) is addressed to a bishop Marinianos whose see is not indicated; he was certainly not the bishop of Gaza of 449 and 451 A.D.

[127] Concerning this Markianos, whose bishopric is called Ἰωτάπη in *Acta Chalced.*, IV, 9[114] (= Σ 139 *Idiota*, Δ 131 *Diotanus*), cf. A. Alt, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XVII, p. 230. F. M. Abel, "L'île de Jotabè," *Revue biblique*, XLVII (1938), 510–538 (p. 533–5: l'évêché de Jotabè).

[128] *s* 87–95. Nine other Isaurian bishops were represented by their metropolitan: *s* 369–377.

episcopacy of Severus of Antioch (512–518 A.D.), related that "Panopropios" (sic), bishop of the Isaurian city of "Titopolis, which was built by Emperor Titus,"[129] participated in the council of Chalcedon together with the rest of the Isaurian bishops; but when he was warned in a vision, that the metropolitan and all the bishops of his province had abandoned their (Monophysitic) faith, he returned home by ship in the dead of night as a sign of protest. He continued to be bishop of Titiopolis for 17 years, i.e. until 468 A.D.,[130] and suffered much at the hands of his metropolitan Basileios and the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch with his adherents. His name is spelled P(a)nopropios in the Syriac Mss. of the *Plerophoriai*, but the exact reading Pamprepios is preserved in the Coptic fragments[131] of the spurious *Life of Dioskoros of Alexandria* by Deacon Theopistos,[132] partially based on the *Plerophoriai*.[133]

[129] Titiopolis, the correct name of the city, is probably derived from that of the Roman officer M. Titius. Cf. R. Symes *apud* A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1937), p. 209 and p. 438, n. 30. I do not consider this passage in the *Plerophoriai* a confirmation of my opinion that Titiopolis was situated on the sea-coast (E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès* [Brussels, 1939], p. 38 ad 709, 1), for probably Pamprepios would have returned home by sea in any case.

[130] F. Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis*, VIII, i, 46, n. 4.

[131] Crum, "Coptic texts relating to Dioscorus of Alexandria," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXV (1903), 272 (leaf LXX). F. Nau, "Note sur quelques fragments coptes relatifs à Dioscore," *Journal Asiatique*, série X, t. II (1903), 182. 183, n. 1.

[132] Jean Rufus, *Plérophories*, ed. F. Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis*, VIII, I, p. 43, 12 and n. 4; p. 180. F. Nau, *Histoire de Dioscore, écrite par son disciple Théopiste* (Paris, 1903), p. 148–153 = *Journal Asiatique*, X^e^ série, t. I (1903), 66 ff.

[133] The *Vita Dioscori*, ostensibly ("ut dicitur" Assemani) written by his pupil, Deacon Theopistos, was already recognized by Steph. Evod. Assemani (*Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, partis I tom. III [Rome, 1759; reprinted Paris, 1925], p. 497, cod. 208) to be a legendary fiction. F. Haase's repeated attempts (*Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, VI [Breslau, 1908], 141–233; *Altchristliche Kirchengeschichte nach orientalischen Quellen* [Leipzig, 1925], p. 203) to prove the author's veracity and to place him in the fifth century, should not have been taken seriously by Bardenhewer (*Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, IV, 78 f.) and Baumstark (*Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* [Bonn, 1922], p. 184). Haase has already pointed out many anachronisms and absurdities in this story; but he considered them all "later interpolations." The author of the *Vita Dioscori* pretended to have stayed with the banished patriarch at Gangra, the principal scene of his narration, for three years. The fact that he thought that this city was an island on which he could take walks on the sea-shore, suffices to prove the falseness of his story. Haase (*Kirchengesch. Abhandl.*, l. c. p. 35, n. 1) merely declares: "Theopist versteht unter der Insel Gangra ganz Paphlagonien." Gangra is as far from the sea as Paris is, and separated from it by several ranges of mountains. Until now it was assumed that the *Vita Dioscori* was published after 512 A.D., because it records a vision, in which Severus of Antioch appeared to Dioskoros. But in this vision Severus says to Dioskoros: "Suffer for God as I do," which must refer to his banishment and dates the publication after 518 A.D. This is important, because it proves that the *Vita* was written *after* the *Plerophoriai*. On the other hand, the fact that in the *Vita* we also find Panopropios, the erroneous form of the name Pamprepios, is sufficient proof of its dependence on the *Plerophoriai*, from

No. 108. Γάιος ἐπ. Συέδρων.

In ΣΔ this bishop, missing in *s*, occupies the first place (Σ 267. Δ 258) among the five bishops of Pamphylia Sidensis, enumerated in the same order in both *s* and ΣΔ. From this one would deduce, that he should be placed before *s* 330, where Makarios of Ainos (Γ 399) has also been omitted (see below). But in some lists of the first, third and fourth sessions[134] we find Gaïos of Syedra among the bishops of Isauria instead of Pamphylia Sidensis, i.e., between Ailianos of Selinus (*s* 91) and Ammonios of Iotape (*s* 94); in all these lists Ailianos of Selinus appears after Epiphanios of Kestroi (*s* 93). In the lists of the council of Nicaea, Nestor of Syedra is placed among the Isaurian bishops, and Stephen of Byzantium, whose statements are often derived from older sources, also places Syedra in Isauria. Before 451 A.D. therefore Syedra was obviously an Isaurian city. In later times however, Hierokles[135] and the *Notitiae episcopatuum* agree in attributing Syedra to Pamphylia, and bishop George, who took part in the council of Constantinople in 692 A.D., signed as ἐπ. πόλεως Συέδρων (Συδρέων Mansi) τῆς Παμφύλων ἐπαρχίας. In the case of Stratonikos of Syedra in 536 A.D., the province is not indicated. The city was situated near the boundary between the two provinces and was separated from Isauria and assigned to Pamphylia in the course of the fifth century. There is no bishop of Syedra among the Isaurian bishops who signed the letter to Emperor Leon in 458 A.D.; but it is possible that John or Datianos, the names of whose bishoprics are omitted in the only Latin Ms., was bishop of Syedra. Almost the entire letter of the bishops of Eastern Pamphylia, written by Amphilochios of Side, to Emperor Leon is lost, and therefore does not help us to decide to which province Syedra belonged in 458 A.D. Very likely however the change took place in 451 or little later. For it seems that the compiler of *s* omitted to enter Gaïos of Syedra among the Isaurian bishops after *s* 93, presumable place in the original, intending to insert him later among the Pamphylian bishops before *s* 330, but forgot to do so.

No. 118. Ματρωνιανὸς ἐπ. Πομπηιουπόλεως.

No. 124. Σαλούστιος ἐπ. Κωρύκου.

In the appendix of *s* these Cilician bishops are represented by their metropolitan Theodore of Tarsus (*s* 349. 348). They also figure in ΣΔ, but according to this list, the latter is represented by his fellow-bishop Philippos of Adana (Σ 55. Δ 49). In ΣΔ their names appear respectively at the beginning and end of the group of bishops of Cilicia I. Thus their places in Γ were before *s* 102 and 107 respectively; but they were subsequently omitted in the main part of *s*, when the appendix was added.

No. 135. Πλάκκος ἐπ. πόλεως Γεράσων.

In the appendix of *s* we find him among 13 Arabian bishops represented by Konstantinos of Bostra (*s* 427). In ΣΔ he is the only Arabian bishop represented by Konstantinos of Bostra and appears at the end of the group of the Arabian bishops who were present (Σ 94–97. Δ 88–91), which corresponds exactly to *s* 112–115. Thus in Γ his name figured after *s* 115.

No. 141. Πέτρος ἐπ. Βύβλου διὰ Φωτίου ἐπ. Τύρου.

No. 142. Ἡράκλειτος (Ἡρακλείδης ΣΔ) ἐπ. Ἄρκης.

No. 143. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπ. Ἀνταράδου.

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which the author plagiarizes in a very arbitrary way. According to Haase, the fragment of a letter from Pope Innocent to Severianus of Gabala, preserved only in an Arabic Ms., is a "splendid justification" of the authenticity of the author. Actually it may have been invented by the author of the *Vita Dioscori* or by someone in close connection with him.

[134] *Acta Chalced.*, I, 3 [76]. III, 1 [60]. IV, 1 [63]. Cf. Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 53.

[135] Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, p. 682, 9.

It is impossible to determine the exact place of these three bishops in Γ, for the bishops of Phoenicia I are differently arranged in *s* and ΣΔ, the titular metropolitan Eustathios of Berytos even being inserted among the ordinary bishops of this province in ΣΔ. But these names may have been placed after Paulos of Arados (*s* 120) in Γ. This would explain their omission in *s*: as I assumed above, the compiler of *s* omitted the bishops of Byblos and Arka here, because he had already registered bishops of these cities (*s* 70. 74) among those of the three Palestinian provinces. This omission in *s* placed Alexandros of Antarados immediately after Paulos of Arados, and it was probably this *homoeoteleuton* which caused the further omission of Alexandros of Antarados. I think this is the most likely explanation of the omission of the three names.

No. 165. *Δανιῆλος ἐπ. Μακεδονουπόλεως.*

No. 166. *Δαμιανὸς ἐπ. Καλλινίκου.*

No. 167. *Σωφρόνιος ἐπ. Κωνσταντίνης.*

No. 168. *Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Σαρακηνῶν.*

In ΣΔ these four entries (Σ 112–115. Δ 105–108) follow the names of three bishops of Osrhoëne, mentioned in *s* under Nos. 137–139. The third however, viz. Sophronios of Konstantina, also occurs in *s*, but erroneously among the bishops of Syria I (*s* 61). In ΣΔ John, bishop of the Saracens (Σ 115. Δ 108) is the last of the bishops of Osrhoëne. As Osrhoënian bishop he also figures in Schwartz's *Prosopographia*;[136] but at the end of his work, Schwartz adds the following *Corrigendum* to this item:[137] "*pro* [*Ὀσροηνῆς* Σ 115 Δ 108] *legas* [*Παλαιστίνης ᾱ* cf. Cyrill. Scythopol. uit. Euthymii p. 29. 54; *Ὀσροηνῆς* Σ 115 Δ 108 *falso*]; eodem loco: *lineae* ENCYCL. inter episcopos Osroenae etc. *praemittas* *Ἰωάννης* (30a)," for Cyril of Scythopolis mentions in his *Life of S. Euthymios*[138] two Palestinian pupils of this saint who were members of the council of Chalcedon, viz. Stephen of Iamnia (= *s* 83) and John, bishop of the Saracens. John was the third bishop of the camp (Parembolē) of the Saracens in Palaestina I, succeeding Auxolaos. Cyril wrote the *Life of S. Euthymios* more than a century after the council of Chalcedon;[139] we could therefore be tempted to doubt his statement, preferring ΣΔ which was carefully compiled during or shortly after the council and places John among the Osrhoënian bishops. In this case we would assume either that Cyril had found the "bishop John of the Saracens" in the list of members of the council of Chalcedon and supposed that the Saracens of Palestine were meant — their bishop Auxolaos had betrayed them in 449 A.D. by participating in the notorious "Robber-Council" — while in actual fact he belonged to Osrhoëne; or if we recept both statements, that in 451 there were two bishops of the very common name John, one of the Saracens in Palaestina I, the other of those in Osrhoëne. There is however a serious objection to attributing John to Osrhoëne: a bishopric of the Saracens in this province is only mentioned in ΣΔ, although it occurs apparently elsewhere. In Schwartz's abovementioned *Corrigendum*, where he changes the entry "John, bishop of Osrhoëne" into "John, bishop of Palaestina I," he distinguishes him from an Osrhoënian bishop John in 458 A.D. This bishop is generally identified with the bishop of the Saracens in Osrhoëne figuring in ΣΔ. All we know about him is the following: at the beginning of the letter from the bishops of Osrhoëne to Emperor Leon (458 A.D.) nine

[136] Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 36, s. v. *Ἰωάννης* (30).

[137] Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 160.

[138] Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita S. Euthymii*, ch. 27, ed. Schwartz, p. 41, 10.

[139] In 554 A.D. or somewhat later, according to Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, p. 413 f.

bishops are enumerated without any indication of their sees,[140] while at the end of the same letter the names of only five bishops are given with indication of their bishoprics.[141] While at the beginning two *Johannis* appear, the signatories only include John of Karrhai. It has been suggested that the John, named at the beginning but missing among the signatories of the letter, was the bishop of the Saracens. But this supposition is based on the assumption that the compiler of ΣΔ was right in assigning John bishop of the Saracens to the province of Osrhoëne; if not, the second assumption also becomes dubious, and we are at liberty to consider John the bishop of any other bishopric in Osrhoëne not mentioned among the signatures of the letter. A bishopric of the Saracens in Osrhoëne was neither represented at any other council nor is it mentioned in the *Notitia Antiochena* of 570 A.D. by Patriarch Anastasios I of Antioch.[142] This would not be the only inexact entry in ΣΔ; e.g., Julian of Kos (*s* 17) is called "bishop of Kios" and erroneously placed among the Bithynian bishops (Σ 160. Δ 153).[143]

I think the best way to clear this point is the following. Actually reference is made to the bishop of the Saracens in Palestine, but he joined the bishops of Osrhoëne for certain personal reasons, just as we find Eustathios of Berytos among the metropolitans of the *Dioecesis Pontica* in some lists, and among those of Palestine in others. If this supposition is correct, John was an adversary of Juvenal of Jerusalem and a protégé of Hibas (*s* 86. Σ 108. Δ 101), the rival bishop of Nonnos of Edessa (*s* 28. Σ 107. Δ 101), who was rehabilitated in the so-called eleventh session of Chalcedon. This much is certain: Juvenal of Jerusalem and his friend Eustathios of Berytos were on bad terms with Hibas of Edessa. Both, Juvenal and Eustathios, had been among the five leaders of the *Latrocinium*, who were not pardoned until in the fourth session of Chalcedon (October 17). When the bishops deliberated in Chalcedon on October 27, whether Hibas, deposed at the Robber-Council, should be rehabilitated, first Eustathios of Berytos produced some witnesses against him, and then, when the council pardoned Hibas, Juvenal in his turn could not refrain from referring to him as "an old man (*γέροντα*) who out of pity (*φιλανθρωπία*) might be admitted into the church," because "the Holy Scripture teaches us to admit even former heretics (*τοὺς ἀπὸ αἱρετικῶν*)."[144] Thus, if there was any antagonism between Juvenal and his suffragan bishop John of the Saracens, which is not sure, we could imagine that the latter sought the protection of Hibas in the province of Osrhoëne. This however is merely a hypothesis; it should be mentioned that Stephen of Iamnia, like John S. Euthymios's pupil, set among the Palestinian bishops (*s* 83). But whether John was inserted among the bishops of Osrhoëne deliberately or by mistake, we can explain his omission in *s* by the following assumption: the name figured in this group in Γ, but the compiler of *s* omitted it there, intending to insert it among the Palestinian bishops, and failed to do so.

It should be added here that the bishop of a tribe of Saracens in Phoenicia Libanesia is to be found both in *s* (No. 336) and in ΣΔ (Σ 91. Δ 85).

[140] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. V, p. 40, 8–10 (= Mansi, VII, col. 552).

[141] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. V, p. 41, 3–9.

[142] Cf. my edition, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXV (1924), p. 73–75.

[143] For the cause of this error see Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 33, s. v. Ἰουλιανός (3); the same, *Bischofslisten*, p. 20, n. 2. Andreas Wille, *Bischof Julian von Kios, der Nunzius Leos des Grossen in Konstantinopel*, Diss. Würzburg (Kempten, 1910), p. 1 ff., considered Kios the right form, an erroneous opinion accepted by E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, I (1930), p. 481 and 614, but rejected by Theod. Schnitzler, "Im Kampfe um Chalcedon," *Anal. Greg.*, XVI (Rome, 1938), 6, n. 4.

[144] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars III, p. 18 [377], 14 f. 40 [399] 18–21.

After *s* 139, where the four above-mentioned bishops of Osrhoëne were probably originally recorded, Leukadios of Mnizos appears erroneously (*s* 140); in ΣΔ this bishop of Galatia I (in *s* Nos. 145–149) figures before Euphrasios of Lagania (*s* 149), and I therefore place him there in my reconstruction of Γ. In *s* Leukadios is followed by the Mesopotamian bishop (*s* 141) Noës of Kēphā. In Γ, after Noës the other Mesopotamian bishops were probably recorded, and possibly in the same order as in ΣΔ:

No. 170. Μάρας ἐπ. Ἀνζίτ (Σ 116; Δ 111: *Azetiniensis*) or τοῦ ἔθνους Ἀνζιτηνῶν (P 148: *gentus, gentos Enzitinensis*).

No. 171. Ζέβεννος ἐπ. Μαρτυροπόλεως.

(No. 466) Εὐσέβιος ἐπ. Ἰγγίλης <διὰ Συμεώνου ἐπ. Ἀμίδης μητροπόλεως>.

(No. 468) Καιουμᾶς ἐπ. Σουφανηνῆς <διὰ Συμεώνου ἐπ. Ἀμίδης μητροπόλεως>.

The name of Maras also occurs in the *Collectio Prisca*.[145] Zebennos is mentioned in *s*, but erroneously as No. 135 together with a Bithynian bishop between the groups of Euphratesian and Osrhoënian bishops. In my reconstruction of Γ, I place him after Maras of Anzit. Eusebios and Kaïumas are missing in the main part of *s*, but occur in its appendix among the absentee bishops of Mesopotamia, represented by Symeones of Amida (*s* 396 f.). Their presence in ΣΔ indicates that in Γ their names were followed by the remark (omitted in ΣΔ): "represented by Symeones of Amida." As it is impossible to establish the exact order in which these four bishops appeared in Γ, I insert the last two in this part of my reconstruction giving them the numbers, under which they occur in the appendix.

No. 172. Μουσώνιος ἐπ. Νύσης.

No. 173. Φιρμῖνος ἐπ. Θερμῶν.

These are the only bishops of Cappadocia I present at the council, and both are missing in *s*. There is no reason to assume that this province immediately preceded Cappadocia II (*s* 162 f.) in Γ, for in *s* neither the provinces of Galatia I and II nor those of Armenia I and II immediately follow each other. It is quite probable that in Γ the bishops of Cappadocia I came directly after those of the patriarchate of Antioch, i.e., after *s* 141, considering the pre-eminence of Caesarea.

No. 181. Λευκάδιος ἐπ. Μνίζου.

As we pointed out above, he occupies a wrong place in *s*. His place in Γ (before *s* 149) is determined by the identical order of the bishops of Galatia I in *s* (*s* 145–149) and ΣΔ (Σ 164–169. Δ 157–162).

No. 189. Ἀντωνιανὸς (*Antoninus* Δ) ἐπ. Ἀμισοῦ δι' (190) Ὀλυμπίου διακόνου.

In ΣΔ (Σ 198. Δ 189) we find him at the head of the bishops of Helenopontos who are there arranged as follows: *s* 155. 156. 153. 154, thus preceding Paralios of Andrapa. In the genuine, but carelessly arranged list of those present at the second session he also precedes Paralios.[146] It is therefore probable that his name appeared before Paralios in Γ.

No. 205. Κῦρος ἐπ. Κυβίστρων.

In ΣΔ this entry follows the names of the bishops of Nazianzos and Kolonia in Cappadocia II (Σ 183. Δ 176); thus it was probably omitted after No. 163 in *s*.

No. 215. Ὀλύμπιος ἐπ. Προυσιάδος διὰ (216) Μοδέστου πρεσβυτέρου.

In ΣΔ he occupies the last place (Σ 213. Δ 204) among the bishops of Honorias, whose arrangement here is different from that in *s* (*s* 168. 164. 170. 169). In Γ his name probably figured between *s* 169 and 170, for we find it in a corresponding place in the list of those present at the second session.[147]

[145] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. II, pars II, p. 44 [136], 33.

[146] "Acta Chalced., II, 2 [109]," *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars II, p. 7 [203], 16.

[147] "Acta Chalced., II, 98 [250]," *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars II, p. 41 [237], 28.

No. 224. Πίος ἐπ. Πετηνίσσων.
Among the bishops of Galatia II, enumerated in the same order in *s* and ΣΔ, he is placed (Σ 175. Δ 168) after *s* 174. Accordingly this was probably the place where he figured in Γ.

No. 271. Ἀριστόκριτος (Ἀριστόκλειτος ΣΔ) ἐπ. Ὀλύμπου.

No. 274. Κυρῖνος ἐπ. Πατάρων.
According to the place in ΣΔ (Σ 273. 276. Δ 264. 267) the omission of these two entries falls before *s* 219. The list ΣΔ there enumerates two other bishops of Lycia (Σ 274 f. Δ 265 f.) who, though also missing in the group of Lycian bishops in *s* (*s* 219–228), are added at the end, shortly before the appendix (*s* 340 f.). Also in the list of those present at the second session,[148] Kyrinos is placed before Stephen of Limyra (*s* 219) and a group of Lycian bishops arranged as in *s* 223–228 (with one exception). In my reconstruction of Γ, I insert these four bishops in the places given them in ΣΔ.

No. 282. Κρατιανὸς ἐπ. Πανόρμου.
In the group of Lycian bishops which begins with the four above-mentioned names in ΣΔ (Σ 277–287. Δ 268–278) and is arranged exactly as in *s* (*s* 219–228), Kratianos is placed before Andreas of Tlos (*s* 226). Accordingly this was his place in Γ. In the list of those present at the second session[149] the same order is maintained except that Kratianos follows Andreas, but the order in ΣΔ is preferable.[150]

No. 296. Φιλόκτητος ἐπ. Δωδώνης.

No. 297. Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Φ[ρ]ωτικῆς διὰ (298) Ζηνοβίου [μητροπολίτου Βόστρων].[151]
In ΣΔ these two bishops are mentioned at the end (Σ 147 f. Δ 140 f.) of the group of bishops of Old Epirus. As *s* and ΣΔ are arranged in the same order (*s* 234–238 = Σ 142–146. Δ 135–139), the omission must fall after *s* 238.

No. 365. Βαράχιος (*Barachus* Δ) ἐπ. Νάξου.
In ΣΔ he is placed (Σ 353. Δ 344) after the bishops of Lesbos (with Tenedos) and Chios as third representative of the Islands. Accordingly he figured after *s* 299 in Γ.

No. 399. Μακάριος ἐπ. Αἴνου.
This bishop is mentioned in ΣΔ as well as in the *Collectio Prisca* (Σ 14. Δ 15. P 124). The two other bishops of the province of Rhodope are inserted in different places in the list, each between two provinces, namely *s* 176 between those of Galatia II and Paphlagonia, and *s* 229 between those of Lycia and Achaïa. In Γ the third may have occupied a similar place, perhaps between the bishops of Pamphylia Pergensis (*s* 323–329) and Sidensis (*s* 330. 332–334); for in the list of the *Collectio Prisca* he is placed before the latter province (P 126–128).

No. 404. Πέτρος ἐπ. πόλεως Ἐχινέων . . . διὰ χειρὸς Σωφρονίου συνεπισκόπου μου.
This entry in *s* 335 indicates an omission in both lists, for the signature of Sophronios in his own right is nowhere recorded and consequently, his bishopric

[148] "Acta Chalced., II, 97 [115]," *Acta Conc. Oec.*, *ibid.*, p. 37 [233], 20.

[149] "Acta Chalced., II, 97 [121]," *Acta Conc. Oec.*, *ibid.*, p. 37 [233], 26.

[150] See p. 48, n. 96. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, I, col. 1032, inserted Kratinos among the bishops of Panemuteichos in Pamphylia, for Panormos in Lycia was unknown to him. He did this, because in some old editions of the forged list of members of the Roman council of 503 A.D., which is partly based on the list Δ of 451 A.D., the bishop is called Cratinus Panemutensis (Mansi, VIII, col. 300C) instead of Cr. Panormutanus (Δ 275: *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. II, pars II, p. 74 [166], 31). But in other Mss. (Paris. int. suppl. lat. 840. Par. 3852) figures the correct form Panormitanus (*Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, ed. P. Hinschius, p. 678, 20; also Migne, *P. L.*, CXXX, col. 1025C).

[151] Regarding this addition see my remarks in *Byzantion*, XII (1937), p. 343.

cannot be ascertained. According to the *Notitia Leonis*, the see ὁ Ἐχίνου is the eighth bishopric under Larissa in Thessaly and is likewise attributed to Thessaly both in the minutes of Ephesos in 431 A.D.[152] and by Hierokles.[153] Considering the situation of this Thessalian city, it can never have belonged to New Epirus, to which province Peter of Echinos is attributed in ΣΔ (Σ 151. Δ 144). Also in the minutes of the fourth session, Peter of Echinos and Eusebios of Apollonia are called bishops of New Epirus.[154] We must therefore suppose that another bishopric of Echinos existed in New Epirus, though we find no mention elsewhere. Schwartz[155] emendated with a certain reserve Σωφρονίου into Σωτηρίχου, the name of the bishop of Kerkyra in Old Epirus; but generally bishops represented bishops of the same province.

No. 408. Οὐαλεριανὸς ἐπ. Βασσιανῆς.

No. 409. Αὐρήλιος ἐπ. Ἀδραμετηνός.

No. 410. Ῥεστιτιανὸς (*Restitutianus* Φcr) ἐπ. Ἀφρικῆς.

No. 411. *Αὐρήλιος (*Valerius* Δ) ἐπ. Πάπου *Afrus* Δ).

These four African bishops (whether the first belonged to Africa is somewhat doubtful) were probably placed together in Γ. The first and fourth names only figure in ΣΔ (Σ 361 f. Δ 352 f.), while the other two are mentioned exclusively in *s* (*s* 331 and 338). As Aurelius of Hadrumetum (*s* 331) falls in the middle of the bishops of Pamphylia Sidensis, he, no doubt, occupies a wrong place. In my reconstruction of Γ I place him beside *s* 338, also inserting the names of the other two African bishops there. All four were among the last names in Γ; as to the order in which they appeared, see below, pp. 79–80. In ΣΔ the names are preceded by Ἀφρικῆς. But Schwartz[156] suggests that Bassiana (Γ 409) was the city of Pannonia, mentioned e.g. by Hierokles;[157] he considers Πάπου and *Afrus* (Γ 410) as "corruptum utrumque."[158] An African bishopric of Bassiana is occasionally referred to in modern works,[159] but apart from its mention in ΣΔ, there is no certain proof of its existence,[160] and its site is unknown.

Schwartz[161] reads both names figuring in ΣΔ as Οὐαλεριανός. In Δ 353 the bishop of Papos (*Afrus*) is called *Valerius*, but in the two Syriac transliterations his name, contrary to that of the bishop of Bassiana, begins with the letters Αὐ-, viz. 'WL'RYNWS, 'WL'RYWS, which would correspond to the Greek Αὐλεριανός, Αὐλέριος.[161a] In my opinion this form is probably a metathesis of Αὐρηλιανός or Αὐρήλιος. The name of his bishopric should be read Πόπου or Πόπου<τ>: for he

[152] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. I, vol. II, pars II, p. 19, 21.

[153] Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, p. 642, 5 ed. Wesseling; p. 16 of my edition. Cf. Ed. Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 107, s. v. *οἱ νέας* Ἠπείρου.

[154] *Acta Chalced.*, IV, 9[93], *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars II, p. 102 [298], 17.

[155] Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 56, s. v. Πέτρος (5); p. 63, s. v. Σωφρονίου (2).

[156] Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 51, s. v. Οὐαλεριανός (1); p. 86, s. v. Βασσιανῆς.

[157] Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, p. 657, 9.

[158] Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 51, s. v. Οὐαλεριανός (2).

[159] A. Audollent, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géogr. ecclés.*, VI (1932), col. 1273.

[160] Mansi, III, col. 848A: Secundianus Prisianensis (393 A.D.); cum adn. col. 849: Corbei. Brisianensis, unus Colbertinus Brisitanensis, alius Bissianensis. S. Augustini episcopi *Enarratio in psalmum XXXVI*, sermo II, 20, Migne, *P. L.*, XXXVI, col. 381: Prisianensis; note 13: plerique MSS Bissianensis aut Bisianensis.

[161] Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 51, s. v. Οὐαλεριανός (2); idem, *Bischofslisten*, p. 54.

[161a] I find the name Αὐλέριος attested three times by Basil. Seleuc., "Mirac. S. Theclae, 20," Migne, *P. G.*, LXXXV, 601 B, C, D.

seems to be the same as Αὐρήλιος ἐπ. τῆς ὀππιτανῶν, read Ποπιτανῶν = *Aurelius episcopus civitatis Popitanae*.[162] Two bishops, signatories at the council of Carthago in 411 A.D., and a third, mentioned in 484 A.D., also signed as *episcopi Puppitani*.[163] They were bishops of Putput, the Sūḳ el Abiaḍ of to-day.

No. 457. Ματθίας ἐπ. Τημεσιανοῦ.

He occurs in ΣΔ (Σ 341. Δ 332), but not in the main part of *s*, where he is missing between Paulos of Aristion (*s* 253, supplemented in the Greek list from Φ) and Eulalios of Siblia (*s* 254). But Matthias is mentioned in the appendix of *s* as bishop of Tēmenothyra among the bishops represented by Nunechios of Laodikeia (*s* 388). Therefore his name also figured in Γ between *s* 253 and 254, with the addition, omitted in ΣΔ, that he was represented by his metropolitan. The name Τημεσιανόν must be another form of Τημενουθύρα.[164] In the enumeration of members of a Roman council of 503 A.D., invented by the so-called Pseudo–Isidorus, which in fact chiefly comprises names of members of the council of Chalcedon taken from Δ, he is called *Matthias Themisoniensis*[165] or *Themessianensis*.[166]

No. 460. Φίλιππος πόλεως Ἀγκύρας Σιδηρᾶς.

In ΣΔ (Σ 348. Δ 337) Philippos figures between Thomas of Theodosiopolis (= *s* 258) and John of Trapezopolis (= *s* 256) among the bishops of Phrygia Pacatiana, arranged in a somewhat different order in *s* and ΣΔ (*s* 251–260. Σ 337–349. Δ 328–340). His name is omitted in *s*, possibly before or after that of Gennadios of Akmonia (*s* 257). This omission is probably due to the same reason as that of Matthias of Temenothyra; for the name of Philippos also occurs in the appendix, though in such a disguised form, that until now it has not been discovered.[167] We find under *s* 390 the following entry:

Ταριανοῦ πόλεως Φιλιππουπόλεως

Now, there is no mention of a city of Philippopolis in Phrygia Pacatiana anywhere else, and a comparison with the following 18 entries in my opinion proves conclusively that it should be read:

No. 459. [*s* 390] Ταριανοῦ πόλεως. . . .

No. 460. [*s* 390a] Φιλίππου πόλεως <Ἀγκύρας Σιδηρᾶς>.

For in all these cases the name of the bishopric is omitted, but almost everywhere the word πόλεως that was once followed by the lost place-name, is preserved. "Philippupolis" is not the only case where a copyist erroneously joined the name of the bishop in the genitive form to the subsequent word πόλεως, thus forming an apparent place-name. This toponym was then considered by a subsequent copyist to be the bishopric of the bishop whose name preceded it. The analogous cases of the Cyprian bishoprics Καρτεριουπόλεως and Τιβερι[αν]ουπόλεως (*s* 392. 394) should

[162] "Acta Chalced., I, 552 [28]," *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars I, p. 146, 22; t. II, vol. II, pars I, p. 20, 12.

[163] *Collatio*, I, 126. 187, Mansi, IV, col. 99[A]: Pannonius episc. plebis Puppitanae (cf. not. 4); col. 139[B]: Victorianus episc. Puppitanus (cf. not. 8); the former was the Catholic, the latter the Donatist bishop of P. in 411 A.D. *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae* (so-called "Notitia of King Huneric"), ed. Petschenig, *Corpus Script. Eccles. Latin.*, VII, p. 119, 11: Pastinatus Puppitanus episcopus (484 A.D.).

[164] Schwartz, *Prosopographia*, p. 102.

[165] Mansi, VIII, col. 301[A]. This form may result from a confusion with *s* 382 (Φ : Zosimus Themisonii, Themissonii).

[166] P. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 678, 30.

[167] Cf. Schwartz's desperate attempts (adnot. ad *s* 389) to identify him both with Philippos of Peltai and Arabios of Synnaos, or (*Bischofslisten*, p. 54) merely with the latter, in whose name Schwartz considers to be a *signum* of Philippos.

be read Καρτερίου πόλεως . . . and Τιβερίου πόλεως . . . , as Schwartz points out.[168] The same applies to the Mesopotamian bishoprics Μαρωνουπόλεως and Οὐαλαρσεκουπόλεως (*s* 396 f.). As I showed in a former article,[169] Marones and Valarsekos are the names of two Mesopotamian bishops who again occur in 458 A.D. in the letter of their metropolitan to Emperor Leon. This recognition of the names of five bishops gives us a consecutive series of names of bishops which, except in a few cases, are just followed by the word πόλεως. In two instances the copyist could even have supplied the name of the bishopric from the main part of *s* (*s* 404 = 282. 406 = 295). Here and there the word πόλεως is missing; at first, I supposed that in such cases the name of the bishop had preceded a place-name ending in -πολις, for usually πόλεως was then considered superfluous.[170] Consequently I thought that Aristokles (*s* 393), the only bishop of Cyprus whose name is not followed by πόλεως, was the bishop of Neapolis, the only bishopric in the island whose name ends with -πολις. But the fact that bishop Σωτηρᾶς πόλεως Θεοδοσιανῆς (*s* 301. Σ 357. Δ 348) attended the council, contradicted this explanation, for his bishopric is probably identical with the see Θεοδοσιάδος ἤτοι Νέας πόλεως τῆς Κυπρίων.[171] Moreover, in this series (*s* 390 f.) and elsewhere in *s* [172] we find, on the other hand, cases where πόλεως nevertheless precedes names ending in -πολις. After (*s* 397) Καιουμᾶ the word πόλεως is also missing, but for another reason: he was not bishop of a city, but of a district or "satrapy," viz. Σουφανηνῆς (Σ 121. Δ 114). The same reason probably applies in the case of Eusebios (*s* 396), for in *s* his name was apparently followed by Ἰγγιληνῆς and not, as in ΣΔ, by the city-name Ἰγγίλων or Ἰγγίλης (Σ 120. Δ 113).

Schwartz [173] found no explanation of the omission of all these place-names after πόλεως, but thanks to the correction of the word Φιλιππουπόλεως the situation is now clearer. For we have now a continuous series of 20 names of bishops (*s* 390, 390a etc.–406), which begins just before the end of the enumeration of the bishops of Phrygia Pacatiana and further comprises those of Cyprus, Mesopotamia and Pisidia.[174] The loss of the 20 names of bishoprics is no doubt due to the destruction of the right margin of one leave of the archetype of the existing codices M and B. Schwartz would certainly have accepted my explanation of the name "Philippopolis," just as he agreed to that of the two invented Mesopotamian toponyms.[175] My explanation refutes Ramsay's hypotheses which were based exclusively on the

[168] Schwartz, *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars II, p. 153 [349], 8–12.

[169] E. Honigmann, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXV, 82, n. 1. Cf. Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 52, n. 1.

[170] *s* 115. 117. 236. 255. 256. 258. 269. 343. 362. 436.

[171] *Vita Spyridonis*, ed. Usener, *Jahrbuch für protestantische Theologie* (1887), p. 224, 3.

[172] Cf. *s* 261. 423. 432. In *s* 189 πόλεως was necessary to avoid ambiguity.

[173] Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 56 reflects whether the editors of the minutes of the council were ordered to publish the lists, before they had finished the preparatory work and found out the sees of the bishops.

[174] Toward the end of the list (*s* 449) the name of the bishopric of Kosmas (viz. Barbalissos) is omitted, but here other reasons must be responsible. In Mansi's edition (VII, col. 169) the name of bishopric is not added to the following name (*s* 450) either, though according to Schwartz it is indicated in both Mss. (Ῥοσαφᾶ B. Ρωσαφᾶ M). The name of the bishopric is also omitted after *s* 425; it is Βριούλων, for *s* 425 = *s* 188; the preceding entry *s* 424 = *s* 185; both entries are missing in B^{b}.

[175] *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. VI (*Prosopographia*), p. 24, s. v. Εὐσέβιος (8): "quae secuntur Μαρώνου πόλεως seorsim ponenda esse probauit Honigmann . . .";

apparent existence of a Phrygian Philippopolis. In his article on: "Phrygian Orthodox and Heretics 400–800 A.D."[176] he identifies the Phrygian "Philippopolis" with Hierapolis, interpreting the name to mean "church of Philip the Apostle." According to Ramsay, Stephen, bishop of Hierapolis, set among the metropolitans at Ephesos in 449 A.D., but "favoring heresy absented himself on purpose from Chalcedon" (p. 9). As Ruge[177] has already pointed out however, this Stephen actually was the bishop of the Euphratesian metropolis Hierapolis and attended both councils, viz. of 449 and 451 A.D. Ramsay was misled by Le Quien (although he set out to rectify Le Quien's statements in the paper quoted), who registered the same Stephanos among the bishops of the Phrygian Hierapolis in 449 A.D.,[178] among those of the Euphratesian city of this name in 451 A.D.[179] Furthermore Ramsay asserts that there existed in 451 Tatianos, bishop of "Hierapolis Philippopolis," one of the "heretics" represented by Nunechios of Laodikeia at the council of Chalcedon. It would have been more reasonable for Ramsay to suggest that Stephen of Hierapolis had died meanwhile and been succeeded by Tatianos. Besides, this Stephen was no more heretical than any other metropolitan in 449 A.D.; as we saw above, 39 out of the 43 metropolitans who attended the "Robber-Council," occur again among the orthodox members of the council of Chalcedon. According to Ramsay, the mischievous heretic of 451 A.D. concealed himself behind a cover-name of his bishopric, his case thus being similar to that of George of S. Kyriake, "a town unknown to me" (Ramsay), mentioned in 869–70 A.D. Ramsay pretends that George, who like Tatianos hid behind a cover-name for his bishopric, was George of Nikomedeia, an adherent of the Patriarch Photios, for in Nikomedeia a certain Saint Kyriake was worshipped. But in the lists of this year George of Hagia Kyriake is not placed among the leading metropolitans, where one would expect to find a dignitary of Nikomedeia. In the most carefully arranged list of the signatories of the Ignatian council, viz. that of the tenth session, he occurs among the Italian and Sicilian bishops, and his see is no doubt identical with the modern Gerace, the ancient Lokroi in Italy. The same applies to the case of Hierapolis. This Phrygian city was already a metropolis in 431 A.D. under bishop Venantios; therefore the signature of its metropolitan of 451 A.D. should be found among the first 53 names of the list *s*, no matter whether he signed the minutes himself or through a representative. It is very unlikely that one of the ordinary bishops represented by the metropolitan Nunechios was himself a "concealed metropolitan."

No. 474. Μάξιμος (Μαξιμῖνος *s*) ἐπ. Ζο<ρ>ζίλων <διὰ Περγαμίου ἐπ. Ἀντιοχείας μητροπόλεως>.

According to the identical arrangement of the Pisidian bishops in *s* and ΣΔ (*s* 282–295. Σ 297–311. Δ 288–302), he occupied the last place of this group in ι'. The words διὰ Περγαμίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας μητροπόλεως which probably followed his name in Γ, are omitted in ΣΔ. The compiler of *s* left his name out after No. 295, seeing that it figured in the appendix among the absentee bishops of Pisidia.

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cf. ibid., p. 46, s. v. Μαρώνου, and p. 51, s. v. Οὐαλαρσέκου; idem, *Bischofslisten*, p. 52, n. 1.

[176] *Byzantion*, VI (1931), p. 1–35.

[177] Ruge, *R. E.*, XIX, col. 2264, s. v. *Philippopolis* No. 3, who corrects this error originally made by Le Quien and repeated by V. Schultze, *Kleinasien*, I, p. 433. We find it again in F. Diekamp, "Analecta Patristica," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, No. CXVII (Rome, 1938), p. 157.

[178] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, I, col. 835, No. IX.

[179] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, II, col. 928, No. VI.

In elucidating my reconstruction of Γ, I restricted myself to an examination of the differences between Γ and *s* and especially to the establishment of the exact place of the 30 names figuring in ΣΔ but missing in *s*. I tried moreover to discover plausible reasons for some of these omissions in *s*. On the other hand, 15 names recorded in *s* are missing in ΣΔ. In Schwartz's opinion [180] this fact serves as additional proof of his assertion, that *s* and ΣΔ are entirely independent of each other. In order to ascertain whether this is really so, let us examine these 15 omissions:

s 134. *Ἀθανάσιος ἐπ. Πέρρης*
The compiler of ΣΔ probably omitted him for the same reason that he omitted the two Phoenician bishops ordained by Eustathios of Berytos, i.e. because the list contained a second bishop of Perrhe, viz., Sabinianos (*s* 339), assuming that Athanasios was an erroneous entry.

s 152. *Ἀνατόλιος ἐπ. πόλεως Σατάλων . . . διὰ Δωροθέου πρεσβυτέρου*
It is not impossible that the compiler mistook the Armenian bishopric of Satala for the Lydian and, having already found Andreas bishop of the Lydian Satala (*s* 209. Σ 253. Δ 244), he omitted Anatolios.

s 167. *Θεμίστιος ἐπ. Ἀμάστριδος . . . διὰ Φιλοτίμου πρεσβυτέρου*
I have not been able to find a reason for his omission; it probably falls before Σ 204. Δ 195.

s 261. *Γερόντιος ἐπ. πόλεως Βασιλινουπόλεως*
He is omitted after Σ 162. Δ 155. Schwartz explains his unusual place in *s* because he considers that his name had to be subsequently added, for at the time of the sixth session Gerontios was still indicted (*actio* XIV, 20). This can hardly have been the reason of his omission in ΣΔ, for he also figures in the lists of the first, third and fourth sessions. In *s* only two ordinary bishops of Bithynia are mentioned besides the three metropolitans and appear at a great distance from each other (*s* 136. 261). This fact may have contributed to the accidental omission of *s* 261 in ΣΔ.

s 262. *Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ. πόλεως Μύνδου*

s 263. *Διογένης ἐπ. πόλεως Ὀρθωσιαίων . . . διὰ Θεοκτίστου πρεσβυτέρου*

s 264. *Ζωτικὸς ἐπ. πόλεως Ἁρπάσων . . . διὰ Φιλοθέου πρεσβυτέρου*
Schwartz explains the omission of the names of these three Carian bishops in ΣΔ by declaring them to be "an inserted addition in the standard list" ["Einheitsliste," our *s*]. It is true, they are grouped in a wrong place, for they ought to stand among the other Carian bishops (*s* 239–250); but we do not know when they were inserted. It is possible that these names figured in this unusual place already in Γ and that the compiler of ΣΔ intended to insert them among the other Carian bishops, but forgot to do so.

s 296. *Μανασσῆς ἐπ. Θεοδοσιουπόλεως*
He was the bishop of the city of this name in Great Armenia,[181] called Erzurum today. He only occurs in one more list of 451 A.D. Schwartz, who considers this

[180] Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 54, enumerates also these cases and discusses some of them.

[181] "Acta Chalcedon., XVII, 9 [181]," *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars III, p. 94 [453] 21. Latin version: Actionis III appendix, v. 45, *Acta Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. III, p. 100 [359], 15.

entry as an addition to *s*, believes that this explains its omission in ΣΔ. Maybe, the compiler of ΣΔ, arranging the names of all the bishops according to the provinces of the Empire, hesitated as to the province in which to insert this bishop, because Great Armenia was not yet a Roman province in 451 A.D. But this was no reason to omit Manasses. As the bishop of Theodosiopolis he could have been placed among the bishops of Cappadocia I, because for ecclesiastical purposes the Armenian city was sometimes attributed to this province. The compiler could even have introduced a special heading for this city, viz. *Ἀρμενίας μεγάλης*. In the list of the fathers of Nicaea, which was also arranged according to provinces, we even find a Persian bishop from beyond the frontiers of the Empire, who is simply added to the Mesopotamian bishops.[181a] Thus it is quite possible that this entry already existed in Γ and that there are special reasons for its omission in ΣΔ. The most probable of these is, that the compiler considered this Theodosiopolis, figuring in *s* without mention of the province, as identical with another city of this name (*s* 186 or 191 or 258).

s 297. *Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Βαργυλίου*

This Carian bishop is only mentioned again in the list of the 17th session of Chalcedon (XVII, 9, 127). In *s* we find his name far distant from the group of Carian bishops (*s* 239–250). Like in the case of the three other Carian bishops (*s* 262–264), this may have caused his omission in ΣΔ.

s 305. *Ἐπιφάνιος ἐπ. Σόλων . . . διὰ Σωτηρᾶ ἐπισκόπου* (scil. *Θεοδοσιανῆς*)

Schwartz[182] has already pointed out, that this entry probably contains an error. According to *s* (*s* 30) and other lists, a bishop Epiphanios, no doubt of Soloi, represented his metropolitan Olympios of Konstantina at the council; therefore he cannot in his turn have been represented by another, as indicated by the entry *s* 305. Thus the addition *διὰ Σωτηρᾶ ἐπισκόπου* was probably an erroneous repetition of that following the preceding entry (*s* 304). According to ΣΔ however (Σ 354. Δ 345), the metropolitan Olympios was represented by Didymos of Lapithos, while Epiphanios of Soloi does not figure at all in this list. According to *s* (*s* 303), Didymos of Lapithos actually attended the council, and it is therefore possible that he represented his metropolitan. But according to the Latin version (Φ) he was represented by Epaphroditos (of Tamassos: *s* 300). With one exception the order of the group of Cyprian bishops is the same in *s* and ΣΔ (*s* 300–306. Σ 355–360. Δ 346–351) and therefore Epiphanios's place would have been there between Σ 359. Δ 350 and Σ 360. Δ 351. The confusion concerning the entries of these Cyprian bishops may have contributed to his omission in ΣΔ.

s 315. *Παῦλος ἐπ. Καντάνου διὰ Χρυσογόνου πρεσβυτέρου*

In *s* he is placed at the end of the group of bishops of Crete (*s* 310 f. 313–315), but in ΣΔ, where their order (Σ 154–157. Δ 147–150) is different (*s* 311. 310. 314. 313), he is for some unknown reason omitted.

s 321. *Ἰωάννης ἐπ. Παρθικοπόλεως . . . διὰ Κυρίλλου πρεσβυτέρου*

He is omitted among the bishops of Macedonia I (Σ 17–22. Δ 18–23. *s* 316–322). I have not been able to find a reason for his omission.

s 331. *Αὐρήλιος ἐπ. Ἀδραμετηνός*

s 338. *Ῥεστι<του>τιανὸς ἐπ. Ἀφρικῆς*

We have already discussed the case of these two African bishops, who are left out in ΣΔ, while two others, mentioned in ΣΔ, are omitted in *s*. If we are right in

[181a] A Persian bishop occurs in 451 also: the last entry of the list of the second session runs *Πέρσης ὑπέγραψα Περσιστί* (II, 97 [252], *Act. Conc. Oec.*, t. II, vol. I, pars II, p. 41 [237], 32). Rectify Duchesne, *Eglises Séparées*, p. 55.

[182] Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 17, n. 1, and p. 54.

reading the name of the bishop of Papos (Putput) as Aurelios, it is possible that the compiler of ΣΔ skipped from Aurelius of Adrumetum to Aurelius of Putput, thus causing the omission of *s* 331 and 338 in his list.

s 451. *Γρηγόριος ἐπ. Ἀδριανουπόλεως*

This metropolitan of Haemimontes is placed together with his suffragan bishop Iobianos (Iubenalios) of Debeltos at the very end of the list *s*, even after the appendix. He is missing in all other lists,[183] and his name has obviously been added to *s*. Since however ΣΔ also contains the bishop of Debeltos under the heading *Αἱμιμόντου*, it is possible that the metropolitan also figured in Γ, but was accidentally omitted in ΣΔ.

This investigation shows, as was expected, that the omissions in ΣΔ were caused by similar reasons as those in *s*. Though it is a fact that certain names or groups of names are in a wrong place in *s* and omitted in ΣΔ, this does not prove that these mistakes and omissions already occurred in Γ. In Schwartz's opinion the names, which are omitted in ΣΔ and appear in a wrong place in *s*, are subsequent additions to *s*. I agree with Schwartz that they were subsequently inserted there where we find them, but hold that they already figured in Γ, and that for the following reason: one of the two names which follow the appendix to *s* and which can therefore without doubt be termed "additions," also appears in ΣΔ, proving that there must have been a complete source, on which both, *s* and ΣΔ, are based.

[183] Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, p. 18 f.

SUR L'ORIGINE DES ALAINS

Par George Vernadsky

I

Les Alains, un peuple iranien du groupe sarmate, dont les Ossètes au Caucase du nord sont un des débris, ont joué un rôle très important dans l'évolution de l'histoire du monde méditerranéen durant les cinq siècles premiers de notre ère. Et cependant, la science historique n'a pas, jusqu'à présent, donné aux Alains l'attention qu'ils méritent. Nous possédons plusieurs abrégés généraux aussi que plusieurs études spéciales de valeur sur différents aspects de l'histoire des Alains, mais pas d'ouvrage d'ensemble.[1] C'est seulement le côté archéologique qui a été bien étudié pendant ces dernières années, grâce aux travaux de Rostovtzeff, Alföldi, et certains autres savants.[2] Mon intérêt pour le problème alain est associé avec mes recherches sur l'origine des Slaves orientaux, les Antes. Comme j'ai tâché récemment de le prouver, les Antes ont reçu les rudiments de leur organisation politique, et même leur nom, des Alains.[3]

II

Il semble bien à-propos de commencer notre étude par une analyse de nomenclature. Il y a deux types de nom sous lesquels le peuple qui nous intéresse était connu: 1° Alani; et 2° As

[1] Voir: R. Bleichsteiner, "Das Volk der Alanen," *Berichte d. Forschungs-Institutes f. Osten und Orient*, II (Vienne, 1918); J. Kulakovski, *Alany po svedenijam klassičeskich i vizantiskich pisatelei* (Kiev, 1899); Vsevolod Miller, *Osetinskie Etjudy*, III (Moscow, 1887); V. Minorsky, *Hudud al-Alam* (London, 1937), pp. 444–446; T. Täubler, "Zur Geschichte der Alanen," *Klio*, IX (1900), 14–28; Tomaschek, Alani, *RE* de Pauly-Wissowa, I, col. 1282–1285.

[2] M. Rostovtzeff, *Animal Style* (Princeton, 1929); *Skythien und der Bosporus* (Berlin, 1931) et plusieurs autres ouvrages; Alföldi, "Funde aus der Hunnenzeit," *Archaeologia Hungarica*, IX (1932).

[3] G. Vernadsky, "Goten und Anten in Südrussland," *Südostdeutsche Forschungen*, III (1938), 265–279; "On the Origins of the Antae," *Journal of American Oriental Society*, LIX (1939), 56–66 (cité ci-dessous Vernadsky, *Origins*); voir aussi mon ouvrage — *Ancient Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943) pp. 105 ss. Je suis en train de travailler à un aperçu systématique de l'histoire des Alains et de leur organization sociale et je saisis cette occasion pour remercier le Social Science Research Council duquel j'ai reçue une subvention (grant-in-aid for research) pour ce travail en 1940.

(Antes). En outre il y a un type de nom composé pour désigner une branche importante du peuple originaire: 3° Roxolani.

1. *Le nom "Alani"*

La forme grecque est Ἀλανοί (Flavius Josèphe, Ptolémée etc.). Il y a deux formes latines: Alani (Valerius Flaccus, Aurelius Victor etc.) et Halani (Ammian Marcellin, Pacatus Drepanius etc.). Des traces de la seconde forme peuvent etre relevées dans la toponymie de la Russie méridionale: *Khalan'*, nom d'une rivière ainsi que d'un village (*sloboda*) dans la province de Koursk.

Le nom des Alains se trouve dans les annales Chinoises: "Alan-leao" dans le Heou Han Chou, chapitre 118.[4] Ce peuple vivait près de la mer d'Aral. Il faut noter qu'une tribu turcomane dans le bassin d'Amou-Daria s'appelle jusqu'à nos jours "les Alains" (*Alan*).[5]

On a voulu voir dans le nom *Alan* une modification du nom "Arya."[6] Ferdinand Lot accepta cette hypothèse.[7] Or, les Ossètes, qui sont des descendants des Alains, s'appelent "Iron" qui veut dire "Iraniens" ou "Aryens," mais qui n'est pas le même nom que *Alan*. Il parait qu'il faut chercher une autre explication pour le nom "Alani." On peut mentionner qu'en mingrélien *Alan* veut dire "un brave," "un jeune héros" (en russe, *molodets*, *udalets*).[8] Cependant on ne peut pas être sûr que ce soit justement le sens que les Alains eux-même ont attribué à leur nom. En somme, le nom des Alains n'a pas encore été suffisamment élucidé.

Qu'il me soit permis de proposer sous toutes réserves une explication nouvelle du nom. On sait que le cerf jouait un rôle important dans la mythologie alaine et, par conséquent, on peut y voir une sorte d'emblème national des Alains. Ne pourrait-on associer le nom des Alains au mot signifiant "le cerf" en vieil iranien? J'ai consulté à ce propos M. Roman Jakobson qui a bien voulu me dire qu'à son avis le mot slave pour "cerf" (*jelen'* en russe *olen'*) dérive de l'indo-européen *elen* qui devrait faire *alan* en vieil iranien (*iranski pra-jazyk*).

[4] *Toung Pao*, 8 (1907), p. 195.

[5] S. P. Tolstov, "Osnovnye voprosy istorii Srednei Azii," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1938, 1, p. 197.

[6] A. Cuny dans la *Revue des Études Anciennes*, XXVIII (1926), 200.

[7] F. Lot, *Les invasions Germaniques* (Paris, 1935), p. 57.

[8] V. I. Abaev, "Alanica," *Izvestija po otdeleniju obščestvennych nauk* de l'Academie des Sciences de l'U. R. S. S., 1935, pp. 882–883.

2. *Le nom "As"*

C'est sous le nom de "As" que les Alains du Caucase, c'est-à-dire les Ossètes, étaient connus au Moyen Age. Il est évident que le nom des Ossètes eux-mêmes n'est qu'une modification du nom d' "As." Le nom d' "Ossète" est un nom hybride, une adaptation du géorgien au russe et du russe au français. Les Géorgiens appellent les Ossètes "Ossi" (Oswi) et leur pays, "Osseti" (Osweti). Nous avons donc deux formes parallèles: *As* et *Os*. Toutes les deux étaient déjà courantes pendant la période sarmate. Quant à la forme "Os," Jarl Charpentier la compare avec le nom du peuple Osun (Wousoun) des chroniques chinoises.[9] Si on veut admettre la correction ἢ ἀσιανοί pour πασιανοί chez Strabo XI, 8, 2, proposée par G. Haloun,[10] on devra voir dans le nom Ἀσιανοί la forme grecque pour "Osun."

Le nom "As" se rencontre chez Strabo sous la forme Ἄσιοι (XI, 8, 2) et chez Ptolémée sous la forme Ἀσαῖοι (V, 9, 16). A mon avis le nom "As" est étroitement lié avec les noms du type Anti, Antes, Antsai. Ma formule est: Ἄντες dériverait de *Ἄς comme γίγαντες de γίγας.[11]

3. *Le nom des Roxolani*

La forme grecque qui se trouve par exemple chez Ptolémée, est Ῥωξολανοί. La forme latine, chez Tacite, est Rhoxolani. Müllenhoff tient ce nom pour un nom simple et propose sa dérivation du mot zend *raokhchna*, brillant.[12] Vsevolod Miller, qui, lui aussi, associe le nom a la même racine iranienne — *rukhs*, lumière — y voit un nom composé: Roxolani, *Rukhs-Alani*, c'est-à-dire "Les Alains brillants."[13] Miller a certainement raison, et en voici la preuve. Côte à côte avec le nom Rukhs-Alani on peut relever le nom Rukhs-As, c'est a dire "Les As brillants." Nous lisons chez Ibn-Rusta que les Rukhs-As étaient la tribu la plus noble parmi les Alains.[14]

On peut supposer que le même nom Rukhs-As se trouve sous la forme Rogas (leçon parallèle, Rocas) dans la liste des peuples

[9] J. Charpentier, "Die ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer," *Zeitschrift d. deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, LXXI (1917), 359 f.

[10] G. Haloun, "Zur Ue-tsi Frage," *ZDMG*, XCI (1937), 244.

[11] Vernadsky, *Origins*, p. 63.

[12] Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, III (Berlin, 1892), 112.

[13] V. Miller, *op. cit.*, (v. note 1), p. 86.

[14] Minorsky, *Hudud al-Alam*, p. 445. *Rukhs-As* émendé de **D.khs-As*.

conquis par Hermanarich citée dans le *Getica* de Jordanes: Rocas = Roc-As (Rukhs-As).[15] En outre, à mon avis, le nom "Hros" mentionné dans la chronique syriaque du VIe siècle après J. C. dite de Zacharias Rhetor [16] n'est autre chose qu'une transcription de la première partie du même nom Rukhs-As. J'ose hasarder la conjecture que le nom des Ostrogoths ("Les Goths brillants") est tout simplement une imitation du nom des Rukhs-As ("Les As brillants"), *austr* étant en ce cas une traduction de *rukhs*.

III

L'apparition des Alains dans les steppes Pontiques et au Caucase du Nord ne fut qu'une des phases de la grande migration sarmate, ou, plus exactement, de la migration des Çaka, car, selon Rostovtzeff, les Sarmates peuvent être identifiés aux Çaka.[17] Au 4-me et au 3-me siècle avant J.-C. les Çaka habitaient les vastes plaines transcaspiennes, la région autour de la mer d'Aral paraissant avoir été un de leur centres. L'émigration de quelques tribus çaka vers l'ouest, dans la Pontide, fut en partie accélérée par les événements de la fin du quatrième siècle — la campagne d'Alexandre le Grand sur l'Oxus et le Jaxarte et l'établissement des Grecs en Bactriane. Mais si certaines groupes çaka partirent à l'Ouest, en quête d'aventures et de butin, la plupart resta dans leur habitat originaire. Il est certain qu'à cette époque la masse des Alains n'a pas encore bougé. La région de Khorezm était un de ces vieux centres alains. Les recherches archéologiques récentes ont révélé le caractère sarmate des antiquités de cette région, datant de la période correspondante.[18]

Si on admet que les Osun étaient apparentés aux Alains, on peut chercher aussi des ancêtres à ces derniers dans la région des Osun, c'est à dire dans le Kazakhstan de l'est et le Semirechie. Les données archéologiques n'ont jusque à present apporté aucun témoignage concluant, bien qu'on puisse voire quelques parallèles entre les ornements osun et ornements alains.[19]

[15] Jordanes, *Getica*, XXIII, 116, ed. Mommsen, p. 88.

[16] Zacharias Rhetor, *Kirchengeschichte*, tr. par K. Ahrens et G. Krüger (Leipzig, 1899), p. 253.

[17] Rostovtzeff, *Animal Style*, pp. 45–46.

[18] S. P. Tolstov, "Drevnosti Verchnego Chorezma," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1941, 1, pp. 159–163.

[19] M. V. Voevodski et M. P. Gryaznov, "Usunskie Mogilniki," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1938, 3, pp. 162–179. Voir aussi A. I. Terenožkin, "Archeologičeskie razvedki

Au deuxième siècle avant J.-C., des événements importants ont eu lieu dans l'Asie Centrale, événements qui aboutirent à de nouveaux mouvements de peuples et qui ont intéressé les destinées non seulement du proche Orient, mais aussi celles du monde pontique. Nous avons ici en vue la grande migration des Yue-tche qui fut l'un des resultats de la poussée des Hioung-Nou ou des Huns.[20] En 177 avant J.-C., les Huns attaquèrent les Yue-tche qui occupaient alors la région de Kan-sou. Douze ans plus tard, les Huns écrasèrent l'Etat des Yue-tche. Ces derniers se partagèrent en deux groupes. L'un, celui des "petits Yue-tche," émigra vers le sud, dans la région de Khotan. L'autre, connue comme "les grands Yue-tche" alla vers l'ouest. Ces "grands Yue-tche" selon la relation de Tchang-Kien, comptaient de 100,000 a 200,000 archers montés.[21]

Pénétrant en Jungarie et en Semirechie, les Yue-tche défirent les Osun et les Çaka, en poussant ces derniers du Semirechie vers le sud. Pendant une vingtaine d'années, les Yue-tche furent les maîtres en Semirechie, mais vers 140 avant J.-C. les Huns les attaquèrent de nouveau. Cette fois les Huns vinrent sous le prétexte d'aider les Osun contre la tyrannie des Yue-tche. Un prince osun aurait fui chez les Huns pour demander leur protection. Comme les Yue-tche n'étaient pas capables de faire face aux Huns, ils reculèrent vers le sud, en Ferghana, déplaçant de nouveau les malheureux Çaka, dont une partie dès avant ces événements, avait émigré en Kabulistan.

Sur ces entrefaites, les Yue-tche occupèrent une partie de la Sogdiane, et leur chef dressa sa tente au bord de l'Amou-Daria, où il reçut, en 128 avant J. C., l'ambassadeur chinois, Tchang-Kien. Il n'est pas tout à fait clair, si ce sont les Yue-tche eux-mêmes ou les tribus çaka déplacées par eux, qui sapèrent le pouvoir des Grecs en Bactriane, mais en tout cas, vers l'an 123, les Yue-tche

po reke Ču v 1929 godu," *Problemy istorii dokapitalističeskich obščestv*, 1935, 5–6, pp. 138–150.

[20] Pour l'aperçu général voir R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes* (Paris, 1939), pp. 62–69. Sur les Yue-tche et la question tokhare voir les ouvrages de Charpentier et de Haloun cités au dessus (notes 9 et 10); A. Hermann, Tocharoi, *RE* de Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.*; R. Grousset, "L'Orientalisme et les études historiques," *Revue Historique*, CLXXXI (1937), pp. 1–39; W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938), Ch. VII.

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens*, II (Berlin et Leipzig, 1926), 16.

s'emparèrent de la Bactriane. Après cela, ils étendirent leur domination jusqu'a la vallée de Pundjab, dans l'Inde, absorbant les Çaka et créant le grand royaume dit Kouchan on Indo-Scythe.

Il faut noter que, durant la marche des Yue-tche à travers le Semirechie et la Sogdiane, les tribus conquises par eux n'ont pas toujours été privées de leur identité respective. Elles devaient cependant fournir des troupes auxiliaires à l'armée des conquérants. C'est peut-être dans ce sens que nous pouvons interpréter la relation de Strabo sur l'invasion de la Bactriane, invasion à laquelle, selon lui, les Asii et les Asiani auraient pris part avec les "Tokhars," c'est à dire les Yue-tche. A notre avis, les Asii sont les Alains et les Asiani — les Osun. Sous ce rapport on doit aussi se rappeller que Trogue-Pompée parle des "rois alains des Tokhars" (*Reges Tocharorum Asiani*).[22] Il est évident que la dynastie tokhare était d'origine alaine, ou en tout cas que cela était dit implicitement ou explicitement par la source de Trogue-Pompée. La similarité de l'art religieux des Alains avec celui des Indo-Scythes et la vénération du dieu-cavalier chez ces deux peuples ont été établies par Rostovtzeff.[23] C'est seulement par l'intermédiaire des Yue-tche que la figure du *yak* pouvait pénétrer dans l'art ornemental des Sarmates.[24] Le *yak* est un animal du Tibet; et l'habitat originaire des Yue-tche était aux confins de Tibet. Et c'est seulement par l'intermédiaire des Alains que des mots tokhariens ont pu pénétrer dans la langue russe. Or, il en est entré au moins un: le mot russe pour l'éléphant, *slon*, répond au mot tokharien, *klon*.[25]

Somme toute, la poussée des Yue-tche devait avoir mis en mouvement presque toutes les tribus Çaka en Turkestan, et devait aussi aboutir à un renouvellement d'émigration des Çaka ou des Sarmates — vers l'ouest.

On peut penser que c'est justement ce ressac de l'émigration sarmate qui apporta les Alains dans sa crête et les déposa dans la région pontique et au Caucase septentrional.

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[22] M. Iunianus Iustinus, *Prologi in Pompeium Trogum*, 42 (ed. O. Seel, p. 324).

[23] Rostovtzeff, "Sarmatskie i indoskifskie drevnosti," *Recueil Kondakov* (1926), 239–257; *id.*, "Bog-Vsadnik," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, I (1927), 141–146.

[24] Rostovtzeff, *Animal Style*, pp. 104–105.

[25] Je tiens ce parallèle du regretté Edward Sapir.

ILLUSTRATION FOR THE CHRONICLES OF SOZOMENOS, THEODORET AND MALALAS

By Kurt Weitzmann

I

The present study does not contain an account of the discovery of illustrated manuscripts of any of the three historians named in the title. The aim is, however, to prove their former existence by means of one of the best-known Byzantine manuscripts, into which a few miniatures of those illustrated chronicles, now lost, were taken over. These miniatures, which are very familiar to students of Byzantine art, and which have often been described, have not, as we believe, been sufficiently interpreted hitherto in relation to the sources whence they originated. The migration of miniatures from one text into another is a widespread custom in mediaeval book illumination and the full extent of such migrations can be demonstrated particularly clearly in the case of the very manuscript which contains the historical scenes we are going to analyze.

The classical or mediaeval illustrator, who is faced with the task of enriching a text by a cycle of narrative miniatures whose number may vary greatly and in certain cases even reach into the hundreds, usually does not *invent* more scenes than he has to. Whatever subject-matter has already been fixed iconographically in earlier manuscripts, the copyist will use, if he has a chance, quite regardless, whether he finds it in the tradition of the very text-recension he is copying or whether he consults other text-recensions that contain illustrations of the same theme. If from this view point we approach the well known Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris, *cod. gr. 510*, a manuscript written between 880–886 for Basil I in Constantinople,[1] and analyze the extensive cycle of miniatures which illustrate the 45 homilies and some letters, we will soon realize that only a comparatively few miniatures were invented specially for the Gregory text, and that the greater number of them hark back to other manuscript recensions from which they were taken over. This borrowing was not necessarily done

[1] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibl. Nat.*, 2nd ed. 1929, p. 10 ff., pl. XV–LX.

by the immediate painter of the Paris copy, but more likely by the illuminator of a model or even the archetype of the very picture recension to which the Paris manuscript belongs.

What must be our criteria to determine whether a miniature is made for the Gregory text or borrowed from another illustrated manuscript? The first thing to examine is the degree of correspondence between the picture and the text to which it is now attached. This means that in cases where the Gregory text is sufficiently explicit to account for the details in a picture, we have good reason to assume that the miniature was made from the very beginning for this text. On the other hand, if a biblical theme is only alluded to in the Gregory text, one can surmise that the illustration is taken over from a biblical manuscript where it had originated in junction with a fuller describing text. Moreover, evidence of this sort can be greatly strengthened if the textual allusion can be supplemented by a pictorial connection, i.e. if the iconography of a certain biblical scene in the Gregory can be found to be in agreement with that of an illustrated bible itself.

A few pictures of the Paris Gregory may be described briefly in order to demonstrate the process just outlined. In the miniature prefacing the XVIIIth homily, the *Funebris oratio in patrem*,[2] we see in the lowest of its three stripes several episodes from the life of Gregory's father: In the first the father lies on the sickbed and tells a dream to his wife, in the second he, as a catechumen with bent knees, approaches Leontios, the metropolitan of Caesarea, and in the third he is baptized by a bishop of Caesarea. All three events are described in a sufficiently detailed manner in the twelfth and thirteenth paragraphs of the homily,[3] and this leaves no doubt that all of them were invented for the very text-passage in the homily.

On the other hand a short remark in the eighteenth paragraph of the XXVIII homily, entitled *De Theologia II* ("And Abraham, great Patriarch though he was, was justified by faith and offered a strange victim, the type of the great sacrifice"),[4] is obviously no sufficient basis to explain the miniature preceding this homily.[5]

[2] Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 18 and pl. XXX.
[3] Migne, *P. G.*, XXXV, col. 1000–1001.
[4] Migne, *P. G.*, XXXVI, col. 49.
[5] Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 23 and pl. XXXVII.

Fig. 1. Paris, *Cod. gr. 510*, fol. 367v

Fig. 2. Paris, *Cod. gr. 510*, fol. 374v

Fig. 3. Paris, *Cod. gr. 510*, fol. 409v

Fig. 4. Paris, *Cod. gr. 510*, fol. 184

Fig. 5. Paris, *Cod. gr. 510*, fol. [illegible]

Here we see in the top frieze of a full-page miniature two or rather three scenes: in the first Abraham takes leave of the two youths who had accompanied him with the donkey, in the second Isaac carries the wood to the place of the sacrifice, followed by Abraham — who is related to this scene as well as to the preceding one — and in the third the sacrifice itself takes place. As these three scenes illustrate with great precision the whole episode according to *Gen.*, xxii, 2–13, we presume that they originated for the book of Genesis and were taken over into the Gregory, though as already said, not necessarily by the painter of the Paris manuscript itself, but more likely by a painter of an earlier copy. In addition to this textual dependence we have also pictorial evidence that points to the bible as the iconographical source of these scenes. In the Greek octateuchs, of which several illustrated copies have come down to us, the same three scenes occur and they occur in an iconography sufficiently similar to that in the Gregory manuscript so that we can be sure we are dealing with the same pictorial recension.[6] From this situation we conclude that the Isaac scenes, after having originated in an octateuch, migrated into a manuscript of the homilies of Gregory.

In this manner the painter of the Paris codex or one of his predecessors adapted pictures from quite a number of texts other than Gregory homilies. Among the scenes preceding the XLth homily entitled *In Sanctum Baptisma* there is a representation of Elijah's ascension, in which the prophet tosses his mantle to Elisha, who eagerly grasps it.[7] Again the passage in the sixth paragraph of the homily ("It was Light that carried up Elijah in the car of fire and yet as it carried him did not burn him")[8] is not enough to form the basis for this scene and we have to turn to the fourth Book of Kings (ii, 11–14), in order to find the full text describing Elisha and the mantle motif which are not mentioned in the Gregory. Thus we conclude that the miniature of Elijah's ascension was invented for a Book of Kings and was later taken over into a Gregory. This idea finds strong support in the fact that the only preserved illustrated Greek Book of Kings we pos-

[6] Cf., *e.g.*, the octateuch from Smyrna. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque Grec de Smyrne*, 1909, pl. 27, fig. 79–80.

[7] Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 25 and pl. XLII.

[8] Migne, *P. G.*, XXXVI, col. 365.

sess, the Vatican *cod. gr. 333*, does indeed contain this scene.[9] Though this manuscript was not made before the eleventh century, there can be no doubt that earlier illustrated Books of Kings existed which must have served as a model for the Gregory painter.

The greatest single complement of scenes taken over from another recension are those from the Gospels. Many of them are connected with the Gregory text by only a brief hint, while others are not even mentioned at all, but carried over into the Gregory in the train of others. The XIXth homily, entitled *Ad Julianum Tributorum Exaequatorem* is preceded by a miniature whose first stripe is filled by the Adoration of the Magi and their dream where they are warned by an angel not to return to Herod.[10] Paragraph twelve of this homily mentions only the first event ("Now the Magi fall down and bring gifts"),[11] but not the dream. This can be explained only by the use of a Gospel as a model which had as illustration of the second chapter of Matthew the dream following the adoration, both of which then were taken over together into the Gregory.

Among the miniatures that had migrated from outside into the Gregory, of particular interest are those for which no illustrated copy of the model is left to us. At the beginning of the IXth homily, entitled *Apologeticus ad patrem suum Gregorium* we see the vision of Isaiah, in which the prophet kneels before the Lord enthroned and surrounded by Seraphim.[12] At the same time one Seraph is holding a live coal with a pair of tongs and laying it upon the mouth of the prophet. In reading the text of the Gregory we find at the very beginning of the homily a reference to the vision itself ("And Isaiah, before he had seen the glory of God and the high and elevated throne and the seraphim around it said nothing of this kind . . ."),[13] but no mention of the touching of the mouth by the coal. This motif is explicitly described in chapter vi of the Book of Isaiah and thus we conclude, in analogy with the previous examples, that our composition originated in an illustrated codex of the major Prophets. Although all the illustrated Prophet-books

[9] J. Lassus, "Les Miniatures Byzantines du Livre des Rois," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, XLV (1928), 64, and pl. VI.

[10] Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 20 and pl. XXXII.

[11] Migne, *P. G.*, XXXV, col. 1057.

[12] Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 16 and pl. XXV.

[13] Migne, *P. G.*, XXXV, col. 820.

which are preserved today [14] contain only author portraits and no scenes illustrating the Prophet text, the Gregory codex gives the proof for the existence of Prophet books with narrative illustrations, and looking through the miniatures of the Paris Gregory we will find many more scenes which hark back to the same source. For this reason the picture cycle of the Paris Gregory becomes very important for the reconstruction of a picture recension of the Prophets, which is lost in its original text.

It is not our intention to give in the present study a full account of the various picture recensions involved, which even with the Octateuch, the Book of Kings, the Gospels and the Prophet books, are by no means completely enumerated. Our present concern will be exclusively a group of miniatures with historical subject-matter, for which the Gregory text, as in the previous examples, does not give a sufficient basis for their explanation. Consequently in accordance with the method briefly outlined and demonstrated above, we will have to search for the basic texts, with which the miniatures correspond most closely. If we should succeed in doing so, then we can assume that these actual basic texts were illustrated, though no illustrated copy may be preserved any longer; and we can conclude that the Gregory painter has taken them over in the same manner in which he had copied biblical scenes from the various illustrated books of the bible.

II

In the Paris codex the homily entitled *Contra Arianos et de seipso* [15] is preceded by a miniature in three stripes (fig. 1)[16] each of which contains what looks like a very distinct historical episode illustrating the persecution of the Orthodox Christians by the Arians. In the first we see a boat with six inmates, among whom a bishop is clearly distinguished from the others not only by his pallium, but also by the more prominent place he occupies. In the second scene we recognize at the left a group of Arians surrounding a prominent person who, seen from the back, gives the order for setting on fire the buildings in the centre. An altar under a

[14] They will be published by A. M. Friend as Vol. V of *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint.*

[15] Migne, *P. G.*, XXXVI, 213–237, where it is the XXXIIIrd homily.

[16] Fol. 367v. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LII.

ciborium is painted separately in order to indicate that the fury of the Arians did not even halt before the holy altar itself. And finally, in the frieze at the bottom, two soldiers are represented torturing an old and bearded man, stripped of his cloth and blood-stained, lying helpless on the ground. A building at the right seems to suggest that this martyrdom takes place in the street of a city.

Let us first turn to the text of the homily and search in it for the passages which refer to the miniatures in order to find out how well they fit the details of the pictures. In the third paragraph, in which Gregory contrasts his own behavior with the atrocities of the Arians he exclaims, "What house of prayer have I made a burial-place?",[17] a phrase which can be understood as an illusion to the destruction of the churches in the second frieze. A further remark in the same paragraph, "The beloved altars are now despitefully treated," would provide an explanation for the altar under the ciborium in the same picture. A passage in the fourth paragraph which reads: "What aged flesh of bishops have we carded with nails in the presence of those whom they taught now impotent to help except by tears," [18] may be related to the martyrdom of the old man in the third frieze, and an allusion to the first scene with the boat can be seen in another passage of the same paragraph, "What presbyters have the contrary elements fire and water divided, raising a strange firebrand over the sea, and burning them up together with the boat in which they were carried out on the high sea?" It is obvious that these passages are so general in their content and leave so many distinct features of the miniatures unexplained, that they cannot be considered the basic text, from which the miniatures were made up. To quote only a few details: we neither learn from the Gregory text the identity of the distinguished bishop in the boat nor the name of the man who gives the order to burn the churches, nor that of the martyr whose specific kind of martyrdom differs from the Gregory text about the torture of aged bishops.

The inscriptions fail entirely to cast light on the specific situations in the miniatures. In the frame above the boat scene there is an inscription which reads: ΟΙ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΙ ΕΝ ΠΛΟΙΩ ΥΠΟ

[17] Migne, *P. G.*, XXXVI, col. 217
[18] *Ibid.*, col. 220.

AP[EIANΩN] KA[IONTAI][19] and which reveals nothing new compared with what we know already from the Gregory-text itself. The inscription in the frame above the second scene [OI] APEIANOI KATACTPEΦONTEC TA ΘΥCIACTHPIA TΩN OPΘOΔOΞΩN as well as that on the background of the third scene: [OI] APEIANOI CΥPONTEC AΓION ΓEPΩ[N]TA OPΘOΔOΞON likewise do not assist us to a better understanding of the pictures. It rather looks as if the painter or scribe, whoever made the inscriptions, describes in them the actions of the episodes just as he saw them, not knowing himself any longer their original meaning.

One fact seems to be pretty clear, namely, that the miniatures illustrate, indeed, episodes, and very specific ones, from the history of the persecution of the Orthodox. The natural place to look for an explanatory text would, of course, be a *Historical Chronicle*, which deals primarily with this period. Among the considerable number of such chronicles we have to limit our search to those which take a strong stand in defense of Orthodoxy and against Arianism. From this viewpoint the historical writings of Zosimos, who has an outspoken antiecclesiastical attitude or that of Philostorgios, who is noted for having written in defense of Eunomios and against the Orthodox and other texts along these lines, must be excluded. On the other hand, the most important Greek chronicles which seem best to fulfill the requirements of a strong pro-Orthodox attitude are the following three, which depend largely on each other:

(1) The *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Socrates, written in 7 books in the middle of the fifth century, comprising the period from 305–439 A.D.[20]

(2) The *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Sozomenos, written in 9 books at about the same time, which covers the period from 324–439 A.D.[21]

[19] Here repeated after Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 28; in the plate of his publication the inscription is unintelligible. The reconstruction of the word *καίονται* leaves room for speculation, since it is not clear whether the miniature really represents the *burning* of the boat. In the reproduction no flames are recognizable and it remains to be checked in the original — which at the present is, of course, inaccessible — whether they are actually represented or not.

[20] Migne, *P. G.*, LXVII, cols. 29–842.

[21] *Ibid.*, cols. 953–1630.

(3) The *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Theodoret, written in 5 books, which likewise is composed in the middle of the fifth century, and deals with the period from 323–428 A.D.[22]
It is in these three chronicles we will try to find the explanations for the Gregory miniatures under consideration.

The most specific quotation in the Gregory text is the one which alludes to the presbyters burning in a boat. This apparently refers to an episode which Socrates describes as having taken place during the persecution of the Orthodox under the emperor Valens (IV, 16). Certain presbyters, eighty in number, among whom Urbanus, Theodore, and Menedemus are mentioned by name, had come to Nicomedia with a petition concerning which the emperor became so enraged that he decided to destroy the whole deputation. He therefore charged Modestus, the prefect, with the execution of this order. When the Christian delegation had embarked on a boat and gotten out in the middle of the Astacian Gulf, the prefect set fire to their ship, which was entirely consumed with all men in it. The episode is told quite similarly by Sozomenos (VI, 14) though he does not name anyone of the Christian delegation, and also by Theodoret (IV, 21) who abbreviates the story and makes it take place in Constantinople. From this evidence one might conclude that the miniature represented originally this Nicomedian episode in one of the three chronicles, and that some copyist, understanding the allusion of the Gregory text, took it over from one of the chronicles into the homily. However, there are some objections against this seductive theory. First, there is no bishop mentioned among the presbyters. Secondly, whether or not flames are actually represented in the miniature, they could only be so inconspicuous that the essence of the Nicomedian episode, namely the consuming of men and boat by flames, would not be visualized too well, contrary to the usual concentration on the main feature so typical for miniatures of this period. Moreover, though the bishop and the other inmates express grief by their gestures, this must not necessarily be explained as the fear of the fire, but rather can mean any kind of sorrow.

Relying finally on what the picture itself teaches us visually about its content, we would describe it in simple terms as a voyage

[22] *Ibid.*, LXXXII, cols. 881–1280.

of an eminent bishop, which, as the gestures of grief indicate, took place under not too happy circumstances. Assuming that the Gregory painter chose out of a large picture cycle of a historical chronicle those scenes which are particularly significant in connection with the persecution of the Orthodox, our investigation leads us immediately to Athanasius. No less than five times was this famous church father driven into exile, and all chronicles devote a considerable space to the events connected with the five flights, which briefly may be enumerated:

(1) in the year 335–6, after the council of Tyre, when, by order of Constantine, he left for Treves (Soc. I, 32 & 35; Soz., II, 25 & 28; Theod., I, 28–29),
(2) in the year 340 when, during the reign of Constantius, he flees from the Arian Gregory, leaves Alexandria and hastens to Rome (Soc., II, 11; Soz., III, 6; Theod., II, 3),
(3) in the year 356, when Constantius ejects him a second time (Soc., II, 26; Soz., IV, 2; Theod., II, 10),
(4) in the year 362, when Julian the Apostate expels him, although he returns secretly to Alexandria and hides himself in the city (Soc., III, 14; Soz., V, 15; Theod., III, 5),
(5) in the year 365, when Athanasius, persecuted by Valens, again conceals himself in Alexandria (Soc., IV, 13; Soz., VI, 12).

It seems a very probable assumption that one of these five flights is illustrated in the miniature and the question only remains to be decided, which one of the five. Only in connection with the fourth flight do our chroniclers mention in particular that Athanasius embarked on a boat. Socrates tells us that Athanasius embarked, crossed the Nile and hastened with all speed to Egypt, but then deceived his pursuers and returned secretly to Alexandria. Sozomenos is more vague, indicating neither the destination of the flight nor the fact that it was made in a boat, while Theodoret, more in agreement with Socrates in this point, reports that Athanasius found a boat on the bank of the river and started for the Thebaïd, but deceived his pursuers and returned to Alexandria. Consequently one might be inclined to see in our miniature a representation of Athanasius' fourth flight. But, although in the reports about the other flights a boat is not particularly mentioned, the text at least implies that in all of them either the sea or the

Nile were chosen as the way of escape, so that the boat easily could be understood as a painter's convention to represent a flight as such. For this reason the possibility that any of the other flights might be represented as well, cannot be excluded. Moreover, the story of the fourth flight still leaves unexplained the presence of the monk with the hood and the two men alongside of him, who also may be monks, to judge from their garments, though they wear no hood. The only place where, in the three chronicles, monks are mentioned in connection with any of the five flights is in Theodoret's description of the third, which description is itself mainly excerpted from Athanasius' own *Apologia de fuga sua.* Constantius, the emperor, dispatched a military commander, Sebastianos by name, to slay Athanasius while he was holding service in a church in Alexandria. The commander surrounded the church with his soldiers and forced his way into the building, but the monks and some of the clergy led Athanasius out of the church so that he might escape. In reference to this story the men in the boat alongside the bishop may very well be explained as representatives of the clergy and of the monks who saved Athanasius' life. Thus among the various proposals for an explanation of the boat-scene the most convincing one seems to us that of the third flight of Athanasius in the year 356 A.D. as it is reported in Theodoret.

Assuming that our interpretation is correct, how, then, does the portrait of the bishop correspond to the pictorial tradition of Athanasius' portrait in monuments which are contemporary with the Paris codex? Characteristic is the white hair and a comparatively short beard, slightly pointed, which frames a face not particularly ascetic. The chief collection of portraiture for this period is the codex of the Sacra Parallela in Paris *Ms. grec. 923*,[23] which contains no less than nine busts of Athanasius, most of them medallions.[24] Usually he wears in this manuscript as well as in other monuments a tight cap around his head, which is typical for the archbishops of Alexandria, but in the first example in the Paris manuscript, he is represented without the cap, and this also has numerous parallels in other monuments, so that its omission

[23] K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts* (1935), p. 80, pl. LXXXVI (here further bibliography).

[24] Fols. 10^{v}, 41^{r}, 88^{r}, 137^{r}, 192^{r}, 237^{r}, 354^{r}, 374^{v}, 380^{r}.

in our miniature cannot be brought forward as an argument against his identification. On the other hand, length, shape and color of the beard in the Athanasius busts of the Sacra Parallela manuscript agree very well with the bishop in our miniature so that the latter's identification seems well supported.[25]

The second scene revolves around the destruction of several churches by fire. The general context of the Gregory homily would imply that a group of Arians is destroying the churches of the Orthodox. Now if we read in our three chronicles the stories of the excesses which are full of bloodshed and cruelties of all sorts, we find rarely in them any hint of a destruction of a church by fire, and in reality just this crime is not even likely to have taken place very frequently for the simple reason that the Arians were apparently interested to take over the churches of the Orthodox for themselves rather than to destroy them. And since not a single case of destruction of a church by the Arians, as told in the chronicles, fits our miniature, we must reckon with the possibility that the Gregory painter adapted a composition, the original meaning of which might have been slightly different.

At the same time the miniature contains distinct features which point very obviously to a specific historical event. The most likely period for the destruction of Christian churches, if we take into consideration the time between the reigns of Constantine the Great and Theodosius the Younger, is that of Julian the Apostate. In the chronicle of Sozomenos (V, 20) we read the story of how Julian, angered by the destruction of the temple of Apollo in Daphne, which he attributed to the Christians, revenged himself by ordering the destruction of Christian churches in Miletus, in the following words: "He wrote to the governor of Caria to burn those churches which had a roof and an altar; and to destroy to the foundations those buildings that were unfinished." This story agrees quite well with the miniature, so that, in our opinion the passage quoted formed the very basis on which the archetype of our miniature could have been made up. In the central figure of

[25] In the tenth–eleventh century, following a general tendency of this period, the beard becomes slightly longer as, *e.g.*, in the well-known menologion in the Vatican *cod. gr. 1613*, where Athanasius wears the cap (*Codices e Vaticanis Selecti*, Vol. VIII: Il Menologio di Basilio II, facs. pl. 329) as well as in the mosaics of Hosios Lucas, where he is without cap (E. Diez & O. Demus, *Byzantine mosaics in Greece: Daphni and Hosios Lucas* [1931], fig. 15).

the crowd at the left we now recognize easily the governor of Caria who, seen from the back, gives the order for the destruction. The textual reference to the roofs and the altars is very well visualized in the miniature by making the men from Miletus hold their firebrands to the roof of the Narthex and the church proper, and by depicting an altar at the side. The fact that there are several churches likewise agrees with the meaning of the text.

True that there are also other passages in our chronicles which tell about the destruction of churches, but none of them, in its details, seems so well in agreement with the miniature. For instance, in the time of the emperor Constantius the people of Alexandria, instigated by Gregory, the Arian, who had succeeded Athanasius as bishop after the latter's second flight, set afire a church of Dionysius (Soc., II, 11 and 14; Soz., III, 6). But the fact that in both sources only one single church is mentioned and no altar at all, and that the commander is not named, does not speak in favour of this episode as basis for the miniature. Or, to quote another example in the time of the emperor Constantius, Macedonius, an Arian bishop from Constantinople, destroyed a number of churches, not, however, those of the Orthodox, but of the sect of the Novatians. The text does not say exactly that they were set afire, but simply that they were demolished (Soc., II, 38; Soz., IV, 20). Or, again, we read that Nestorius, the famous bishop of Constantinople under Theodosius the Younger, sets afire a church of the Arians (Soc., VII, 29), but in addition to the same objections we made previously, that only one church is mentioned, etc., it would not seem too likely, though not impossible, that the painter who first took over the miniature from a chronicle into the Gregory and who certainly must have known its original meaning, should have chosen just the scene in which the Arians are the victims instead of the destroyers. After these considerations we come back decidedly to our first suggestion, namely, that the miniature depicts the destruction of the churches of Miletus by the governor of Caria, and since this story, among our three chronicles, is told in Sozomenos only, we conclude that this chronicle also existed with illustrations.

The third scene deals with the martyrdom of an old man whom the inscription simply calls a *γέρων*. The Gregory text describing the martyrdom of old bishops by means of carding with nails is

not quite in agreement, as we saw, with the miniature which depicts two soldiers holding a rope that somehow is fastened around the ears of the victim. This looks like a very specific kind of torture. Apparently the homily text, as in the previous cases, was considered to be too general by the illustrator, so he searched in the chronicles for a scene of martyrdom of a famous bishop, which in its general context was close enough to be introduced into the homily, and he did not bother much about details as long as the general content, namely cruelty against a Christian bishop, conveyed the main idea. But it is just the detail deviating from the homily text which can assist us in finding the clue to the original meaning of the scene.

The episode which seemingly fits best the miniature is the martyrdom of Marcus, bishop of Arethusa, which, like the burning of the churches of Miletus, took place in the time of Julian the Apostate. Sozomenos (V, 10) tells the story in the following words: "The whole people rushed and seized upon him and dragged him through the streets, pushing and plucking and smiting whatever member each happened upon. This was done by men as well as by women and by all ages with eagerness and wrath. They severed his ears with thin ropes. School boys made a game out of him, lifting him up and rolling him over, throwing him forward and catching him up and stabbing him with their styles without mercy. When the whole body was covered with wounds, etc. . . ." Among the manifold tortures — even more are recorded in the text — the strangest seems to be the severing of the ears by thin ropes, and it is precisely this peculiarity of the martyrdom which the painter has chosen for the miniature. It is true that Sozomenos does not say that it was soldiers who performed the tortures: he mentions first the people of Arethusa in general and later the schoolboys in particular. But the implication that these martyrdoms were instigated by Julian would seem to justify the painter's interpretation in representing some of the emperor's soldiers in the act of torturing. The blood-stained body helplessly lying on the ground, and the beard characterizing an old man are likewise in agreement with this episode. Socrates does not mention this story, but in Theodoret most of its elements are repeated in a similar way (III, 3). In this chronicle the fact is emphasized that they stripped him before they smote him and this feature of the

narration seems to fit the miniature even better than the passage in Sozomenos where stripping is implied by the text, though not specifically mentioned. On the other hand, Theodoret does not know about the severing of the ears by thin ropes and for this reason Theodoret must be excluded as the original source for the painter.

Thus we come to the conclusion that the first scene of the miniature is taken from Theodoret and the second and third from Sozomenos. We might have hoped to find a single model for all three scenes, but if the whole cycle of the Paris Gregory manuscript is analyzed, one will soon realize that, as a rule, at least two different models and often even more were used by the painter in order to fill the stripes of a single page, and that those pages whose scenes are all derived from one and the same source are rather rare.

III

For each of Gregory's two homilies *Invectiva contra Julianum* [26] there is a frontispiece-miniature which is subdivided into three stripes with historical scenes as was the case in the miniature just described. They raise the same kind of problems and, therefore, we can proceed with their interpretation in the same manner, i.e., first we must find out whether the Gregory text is a sufficient basis from which the scenes could have been made up and, if not, we will again have to search in the historical chronicles. Since the events from the life of Julian the Apostate represented in the three pictures fall into the same period as those of the preceding miniature, we will consult again Socrates, Sozomenos and Theodoret as the most likely sources.

In the upper stripe of the miniature which precedes the First Invective (fig. 2)[27] we recognize Julian the emperor following a sorcerer who takes him by his hand and leads him into a cave, where a winged demon, in front of a group of other figures, addresses the new-comers. At the left is a building with two stories and at the right, on top of a hill, a sarcophagus. On the upper frame, not fully legible in the reproduction, runs an inscription which, according to Omont, reads: ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟϹ ΧΗΡΑΓΩ-ΓΟΥΜΕΝΟϹ ΥΠΟ . . . ΒΑϹΚΑΝΟΥ . . . ΒΛΕΠΟΝ ΤΟΥϹ

[26] No. IV and V in Migne, *P. G.*, XXXV, col. 532–664 and 664–720.
[27] Fol. 374v. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LIII.

ΔΕΜΟΝΑC. It does not give us the name of the sorcerer or an indication as to the locality, and thus confirms again our impression that the man who wrote the inscriptions made them up merely from what he saw in the picture itself, having apparently no further literary information. The text of the homily refers, in paragraph 55, to the event which the miniature represents, in the following words: "He [i.e., the emperor] descended into one of those sanctuaries which are inaccessible for most people and regarded by them with fear, . . . accompanied by the man who is worth about as much as most sanctuaries, the 'wise' man in such things, a 'sophist'; all this is a kind of divination amongst them, a meeting in a certain darkness and with subterranean demons about the future. . . . But, as the noble man proceeded, terrors dashed against him, continually more and more formidable ones, strange noises, as they say, unpleasant smells, fiery apparitions, and I don't know what kinds of nonsense and trifles. Being struck by the unexpected, for he was still a tyro in these matters, he takes refuge in the Cross as in an old remedy and in the sign thereof against the terrors and thus makes an assistant of Him whom he persecuted. . . ." In the miniature the emperor, who raises his left hand as a sign of abhorrence, the wise man or sophist, who guides him and whose name is not revealed by the text, the demons in the darkness, all these figures are so much in agreement with the description in this passage that one is inclined to consider the homily-text as a sufficient basis from which the painter could have made up this composition. However, a few details still remain to be discussed for which the above quoted passage does not give a sufficient explanation. First, there is the building at the left which might stand for a temple. True, buildings of this sort are often used as decorative fillings in mediaeval painting and therefore need not be considered important enough to make the assumption of another literary source necessary. Less striking, but from the iconographical viewpoint more important is the sarcophagus above the cave. Space fillers were not particularly needed in this corner of the picture and a sarcophagus at any rate is not a very usual convention for the mere purpose of decorative filling. So we may turn again to the chronicles and see whether they supply an intelligible explanation for the sarcophagus. A problem also is the identity of the sorcerer. Omont calls him Maximus, the philoso-

pher from Ephesus, who was Julian's teacher in his youth and, according to Cumont,[28] apparently had introduced the emperor into the Mithraic cult. At the same time Omont refers to the demon-story in Theodoret, but neither this chronicler nor either of the other two mentions Maximus in this connection, so Omont's identification remains a conjecture, though a very likely one.

Theodoret (III, 1) in a few words tells us that the emperor met a man who led him into a holy precinct and introduced him into a sanctuary in order to invoke the demons who frightened the emperor so much that he made the sign of the Cross, in consequence of which they vanished. This report does not reveal a single new feature compared with Gregory's description and certainly would not justify the assumption of a text other than Gregory as basis for the picture.

Quite different, however, is Socrates' description of Julian's visit to the demon (III, 18), which reads as follows: "After having ordered the temples of the Greeks in Antioch to be opened, he [i.e., Julian] was eager to obtain an oracle from the Apollo of Daphne. However, the demon, who lived in the sanctuary, did not answer since he was afraid of his neighbour, the martyr Babylas, whose coffin containing his corpse was nearby. When the wise emperor was informed of this, he ordered the coffin to be immediately removed. When the Christians of Antioch, including women and children heard this, they rejoiced and sang psalms and transported the coffin from Daphne into the city. . . ." According to this description the building at the left may perhaps be interpreted as the temple of Apollo in Daphne, though this remains, of course, a conjecture. But the problem of the sarcophagus in the right upper corner is solved: it is the coffin of Saint Babylas, which was so close to the sanctuary of the demon that the latter's oracular ability was impaired. This identification alone would suffice to prove that the miniature is not made up from the homily text as seemed possible on the first impression. On the other hand, before we make a hasty conclusion that Socrates may be the very source for the picture we should consult Sozomenos also.

After having first told, with great minuteness, how Gallus, the pious brother of Julian, had ordered the transfer of the tomb of

[28] F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments Figurés relatives aux Mystères de Mithra*, I (1899), 357.

Babylas to Daphne, Sozomenos continues (V, 19): "It is said that from this time on the demon ceased to utter oracles in the habitual way . . . and even when Julian ruled the Roman empire alone, the silence nevertheless continued, although he had offered libations, incense and victims in abundance to the demon. At last the oracle spoke and proclaimed the reason for its previous silence. The emperor who wanted to consult the oracle, went into the temple, venerated the demon with lavish gifts and victims, and asked him whether he would grant him an answer concerning those things he was eager to learn about. The demon did not openly admit that he was unable to utter oracles because of Babylas, the martyr, whose tomb was in the proximity, but he said that the place was full of corpses and that this was the reason why he could not give oracles." Then Sozomenos goes on to tell the same story as Socrates, that by order of Julian the coffin of Babylas was removed and that the Christians brought it triumphantly into the city, and so on. Now, not only is the narration of the episode lengthened out in Sozomenos, but it is also enriched by new features which have a bearing on the interpretation of the miniature. We learn that the demon, after all, does make an utterance, though a short and negative one, and this explains the gesture of speech of the winged demon. Furthermore, and this is the most decisive point, we see a number of heads and busts around the demon, which Omont describes as other demons, but apparently these represent the corpses which, in the text, are mentioned as a hindrance to the demon. For these reasons we definitely give Sozomenos the preference over Socrates as the basic text for the miniature. However, it should not be overlooked that neither Socrates nor Sozomenos mention the sorcerer who accompanies the emperor into the sanctuary and who, on the other hand, is described in the homily as well as in Theodoret. He was, perhaps, added after the picture was taken over into the Gregory-homily, but there is also the possibility that the miniature, which we assume to have originated in Sozomenos, passed through an illustrated Theodoret as an intermediary stage, before it migrated from there into the homily, and that consequently the sorcerer may have been already introduced in an illustrated Theodoret.

The second scene illustrates the sacrifice of bulls by Julian. Followed by two bodyguards, the emperor watches a temple ser-

vant who slaughters a bull with a double-axe. A second bull lies burning in front of an idol standing on a pedestal before a niche which has two more idols in the shape of busts on its corners. The emperor is accompanied by an older man who encourages him in his pagan activity and, to judge from his drapery and from the features of his face, he is apparently the same man as the guide in the preceding scene. Omont, therefore, calls him again Maximus, and this seems indeed the most plausible identification, though neither the Gregory-text nor any chronicle nor the rather noncommittal inscription, ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟϹ ΘΥΩΝ ΤΟΙϹ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΙϹ, give any hint as to the name of Julian's companion.

The choice of this theme by the painter is prompted by paragraph 77 of the homily where Gregory bestows several epithets, none too flattering, upon Julian, such as Εἰδωλιανός, Πισαῖος, Ἀδωναῖος and Καυσίταυρος, i.e., the Burner of Bulls. A mere epithet, especially in the enumeration of several, would hardly have been a sufficient clue to the painter for the invention of a sacrifice picture, had he not seen a composition of this theme in some other context, where it must have accompanied a more detailed text describing more explicitly Julian's reintroduction of pagan rites.

The clearest statement we were able to find is in Socrates (III, 17): "They said that on his coins a bull was struck by which the world had been destroyed. When the emperor was much given to the superstition of demons he sacrificed bulls continuously in front of the altars of the idols and therefore ordered that an altar and a bull be struck upon his coins." A similar, but shorter record is in the chronicle of Sozomenos in the same paragraph which contains also his visit to the demons (V, 19), namely that the people ridiculed the emperor "because he had had struck the picture of a bull upon his coins. They say jokingly that in the time of his reign the world itself had been destroyed quite as much as the supine bulls." The miniature could have been connected with either one of these passages and it is difficult to give one a preference over the other.

One point should not be overlooked, namely, that we do not deal here with a specific historical episode happening but once as in the previous instances, but with a representation of a general habit of the emperor; and inasmuch as the subject-matter in

itself is somewhat conventional, so is its formal rendering. Therefore this composition as a common scheme for sacrifices suits any passage which would describe Julian's reintroduction of pagan rite in general, regardless whether slaughtering of bulls is mentioned in particular or not. The same chroniclers, Socrates as well as Sozomenos, speak in other places also of Julian's adaptation of the pagan rite of sacrifice, particularly in the introductory paragraphs to the life of this emperor, which deal with his education and general character. Socrates (III, 1) tells us that Julian opened the temples of the pagans, offered sacrifice to the idols and called himself Pontifex Maximus, and in another place (III, 11) he states that Julian offered sacrifices in public to the Tyche of Constantinople in the basilica, where her image was erected. And similar to the first report of Socrates is Sozomenos' description of Julian's reintroduction of the pagan cult (V, 3). He is even somewhat more explicit insofar as he tells not only of the reopening of the old temples, but also how the emperor repaired them and rebuilt their altars by giving money for this purpose and how he restored the practice of offering sacrifices. Then the description goes on to say that he, the emperor himself, offered libations openly and sacrificed publicly and honored all those who were performing these ceremonies, i.e., the priests, the hierophants and the servants of images. With any of these passages our miniature might just as well have been associated originally.

There is no passage in Theodoret which seriously comes into play as basis for our miniature: in the only place where he speaks about the opening of the temples with idols (III, 3) he does not particularly mention the emperor as taking part in such a rite himself. Thus we come to the conclusion that the sacrifice-scene was taken over into the Gregory homily from either Socrates or Sozomenos without being able to give a definite preference to any of the several text passages quoted above.

In the third scene we see Julian sitting on a richly decorated throne, pressing a little golden idol against his side with his left hand, while with the right he holds a plate with gold coins which he offers to a group of high ranking soldiers, who reach for them. More gold pieces are in a round jewelled box at his side, and in front of the emperor stands a brazier for incense. Two men of the bodyguard stand at the left in front of a building which apparently

stands for the imperial palace. Paragraphs 82 and 83 of the homily refer to the episode represented in the picture with the following words: "It was the day of the imperial gift-making . . . and the soldiery were ordered to be present so that they might receive the donativum according to the merit or the rank of each of them. . . . Now he presided in splendour, splendidly celebrating against [Christian] piety and thinking about his cunning contrivances. . . . There was placed before him incense, the fire was close by and the exhorters near. And the scheme was so plausible because it seemed to be the expected usage of the more ancient and more honorable imperial donativum. What then? Each was supposed to throw incense upon the fire and to receive from the emperor the recompense for their destruction [i.e., of their souls]. . . ." This reads like a faithful description of the miniature, so that the picture needs no further explanation and consequently it seems perfectly possible that a miniaturist could have made up the composition from this text. The only detail to which the text does not give any clue in particular is the little idol in the arm of the emperor. Only the inscription, ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟϹ ΡΩΓΕΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΔΟΛΩ ΕΧΟΝ Κ[Ε]ΚΡΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΧΕΙΡΙ ΤΟ ΕΙΔΟΛΟΝ, refers to it and this seems again to point to the assumption that all inscriptions were made up under a direct visual impression of the pictures themselves. If we, nevertheless, keep the possibility open that even the scene of the distributing of the donativum might have been taken over from a chronicle — provided we find in any of them a text of equal explicitness — it is on the ground of analogy with all other scenes described hitherto, not one of which could possibly have originated in the Gregory homily itself. One has a natural hesitation to assume an exception before not all other possibilities are first exploited.

Socrates does not narrate this episode, but in Sozomenos (V, 17) it is told this way: "When the time came at which the emperor was to give money to the soldiers (which generally took place at some festivals of the Romans, such as the birthdays of emperors or the foundation of royal cities) he bethought himself that soldiers were simple by nature and careless and easily overcome by their innate greediness for money, and he used a certain means by which he forced them to sacrifice. It was the custom in old times that those who accepted the donativum had to sacrifice.

Accordingly, as each of them approached, those who stood near the emperor commanded them to throw on incense. The incense and the fire were placed nearby, according to an old Roman custom. Some of them being without fear, had the manly spirit to refuse to throw on the incense and to receive the gold from the emperor." One small detail might be pointed out in which the passage differs from the Gregory text. While the latter speaks only of *θυμιᾶν*, i.e. throwing incense, Sozomenos speaks in addition to *θυμιᾶν* also of *θύειν*, which means sacrificing in general, including the worshipping of the gods by means of offerings. This, then, might, though indirectly, justify the representation of an idol in the emperor's left hand, to which the Gregory text gives no allusion either direct or indirect. However, it must at the same time be stated that the verb *θύειν* occurs twice in a phrase which does not appear in all codices [29] so that our evidence is still more weakened. Thus it becomes clear that this point is not strong enough to give the chronicle text a definite priority over the Gregory text, but as a whole the passage in Sozomenos is at least of equal value as a basic text for the miniature.

Theodoret also describes our episode and this is what he has to say (III, 12): "But the tyrant invented another subtle contrivance against the truth. For when he was distributing gold among the ranks of his soldiery he sat on the imperial throne; before him, contrary to custom, was an altar full of charcoal, and incense on a table. He ordered each one of those who were to receive the gold first to throw incense upon the altar and then to receive the gold from his own right hand. Most of them were completely unaware of this trap. . . ." This description contains some visual features which seem particularly inviting for an illustrator: the "imperial throne," the "altar full of charcoal" and the "table with incense." But just in these details, except for the throne, the artist does not comply with the writer's suggestions: the charcoal is not on a *βωμός*, i.e., an altar with a base, but a brazier, and the table with incense is not depicted at all, while on the other hand there is visible a box with gold coins, which is not mentioned in the text. The only point in favour of Theodoret which one might argue about is the specific statement that the soldiers received the gold from the right hand of the emperor.

[29] Migne, *P. G.*, LXVII, col. 1267–1268, note 21.

But even if the artist had the Sozomenos text before him, which speaks only of "receiving the gold from the emperor," he hardly would have had another choice of pictorial expression than to place the gold-pieces into the emperor's right hand. Assuming that not the homily but a chronicle text was the basis, we would favour the Sozomenos passage as against Theodoret, though we must admit that the differences are too slight to be decisive.

To sum up our various interpretations: all three scenes illustrating the First Invectiva can be derived from Sozomenos. But it seems to be sure only for the first scene with the demon; the second with the sacrifice of the bulls has an equal chance to be based on a passage in Socrates and in the third, which illustrates the spending of the donativum, neither the homily itself nor the chronicle of Theodoret can be excluded entirely as another possibility though Sozomenos seems to have a slightly better chance.

IV

The three scenes which precede the second *Invectiva contra Julianum* (fig. 3)[30] deal with the emperor's death during his expedition against the Persians. First we see him riding clad in splendid armour at the head of his cavalry, approaching a bridge which spans a river and leads, at the right, to a gate of a walled city, the obvious aim of Julian's conquest. Outside the walls we recognize Persian troops armed with lances and square shields. The inscription above the miniature reads: ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟϹ ΑΠΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟϹ ΕΝ ΠΕ[ΡϹΙΔΙ]. There is a cut in the upper margin so originally the inscription may, perhaps, have been somewhat longer and have contained the name of the locality. The main city where the final battle was fought which forced Julian to retreat immediately before his death, was Ctesiphon, and therefore it seems most likely that the painter intended to represent this city as Omont has already suggested. The river, then, would be the Tigris.

Ctesiphon is also the chief place mentioned in the paragraphs nine and ten of Gregory's homily, to which our scene must be related, and this strongly confirms the city's identification. Here we read: "Now, having advanced in this way with the army and passed along the river's bank, with the ships on the river transporting corn and carrying baggage, he approached Ctesiphon

[30] Fol. 409v. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LIV.

after no small difficulty; so great was his longing for this city that even to be near it he considered as already a part of the victory. . . . Henceforth, however, like sand drawn out from under the feet or like a squall bursting upon a ship, things turned against him. Ctesiphon is a strong fortress and hard to conquer, fortified by a wall of burnt brick and by a deep ditch and by lagoons coming from the river. . . . But as he advanced a Persian army appeared and was steadily reinforced but did not see any need to stand in the front line and to run the risks without the greatest necessity, though they had the greater resources with which to prevail; but from the crests of the hills and narrow passes, whenever an opportunity offered itself, they hit and struck with arrows and occupied, in advance, the most vital passes and easily hindered his advance. . . ." In some points text and picture agree quite well: it is easy to recognize in the walled city at the right the strongly fortified Ctesiphon of the text, while Julian's proud attitude on horseback suits well the emperor who, being near the city, seems so sure of his victory. Also, the river flowing down the picture and forming a barrier between the Greeks and Persians conforms to the situation described in the text. However, it must be noted that the fleet which plays so essential a rôle in the text is not depicted. Moreover, there is one feature which seems contrary to the meaning of the text, namely the quiet attitude of the Persians, standing at the bank of the river, while in the homily they attack from hills and narrow passes apparently under cover, thus avoiding facing the Greeks openly. This incongruity justifies our customary doubt that the homily text could have been the basic text for the miniature.

Let us therefore turn once more to the chronicles to see whether they provide an explanation for this particular feature. Socrates and Theodoret are too abbreviated in their narration of the Persian expedition and must be excluded as a possibility. The former (III, 21) tells in only a short sentence that Julian surrounded the city of Ctesiphon and pressed the king of the Persians so hard that he sent repeated embassies to him, but no river and no army of the Persians are mentioned. Theodoret (III, 20) is still vaguer on this subject and neither mentions Ctesiphon at all nor describes any situation which might fit the miniature. A more detailed narration is to be found only in Sozomenos (VI, 1), who has this to

say: "As he was journeying along the Euphrates he arrived at Ctesiphon, not far from the river. This is a large city where the Persian king has now his residence instead of Babylon. . . . But the Persians appeared on the banks of the Tigris with a great display of horses and heavy armed troops and elephants." And then he goes on in great detail to tell how Julian, under the impression of this display, ordered the retreat and commanded the embarkation of his troops and their transfer to the opposite side of the river by night, and how a battle was fought after which the Romans returned by the river and encamped near Ctesiphon, etc. On the basis of this passage we can now interpret the group of Persians in the miniature as "the display of their army on the banks of the river," the sight of which made Julian stop his march of conquest. True, there are no horses or elephants in the group, but the limitation to heavy armed troops can easily be understood as an artistic abbreviation. At any rate, this representation of the Persians on the river-bank is in its context apparently more in agreement with the description by Sozomenos than with that of the homily, and consequently we assume that the miniature originated more likely in this chronicle, the very one — and this hardly is accidental — to which all illustrations of the First Invectiva could be related with a greater or less degree of certainty.

There is but one detail for which no satisfactory answer is yet given and this is the bridge so prominently displayed in the picture. Neither the homily nor any of the chronicles mention a bridge, which seems even contradictory to the meaning of the text, particularly of Sozomenos, who tells us that Julian used his fleet in order to disembark his troops on the other side of the Tigris. So one has either to understand the bridge as an invention of the painter who might have introduced it with the intention of clarifying the situation or to leave open the possibility that some other literary source is involved which has not yet been discovered.

In the second scene two nimbed bishops and a deacon approach an altar in order to hold a divine service. They are followed by a group of monks and a second group of younger people who probably are meant to represent novices. The altar stands in front of a church and this is a typical mediaeval convention which naturally means that not only the altar but all participants in the service are to be thought of as inside the church. The scene is surrounded

by a crenellated wall with towers which, because of the absence of any other building and because of the presence of the monks, has to be understood as the enclosing wall of a monastery, rather than the usual walled city. The inscription on the background reads: Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΒΑCΙΛΕΙOC ΕΥΧOΜΕΝOC ΚΑΤΑ ΙOΥΛΙΑΝOΥ. The first of the two bishops with black hair and beard corresponds very well with the type of Basil whom we know from other miniatures of the same Paris manuscript [31] as well as from many other documents of about the same period. While this identification can be considered as sure, that of the second bishop is problematical, since the inscription fails to mention him. The head with white hair and a white, half-long beard corresponds fairly well with that of the author of our homily, i.e., Gregory of Nazianzus himself as we see him depicted throughout the Paris codex as well as in other manuscripts.

In the text of the second *Invectiva* there is nowhere a passage which in any respect or in the smallest degree could be related to the situation as represented in the picture or which could give any clue to its explanation. And what is even more surprising is the fact that none of the three chronicles, by which every scene so far could be explained, contains a passage according to which Basil is in any way connected with Julian's death. However, there is a strange episode in Theodoret (III, 19) about a monk by the name of Julianos who saw in a vision the death of the emperor Julian. Some details of this story recall so immediately a situation like the one depicted in our miniature that we will give its full wording: "A man who in his body imitated the life of the bodyless, Julianos by name and surnamed Sabbas in the Syrian language, whose life I have described in the *Φιλόθεος ἱστορία*, offered supplications all the more eagerly to the God of all mankind when he heard about the boasts of that impious man. On the very day on which he [i.e., the emperor] was slain, he learned about it, while he was praying, although the monastery was more than twenty stations distant from the encamped army. It is said that while he was loudly imploring and supplicating the benevolent Lord, he suddenly stopped the flow of tears, became full of exuberance and happiness and his face became bright, revealing the joy of the soul. When his best friends perceived this change, they beseeched

[31] *E.g.*, Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII, XXXI, XXXIV.

him to tell the reason of his gladness. 'The wild boar,' said he, 'the enemy of the vineyard of the Lord has paid the penalties for the wrongs done to Him, and now he is dead, his treachery has been brought to an end.' All who heard this leaped up for joy and sang the thanksgiving hymn. But from those who brought the news about the end of the emperor, they learned that it was on the very day and at the very hour when the guilty was slain that the divine old man knew it and predicted it." If we could only substitute this monk Julianus for Basil, then the miniature would fit this story perfectly well. The attitude of the man in front of the altar could be explained by the Theodoret text as the moment when, during his prayers, he has the vision of the death of Julian, the representation of which is depicted in the scene underneath. The monks who form the crowd are just perceiving the expression of joy of the celebrating bishop and their gestures reveal a participation in the same astonishment. Also the architectural setting would be perfectly suitable for the monastery which, according to the text, lies twenty stations from the camp where the slaying of the emperor took place. Although the story of Theodoret and the miniature apparently have something to do with each other, it is equally clear that an exchange of figures, if there was one, could not be explained as a mere mistake on the part of the painter. Therefore Theodoret's chronicle cannot have been the direct source of our miniature and we must search for further literary evidence in other chronicles.

There exists, indeed, a chronicle in which a vision of the death of Julian happened to Basil and this is the World chronicle of Johannes Malalas, who in the sixth century wrote in eighteen books a popular history which, in the only copy preserved, starts with the ancient Egyptians and ends with the last period of Justinian (563).[32] In book XIII he first tells [33] how Basil, the most divine bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, had a dream in which he saw Julian killed, and then he continues: "St. Basil, having called together the whole clergy, went down into the church for his morning prayers and told them about this mysterious vision, and that Julian, the emperor, had been slain and had died that very night. And all appealed to him to keep silence and not to

[32] Migne, *P. G.*, XCVII, col. 65–717.
[33] *Ibid.*, col. 497.

tell anybody about it. Eutropios, the very wise chronicler, wrote about this in his history, but not in agreement with our account." On the basis of this text one could interpret the miniature as a representation of the moment after his dream (which itself is represented underneath in a separate stripe), when Basil, followed by the clergy, went into the church for the morning prayer. However, there are certain features in the picture which do not exactly agree with this text either. The monks are not explained by the Malalas text, from which it can furthermore be inferred that Basil was not in a monastery at that time at all, but in the city of Caesarea, and consequently one would expect as an architectural setting, besides the church, the city of Caesarea visualized by some buildings, but not a simple wall enclosure which rather seems to represent a monastery. But these deviating features are just the very ones which fitted so well to the text of Theodoret. These incongruities can be explained most naturally by the assumption of a development according to which the composition originated as an illustration of Theodoret's passage of the vision of Julianos the monk, and was then taken over into the chronicle of Malalas and changed by substituting Basil for Julianos, but keeping at the same time the group of monks and the architectural setting from the model. From there the miniature migrated into the third text, i.e. the Gregory homily, and here again a slight change seems to have been made, in order to adjust it somehow to its present context, by inserting Gregory himself as a companion of Basil. No text mentions Gregory in connection with this episode, but since he and Basil were old friends and appear in other pictures of the same Paris codex side by side [34] it may perhaps have been the painter's idea to introduce him in order to give to the whole scene some kind of justification for its existence in front of the homily, whose text does not refer to this episode at all, as we have noticed.

In passing, it may be mentioned that the Basil story in Malalas is somewhat anachronistic since Basil was not made bishop of Caesarea before 370, i.e., seven years after Julian's death. No earlier chronicle knows anything about a relation between Basil and Julian, so the whole legend is probably not much older than Malalas.

[34] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII and XXXIV.

The death of the emperor, to which the morning prayer of Basil in the church is so intimately related, is represented in the stripe underneath. A galloping rider has pierced Julian by means of a lance with such vehemence that the emperor is thrown off the saddle and tumbles to the ground. The inscription, ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟC CΦΑZΟΜΕΝΟC ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΕΡΚΟΥ[ΡΙΟ]Υ, identifies the killer as St. Mercurius. The miniature relates to paragraph 13 of the homily, where the end of the emperor is described in detail with the following words: "Some say that he [i.e., Julian] was shot down by the Persians when he was engaged in random skirmishes. . . . But others narrate this story about him. When he had gone up to the crest of a hill so that he might have a wide view of his army and learn how much of it was left for continuing the war, and when he saw that the number was great and larger than expected, he exclaimed, 'How terrible if we should bring back all these to the land of the Romans' as if he envied their safe return. Whereupon one of his officers, being sorely angry, not holding back his wrath and disregarding his own safety, ran his sword into the emperor's viscera. Others say that this deed was accomplished by one of the Barbarian jesters. . . . And again others give this fame to a certain Saracen. However that may be, he received a mortal blow, salutary for the whole world. . . ." Not only is Mercurius not mentioned in the passage, but also none of the various ways of killing agrees with the attack of the rider in the miniature, and as so often, we must again conclude that this passage was not the basis for the painter's invention, but served merely as an instigation to insert a scene of the emperor's death from another source.

As in the case of Basil in the preceding scene, Socrates, Sozomenos and Theodoret fail to be explicit and do not mention Mercurius in connection with Julian's death. According to Socrates (III, 21) Julian, who had entered the battle against the Persians unarmed, was killed by a dart which an unknown soldier had cast at him or, as others say, by a Persian who had hurled a javelin at him and then fled, while again others believe that he was killed by one of his own men. Theodoret likewise gives several versions of his death (III, 20) but admits at the same time that the name of the killer is unknown to him. He records an invisible being as well as one of the Nomads called Ishmaelites,

and finally a soldier who could not endure the pains of famine, as potential killers, without, however, embarking on a discussion as to how the wound was inflicted. So both Socrates and Theodoret not only do not mention Mercurius, but like the homily text contain no feature which might fit at least the compositional scheme. In this respect only Sozomenos is different, who, among our chroniclers, gives the most explicit report (VI, 1–2). Describing the battle against the Persians he has this to say: "After darkness and mist had spread around, a horseman riding at a gallop transfixed the emperor with the lance and inflicted upon him a mortal wound. After having thrown him from the horse the unknown rider withdrew. Some say he was a Persian; others a Saracen. Again others insist that he who struck the blow against him was a Roman soldier who was vexed at the thoughtlessness and overboldness with which the emperor had thrown his army into such perils. Libanius, the Syrian sophist and the most intimate friend of Julian, wrote the following about the person who had killed him: 'Perhaps someone is anxious to know who was the killer. I do not know his name. There is, however, plain proof that the killer was not an enemy, because none of his enemies claimed the honor of having dealt the blow. . . .'" And then Sozomenos continues by making his own commentary to Libanius: "And in writing this way Libanius indicates that the slayer of Julian was a Christian and this is probably the truth. It is not unlikely that one of the soldiers in the Roman army conceived this idea. . . ." If we would give to the unknown soldier of this passage the name Mercurius the agreement between text and picture would be perfect. One needs only to point to the galloping of the slayer, his distinction by means of a nimbus which speaks in favour of a Christian, the piercing of the emperor by a lance, and his fall from the horse as to the most striking similarities.

For the identification of Mercurius with the killer we must again look for a new literary source besides our three familiar chronicles and it hardly comes as a surprise to find the clue provided again by Malalas. The same passage in book XIII which narrates the morning prayer of Basil after his vision in a dream, describes this very dream with the following words: "In the same night, Basil, the most divine bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia,

saw in a dream the heavens open and Christ the Saviour sitting on a throne and saying with a loud voice: 'Mercurius, depart and kill Julian the emperor and the enemy of the Christians.' St. Mercurius stood in front of the Lord wearing a shining coat of mail of iron; and after he had heard the order he disappeared immediately. And having come back again he stood in front of the Lord and shouted: 'Julian the emperor is slain as you, O Lord, commanded, and has died.' Startled by this loud shout Basil the bishop awoke in confusion. Julian the emperor revered him as a learned man and as an associate of his studies and wrote to him frequently." Reading this passage we learn from it with regard to our miniature nothing more than the mere fact that Mercurius did kill the emperor, but it does not say how. This means that we are faced again with the same kind of incongruity as in the preceding prayer scene. The solution may therefore be sought in the same direction, namely by assuming that the miniature was invented for the chronicle of Sozomenos, then taken over into the Malalas text where the inscription with the name Mercurius was added and finally was transmitted to the Gregory homily. But there is this difference from the Basil scene where we met a similar case of double migration in that, as far as we can judge, no formal changes were required when the shift from one text into another was made.

The fact that two identifications, the one of Basil and the other of Mercurius, come from the same source, makes the assumption of an illustrated Malalas alongside with the other illustrated chronicles all the more justifiable. However, Malalas is not the only source which tells the story about Basil's dream and Mercurius' killing. We find it again in the Chronicon Paschale,[35] but here it is told in so similar a way that it can hardly be doubted that Malalas was the source. It is, of course, by no means impossible that the Chronicon Paschale was also illustrated with the same miniatures, but if so we would make the assumption that they were copied from Malalas in the same way as was the text. Therefore the Chronicon Paschale would come into play merely as an intermediary step. Our conclusions about Malalas would be subject to change only if a chronicle earlier than Malalas could be found which contains the Basil and the Mercurius story. In

[35] Migne, *P. G.*, XCII, col. 748.

this case Malalas would have to be reduced to the rôle of an intermediary such as we assume the Chronicon Paschale to be.

V

Besides the three frontispieces discussed so far which are filled with stripes of illustrations from chronicles, there are a few more scenes from the same historical sources, interpolated with others which are made up from the homily text itself. For instance, the *Oratio funebris in laudem Basilii Magni*, i.e., the XLIIIrd homily,[36] is preceded by a miniature with numerous scenes in four stripes (fig. 4)[37] most of which can be sufficiently explained by the homily text and therefore do not require the assumption of another outside source. To this category of illustrations belong the following scenes: in the upper stripe Basil with his grandparents (whom the inscription erroneously calls his parents) is hiding in a cave in Pontus surrounded by stags and hinds (paragraphs 5–7); the figure of the seated Basil who writes prolifically on practically every theological subject (paragraphs 66–69); the episode, filling the whole third stripe, which represents a widow, kneeling at an altar in front of Basil, seeking refuge from the persecutions of an assessor, then Basil brought before this assessor and being stripped of the pallium while the people are stirred and aroused by this crime (paragraphs 56–57); and finally the picture in the fourth stripe depicting Basil's burial (paragraphs 79–80). But there are two more episodes on the same page which seem to contain more pictorial details than the Gregory text can account for and thus the question whether they were taken over from another illustrated text comes again into play.

In the right half of the first strip (fig. 4) we see, in front of a walled city, two nimbed men and between them an older figure who, by his nude breast, himation, and scroll is sufficiently characterized as a pagan man of learning. Omont interprets the scene as the education of young Basil and his fellow student Gregory of Nazianzus by the old scholar and he relates the representation correctly to paragraphs 15–18 of the homily which deal with the fruitful period of study both had enjoyed together in Athens. The man in the center must undoubtedly be a very distinguished

[36] *Ibid.*, XXXVI, col. 493–605.
[37] Fol. 104r. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI.

teacher but, in reading the homily text, we search in vain for a reference to a man of his profession, either named or unnamed. The lengthy homily text deals exclusively with the debates the two students had with their comrades and with other episodes of their student life, but they do not take us into the lecture hall. Thus in order to identify the distinguished teacher we must again consult the familiar chronicles. The two which come into play are Socrates and Sozomenos. The former has this to say in a paragraph which deals with Basil and Gregory (IV, 26): "When they were young they were the auditors of the most celebrated sophists of their time, namely of Himerius and Prohaeresius, and afterwards they went together to the school of the Syrian Libanius in Antioch and here they learned rhetoric to the highest perfection. . . . Having touched upon philosophical matters by the side of the man who taught philosophy in Antioch, they shortly afterwards brought together the books of Origen and found out from them the correct interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures." Quite similar is the statement of Sozomenos (VII, 17): "When both were young they had studied in Athens under Himerius and Prohaeresius, the most learned sophists of their age, and afterwards at Antioch under Libanius the Syrian." Judging from these passages the scholar in the miniature could be any one of the three, i.e., Himerius, Prohaeresius or Libanius. Nevertheless certain considerations seem to allow us to give a slight preference to Libanius. One might argue that in the case of the two Athenian sophists who are mentioned as a couple the painter would have represented them together. Moreover, according to Socrates, Libanius seems to have been the teacher who had the most lasting influence upon the two pupils. Besides Libanius is much better known to both chroniclers [38] than the two sophists from Athens who are mentioned only in this one connection. Though we are quite sure that the scene is not made up from the homily text we are not able to decide whether Socrates or Sozomenos was the source since their passages are too much alike. If only we could be sure whether the scholar is Libanius or not! In the affirmative case we would have the proof that either Socrates or Sozomenos must be the actual source because they alone know of Basil's and

[38] Beside the passages already quoted: Soc., III, 1; III, 17; III, 23; VI, 3, and Soz., VIII, 2.

Gregory's study in Antioch under Libanius. According to another source which is more trustworthy, Basil met Libanius in Constantinople [39] while Gregory in his homily does not say anything about his residing in Antioch together with Basil.

The second episode, which is below the preceding one and which deals with the death of the son of the emperor Valens (fig. 4), leads us to a clearer result concerning its literary source. First we recognize the standing figure of Basil, accompanied by a deacon and confronted with Valens and one of his officers. An inscription reads: ΟΥΑΛΗC ΠΕΡΙΤΡΕΠΟΜΕΝΟC. Basil is represented before a ciborium which in turn is placed in front of a church. According to the conventions of mediaeval art as already recognized in the picture of Basil's morning prayer (fig. 3) this means that the whole scene is supposed to take place inside the church. Then there follows, underneath the inscription O Y[IO]C TOY ΟΥΑΛΗ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΩC, the representation of the dead son lying on a jewel-studded bed and, next to him, the emperor is repeated as he writes in a scroll, and finally we see the expulsion of Basil in front of a circular building alongside of which is the inscription ΒΑCΙΛΕΙΟC ΕΞΟΡΙΖΟΜΕΝΟC. The episode illustrated in these scenes refers to paragraph 54 of the homily: "The emperor's son was sick and in physical pain. The father suffered with him (for what can the father do?). From all sides he sought succor in this suffering, he selected the best physicians, he put faith in his prayers as never before and threw himself down on the ground. . . . But as no remedy could be found anywhere against the evil, he took refuge in the faith of Basil; and since he did not dare to call him in his own name, being ashamed of the despiteful treatment he had inflicted upon him, he entrusted the embassy to some of his closest and dearest friends. Without any hesitation and without delay Basil was present and on his arrival the disease lessened and the father cherished greater hopes. And if he had not mixed salt water with fresh by believing in the heterodox at the same time as he called for Basil, he probably would have received back into his arms a healthy and sound child." The meeting between Basil and the emperor was explained by Omont, on the basis of the homily text, as Basil's arrival at the imperial palace. But not only does this contradict the text which stresses

[39] W. K. L. Clarke, *St. Basil the Great* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 21 and note 4.

the point that Valens was not eager to meet Basil personally in the palace, it also contradicts the pictorial evidence, because we noted above that the scene takes place in a church and not in the palace. We must therefore conclude that we deal with a scene for which the homily does not give an explanation. Actually the dead son in the center of the whole composition is the only feature which does fully comply with the homily text, since both the writing emperor and the expulsion scene are not clearly enough described in it, despite the remark at the beginning of the same paragraph, which sounds rather cryptic: "The wicked were victorious and the decree of exile against the man was obtained."

All three of our chroniclers narrate the episode of the death of Valens' son to whom the name Galates is given. According to Socrates (IV, 26) Valens' wife Dominica persuades her husband to send for Basil and to have him pray for their son's life. But when Basil makes the demand that the emperor should first adhere to the right faith and unite the churches, the emperor rejects this and the child thereupon dies. It needs no further discussion in order to show that this is not the basic text for the miniature. Somewhat more explicit is the story told in Sozomenos (VI, 16). First we hear again that the emperor in the extremity of his son Galates sends for Basil and requests him to pray for his son's recovery. At the same time Valens sends his prefect to Basil demanding his conversion to the Arian faith and threatens him with death in the case of non-compliance. The prefect is very impressed by Basil's steadfastness and reports in this sense to the emperor. Thereupon, "On the festival of Epiphany the emperor came to the church with his commanders and bodyguards, presented gifts on the holy altar and held a conference with Basil, praising highly the wisdom and the good order with which he had performed the duties of the priesthood and of the church." And then Sozomenos goes on to repeat the same which Socrates has already told us, namely, that after his enemies had prevailed and Basil was condemned to banishment, the illness of the son became worse, whereupon the emperor dispatched again some of his near friends to Basil; that at the latter's arrival an improvement took place; and that immediately after the emperor's relapse into the heretic belief the son died. This text furnishes us at least with an explanation for the first scene of our episode which, as can no

longer be doubted, represents the meeting between Basil and Valens within the church at the festival of Epiphany. One might find in the hint to Basil's banishment perhaps the textual basis for the expulsion scene, but there still remains unexplained the writing emperor and it is this feature that removes Sozomenos, although he enlarges our knowledge, as the ultimate source.

By far the most detailed report is in Theodoret (IV, 16). He likewise starts his tale by reporting how, at the point of the death of the emperor's son, Basil was ordered to the palace; how Basil promised help if Valens would be baptized and how after the emperor's refusal of this request the boy immediately died. Valens repented, and as Theodoret continues: "He came to the divine temple and received the instructions of the great Basil and offered the customary gifts on the altar. And Basil called him within the sacred curtains where he was sitting and talked much with him about divine dogmas and he listened when the emperor spoke. . . . But when he [i.e., the emperor] came again he forgot what had happened before (his mind was obstructed by those who deceived him), and he ordered Basil to join the party of his adversaries; however, not being able to persuade him, he ordered the decree of exile to be written. But when he attempted to sign the document with his own hand he could not manage to write even the start of a letter, because the pen broke. And when the same thing happened to the second and to the third pen and when he still endeavoured to sign the impious edict, his right hand began to shake and to tremble; his soul was full of fear and he tore the sheet of paper to pieces with both hands. . . ." From this passage we learn that Valens was twice in the church in order to see Basil, the first time willingly accepting Basil's faith and the second time rejecting it. The emperor's gesture in the miniature expresses clearly refusal and so does his whole position which visualizes his turning away from the bishop. From this we conclude that the second and unsuccessful meeting is here represented, the one which precedes immediately the signing of the decree which is likewise depicted in our miniature. The illustrator with painstaking accuracy shows even the breaking of the pen upon the scroll which the emperor holds in his lap. Since the signing of the decree is told only by Theodoret and since the church scene is better motivated in his chronicle than in Sozomenos, we have no doubt that

an illustrated Theodoret was the actual source of the Gregory painter.

A similar case in which on the same page a scene from the homily text joins another from a different source can be seen in the miniature preceding the homily XLII, which is entitled *Supremum vale, coram centum quinquaginta episcopis* and was written in the year 381 when Gregory resigned the bishopric of Constantinople during the second oecumenical council and left the capital.[40] The page is divided in two superimposed scenes. The lower one represents Gregory addressing a crowd headed by bishops, while a boat is waiting to take him to Nazianzus into retirement. This scene is an illustration of the last two paragraphs of the homily (26 and 27) where Gregory addresses the assembly of the priests and the people of Constantinople in a final farewell. In the upper scene (fig. 5)[41] we see three bishops, one of them is made prominent by his position and by the nimbus and he faces the emperor Theodosius who stretches out his right hand toward him. Whether this gesture meant invitation or whether the hand held an object which the emperor was going to give to the bishop is not any more discernible since the picture is particularly badly flaked in this part. The emperor, who has just arisen from the richly ornamented and jewel-studded throne in order to meet the bishop, is accompanied by two bodyguards. In the background we recognize buildings painted in grisaille, which obviously are intended to represent the imperial palace in whose throne chamber our episode takes place. In this reception of bishops in the palace it is surprising to see the emperor not seated on his throne as one would expect in compliance to court ceremonial. The inscription Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟC CΥΝ[ΔΙΑΛΕΓ]ΟΜΕΝΟC ΒΑCΙΛΕΙ ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΩ, does nothing to contribute to the explanation of the scene. It is neither taken from the homily text nor does it describe the content of the scene exactly because a "conversation," which in this context could only mean a theological dispute, would with all probability take place only between seated persons. We search in vain in the homily itself for an explanation, since its text does not give the slightest clue to a meeting between Gregory and the emperor at any time. The chronicles likewise do not know any-

[40] Migne, *P. G.*, XXXVI, col. 457–492.
[41] Fol. 239r. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI.

thing about such a meeting. True Gregory at the instigation of the emperor was elected bishop of Constantinople (Soz., VII, 7), but this is not a sufficient justification for this reception scene.

However, at the beginning of the same oecumenical council which induced Gregory to abdicate, a famous reception of bishops in the imperial palace actually did take place which Theodoret as the only source (V, 7) describes in the following words: "For this reason he [i.e., the emperor] ordered the bishops of only his empire to assemble in Constantinople. When they had arrived, one hundred and fifty in number, he forbade any one to indicate to him who the great Meletius was, since he wanted himself to recognize him from the remembrance he had of him in a dream. And after the whole throng of the bishops had entered the imperial palace, Theodosius, leaving aside all the others, ran to the great Meletius and, like a child who loves his father and has for a long time enjoyed sight of him, he threw his arms around him and kissed his eyes, lips, breast, head and the right hand that had given him the crown. Then he revealed to him what he had seen in the dream. And all the other bishops were welcomed also. . . ." If we only substitute Meletius for Basil the miniature would immediately become clear and full of meaning. The emperor's breaking of ceremonial bonds in leaving the throne would be thoroughly motivated though naturally we cannot expect from a Byzantine painter of this period the representation of the emperor in a state of high emotional excitement as described in the text. With his right hand Theodosius probably held the hand of the bishop who had given him the crown. The two bishops behind Meletius would be merely two out of the throng of the hundred and fifty whom the emperor received in his palace. We assume that a substitution of Basil for Meletius actually did take place — just as, in one of the previous pictures Basil takes the place of the monk Julianos (p. 111 and fig. 3) — and that the scene was originally invented as an illustration of the recognition of bishop Meletius by the emperor. The Gregory painter, then, took this composition over into the homily as a fixed scheme with no essential changes or perhaps none at all. The portrait of the bishop agrees quite well with that of Gregory in other miniatures of the Paris codex. Whether Meletius in the model looked somewhat like Gregory or whether he was different and had to be changed we do not know,

because among the various illustrated menologia known to us there is no representation of Meletius, bishop of Sebaste and patriarch of Antioch.[42] The reason for taking over this scene may have been simply formal. The archetype, which had the strict homily illustrations, with all probability contained — like most of the later Gregory manuscripts — only the farewell-scene as the title miniature. In order to fill a full page the painter had to look for a complementary picture, and since the farewell happened, as already has been said, during the second council, it was only natural that he would search in the chronicles for another miniature which likewise had to do with this very council. Perhaps the painter was even aware of the fact that it had been Meletius who insisted upon making Gregory bishop of Constantinople.

With the scenes described so far we have, as we believe, exhausted all that has come over into the Paris Gregory codex from the illustrated manuscripts of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas (perhaps also Socrates). But at the same time it must be made clear that these scenes do not include every historical episode represented in the Gregory, taking place in the epoch we are concerned with as, for instance, the full-page miniature which illustrates the second oecumental council of the year 381 A.D.[43] It precedes the homily XXXIV, which is entitled *In Aegyptiorum adventum* [44] and is addressed to Egyptian merchantmen who had come to Constantinople to deliver grain and had visited the church of the orthodox. Not only does the content of the homily not refer to any council, but the text was even written one year before the council took place. There is no chance either that the miniature might have been misplaced, since the text itself begins on the verso of the same page which contains the miniature on the recto. It is therefore difficult to find a reason why the painter made the miniature the frontispiece of this homily. A slight clue at least may be seen in a few remarks where Gregory, preaching the Nicene doctrine of Trinity, attacks the "Arian madness and the Sabellian heresy" and other heterodox opinions (paragraphs 8, 10, 12), i.e., the very doctrines which a year later were con-

[42] His day is the 12th of February and he is not to be confused with the Meletius, bishop of Cyprus, of whom a picture exists in the menologion of Basil II in the Vatican. Cf. Facsimile pl. 54.

[43] Fol. 355r. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. L.

[44] Migne, *P. G.*, XXXVI, col. 241–256

demned at the Constantinopolitan council. The miniature shows the emperor and the bishops flanking a rich throne and, in the lower left corner, Macedonius, whose doctrines were anathematized. The lower right hand portion is completely destroyed, but, if we can believe an old drawing of the beginning of the seventeenth century [45] there was at that time at least the inscription ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΕC still existing. We would therefore assume that Apollinaris of Laodicea, another heretic, was represented as the companion of Macedonius in perhaps a similar pose.

From historical sources we learn the names of various representatives of these two heresies who arrived at the council, but neither of the two founders themselves was present. They were introduced into the picture merely as chief exponents of the heretical movements which were anathematized. Socrates (V, 8) as well as Sozomenos (VII, 7) are primarily concerned with the election of a new bishop after Gregory's withdrawal, and Theodoret only deals more explicitly with questions of doctrines (V, 8–9) and sums up their discussion with the final anathema: "These things they wrote against the madness of Arius, Aetius and Eunomius and also against Sabellius, Photinus, Marcellus, Paulus of Samosata and Macedonius. And in like manner they excommunicated publicly the innovation of Apollinarius, saying 'And we preserve the unperverted doctrine of the incarnation of the Lord accepting the definition that the dispensation of the flesh is neither without soul nor without mind nor without an end.'" This passage of Theodoret is the only one in our chroniclers which comes into play as a possible literary source for the miniature. But one would immediately ask why the painter out of so many heretics has chosen just the two he did. One would rather expect a text which names either Macedonius and Apollinarius alone or, if among others, at least treated them with a special prominence.

Henri Stern in his interesting article about the representations of councils in the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem [46] deals with a fifteenth-century bilingual Greco-arabic manuscript of the canons of the Councils (Paris, *arab. 236*) whose text is preceded

[45] Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 28 and additional plate s. n.

[46] H. Stern, "Les représentations des conciles dans l'église de la nativité à Bethléem," *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 101 ff. and XIII (1938), 415 ff.

by a gathering containing short résumés of the councils. Later in the same manuscript the résumés are once more repeated at the beginning of each council, the seven oecumenical as well as the six provincial ones. Now the résumé of the second oecumenical council, whose text we repeat here after Stern, reads as follows: *Ἡ ἁγία Σύνοδος ἡ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τῶν ρν' ἁγίον π(ατέ)ρων κατὰ Μακεδονίου τοῦ πνευματομάχου, τοῦ βλασφημήσαντος εἰς τὸ Πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ Ἀπολιναρίου τοῦ εἰπόντος μὴ εἰληφέναι τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν νοῦν ἀνθρώπεινον, συνηθροίσθι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου. Ὥρισεν δὲ ἡ ἁγία Σύνοδος καὶ ὡμολόγησεν τὸ Πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Π(ατ)ρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, Κύριον καὶ Ζωοποιόν, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Π(ατ)ρὶ καὶ τῷ Υ(ἱ)ῷ, συνπροσκυνούμενον τε καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισεν Μακεδόνιον ἔτι τε καὶ Ἀπολινάριον.* In this résumé we have the list of heretics anathematized in the first canon of this council [47] reduced to the very two whom the miniature represents. From this evidence we conclude that the miniature was made up on the basis of the text of this résumé and consequently we assume the existence of an archetype of the collections of canons in which the acts of each council were preceded by a frontispiece illustrating their résumé. Other council pictures probably go back to the same archetype as e.g. the representation of the second council at Nicea of the year 787 in the menologion of Basil II in the Vatican library.[48] Moreover the very text of the same résumés fills the central arches of the architectural representations of the councils in the mosaics of the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem [49] and this supports the idea of an old connection between the résumés and pictorial representations of the councils. However, it would overstep the limits of our study to go further in collecting all the pictorial evidence for an illustrated edition of the council texts; for the present it suffices to state that the council picture in the Gregory manuscript of Paris is not based on Theodoret or any other of our chroniclers.

For similar reasons we have also to exclude from our study the scenes which precede the *Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten* of Gregory the Thaumaturge [50] which is included among the homilies of

[47] C. J. von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, II (2nd ed. 1875), 14.
[48] Facsimile pl. 108.
[49] Stern, *op. cit.*
[50] Migne, *P. G.*, X, col. 988–1017.

Gregory of Nazianzus in the Paris manuscript. They represent Constantine's dream of the inscribed cross, his battle at the Mulvian bridge and the finding of the Holy Cross by Helen.[51] The text to which these scenes now belong is nothing other than what the title suggests, namely, a paraphrase of a biblical book where no reference to a historical event finds any place, and we are unable to imagine the reason for this association of picture and text. Since the text starts on the verso of the same page which contains the miniature no later replacement of the miniature is possible. But whether there is an allusion to the pictures in the text which we were unable to discover, or whether there is no connection at all, these scenes surely are taken over from another source, and we have first to ask again whether it might have been from one of our chronicles.

The three scenes belong iconographically so close together that one is inclined to assume that all of them were derived from the same source. Therefore, for reasons of chronology, Sozomenos and Theodoret must be excluded, since the one does not start its narration before 324 A.D. and the other before 323, while the date of the first two scenes in the miniature fall in a period before these limits. This leaves as the only possible source among our three chronicles the one of Socrates which starts with the year 305 A.D. Here we find indeed described all those events which we see in the picture, though in a rather summary way. He tells (I, 2) about the vision in which Constantine saw the cross with the inscription ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, and then he continues: "In the following night he saw in his sleep Christ who told him to prepare a standard of the type he had seen and to use it against his enemies as a victory-bringing trophy. . . . And engaging the enemy in fight he vanquished him before the gates of Rome near the bridge called the Mulvian, Maxentius himself being drowned in the river." This passage contains at least the essential features for the explanation of the first and second stripe of the miniature. The third stripe, subdivided in two scenes which depict the finding of the Holy Cross at the right and Helen enthroned and addressing a dignitary at the left, can be related to another passage of the first book of Socrates (I, 17) which reads as follows: "After having ordered the statue [i.e., of Venus] to be destroyed and the

[51] Fol. 440r. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LIX.

earth to be taken away and the place be cleared, she [i.e. Helen] found three crosses in the sepulchre; one of them was the most blessed one on which Christ had hung; the other two were those on which the thieves had died who were crucified with him. . . . But since it was doubtful which was the cross they were searching for, the emperor's mother showed no grief because, after a short while, the bishop of Jerusalem, Macarius by name, relieved her from it." On the basis of this text the scene on the left in the miniature can be interpreted as the conversation between Helen and the bishop Macarius about the identity of the true cross, while the other shows Helen pointing to the pit in which the three crosses were found.

But in spite of the congruity between these passages and the miniatures, and even conceding the possibility that these scenes might have been in an illustrated Socrates, we nevertheless remain doubtful whether or not this chronicle is the ultimate source for these scenes. The story of the finding of the Holy Cross is narrated quite frequently in the writings of that period even in greater detail, and there are texts devoted entirely to this theme, such as the enkomion of Alexander of Salamis.[52] Furthermore, there are other miniatures illustrating the same story and widely distributed in other manuscripts, even in Latin and Syriac ones, for which the Socrates text would not be a sufficient basis. It is a study in itself to collect the literary as well as the pictorial evidences connected with this subject matter, but for the time being it seems wiser not to make any decision whether Socrates or another literary source which we would expect to be somewhat more detailed, was the basic text for the Constantine and Helen scenes.

VI

Altogether we have twelve episodes which were taken over from the chronicles of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas (and perhaps also Socrates). How they are distributed may be recapitulated by the following list:

1. (fig. 1) The third (?) flight of Athanasius (= Theod., II, 10)
2. (fig. 1) The destruction of the churches of Miletus (= Soz., V, 20)
3. (fig. 1) The martyrdom of Marcus of Arethusa (= Soz., V, 10)

[52] Migne, *P. G.*, LXXXVII, Pars III, col. 4016–4088. O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Literatur*, V (1932), 144.

4. (fig. 2) Julian and the demon (= Soz., V, 19)
5. (fig. 2) Julian's sacrifice of bulls (= Soc., III, 17 or Soz., V, 19)
6. (fig. 2) The distribution of the donativum (= Soz., V, 17 or Theod., III, 12)
7. (fig. 3) Julian's march to Ctesiphon (= Soz., VI, 1)
8. (fig. 3) Basil's morning prayer (= Malalas, XIII; based upon Theod., III, 19)
9. (fig. 3) Julian killed by Mercurius (= Malalas, XIII; based upon Soz., VI, 1–2)
10. (fig. 4) The education of Basil and Gregory by Libanius (?) (= Soc., IV, 26 or Soz., VII, 17)
11. (fig. 4) The death of Valens' son and Basil's expulsion (= Theod., IV, 16)
12. (fig. 5) Basil and Theodosius; adapted from the meeting between Meletius and Theodosius (= Theod., V, 7)

The chronicles of Sozomenos and Theodoret were written about the middle of the fifth century, while that of Malalas is one century later. But whether these texts were illustrated immediately or some time after we do not know. Normally a pictorial archetype is somewhat later than the corresponding textual one, since usually a certain period elapses until a piece of literature becomes so popular that an illustrated edition would be made of it. Moreover, the models which the Gregory painter used and whose style may be still reflected in the Paris miniatures must not necessarily coincide in date with the illustrated archetypes, but they might be, and in most such cases are, intermediary copies. Furthermore the three (perhaps four) models involved may differ in date among themselves. One detail gives perhaps some indication as to the date of the model, at least for Sozomenos. In the picture of Julian's march to Ctesiphon (fig. 3) the figure of the mounted Julian in its isolation, ahead of the army, makes an impression as if it reflected an equestrian statue. Conspicuous is the enormous helmet decorated with a plume of peacock's feathers. This is the so-called *τοῦφα* which Justinian wore in the famous equestrian statue of bronze set up in the Augustaion at Constantinople and of which Cyriacus of Ancona made a drawing.[53] The *τοῦφα* also appears on coins of the same emperor and notably on the gold medallion, now lost, of which the British Museum possesses an old electrotype.[54] It seems quite possible that the mounted Julian

[53] Ch. Diehl, *Justinian et la civilisation Byzant.* (1901), p. 78 and fig. 11. — J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (1923), p. 126, fig. 59. — Rodenwaldt, *Arch. Anz.*, XLVI (1931), 331. — Downey, in Procopius, Vol. VII of the Loeb Class. Libr. (1940), Append., p. 395.

[54] W. Wroth, *Catal. of imperial Byz. coins in the Brit. Mus.*, I, frontispiece and p. XC and 25.

of our miniature was influenced by the equestrian statue of Justinian and if this is true, it would date the model of the miniature in Justinian's time or somewhat later. Considerations of more general nature would, for the model of Theodoret also, favor the Justinian era as the likely period. The reception of the bishops in the palace of Theodosius (fig. 5) with its ceremonial character reminds us of the mosaic in S. Vitale of Ravenna, in which the figure of Justinian in the stiff chlamys, which causes the body beneath it to disappear and stresses the two dimensional appearance, is not unlike that of Theodosius in the miniature. And also the predilection for richly jewelled and pearl studded columns fit this period of pronounced splendour very well. But of course such arguments are in no way conclusive and still leave the possibility open that the model either goes back perhaps even to the fifth century or on the other hand to the period after Justinian, which apparently carried on the peculiar ceremonial style for quite a while. Since the Gregory manuscript in Paris is made for Basil I and obviously is a product of the imperial scriptorium of Constantinople, it seems very likely that the chronicles the copyist used as models were actually in the imperial library and were perhaps themselves likewise written and illustrated in the imperial scriptorium.

Having, as we believe, established the existence of illustrated chronicles in the Early Byzantine period, the question must now be raised, what do we in general know about this special branch of secular book illumination, and where do the chronicles of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas fit in this general picture?

There is one single illustrated Greek chronicle known to us at the present and it is only a late Byzantine copy. This is the history of Johannes Scylitzes which is preserved in a fourteenth century manuscript in Madrid, *Bibl. Nac. cod. 5–3 N–2*, containing more than 400 miniatures.[55] Comprising the period from Michael Rhangabes (811) to Nicephoros Botaneiates (1079) it was written in the second half of the eleventh century and illustrated, perhaps, not very long thereafter. However, two more illustrated chronicles are known in Slavonic translations and there can

[55] G. Millet, *La collection Chrétienne et Byzantine des Hautes Etudes* (1903), p. 26, No. B 369–375; p. 54, No. C 869–1277. — Schlumberger, *L'épopée Byzantine*, Vols. II and III, passim.

hardly be any doubt that not only their text but also their pictures go back to a Byzantine archetype. One is a Bulgarian translation of the world-chronicle of Constantine Manasses now in the Vatican library *cod. slav. 2*, which is to be dated in the middle of the fourteenth century.[56] This chronicle starts with the creation of the world and ends with the death of Nicephoros Botaneiates (1081) and its illustrated archetype falls probably in the same period as that of the Scylitzes chronicle, perhaps a little later, i.e. the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. The other is a Russian translation of the world chronicle of Georgios Monachos, otherwise called Hamartolos, which is now in the museum of the ancient Lavra of the Trinity at Sergiev, cod. 100, and belongs to the end of the thirteenth or perhaps the beginning of the fourteenth century.[57] This world chronicle comprises the history from Adam until the death of Theophilos in 842 and was written in four books in the time of Michael III (842–867). There is every chance that its picture cycle, the Byzantine origin of which is still recognizable in the Russian copy, goes back to an archetype much earlier than those of the chronicles of Scylitzes and Manasses, perhaps even so far as the period in which our Gregory manuscript of Paris was illustrated, i.e. the end of the ninth century.

Krumbacher [58] distinguishes two categories of historical writings, one being the history in the classical sense, the other the chronicle. In the former, the historian has more or less the ambition to write the events of his own period or of the time immediately preceding it in a scientific way, addressed to a selected and learned public, while in the latter the writer deals with larger periods, very often starting with the creation of the world and going down to his own time in a very popularized manner intended for a larger and unsophisticated public. It is by no means accidental that Scylitzes, Manasses, and Georgios Hamar-

[56] B. D. Filow, "Les miniatures de la chronique de Manassès à la Bibl. du Vatican," *Codd. e Vaticanis selecti*, vol. XVII, Sofia, 1927 (facsim.).

[57] N. P. Likhachev, *Materialy dlja istorii russkogo ikonopisanija*, II (1906), pl. 361, Nos. 718–719; pl. 379, Nos. 770–773. D. Ainalov, "Letopis Georgija Amartola," *Compte-rendu du IIième congrès international des Etudes Byzantines* (Belgrade, 1927), p. 127 with 10 plates. N. Izmajlov, *L'Art byzantin chez les Slaves. L'ancienne Russie*, IIième Rec. (1932), p. 45, note 2, and fig. 23.

[58] *Geschichte der Byzant. Literatur* (2nd ed. 1897), p. 219 ff.

tolos belong, all three, to the second group of writers. The more episodical style of their narration and their great interest in legends and miracle stories were much more inviting to an illustrator than the scientific type of history. If we look from this point of view at the illustrated chronicles whose existence we tried to prove in this study, it is obvious that Malalas in particular belongs to the category of popular writers. Sozomenos and Theodoret are not quite of the same type, though they are by no means scientific in the classical sense either. They stand more or less between the two categories at a time when history and chronicle had not yet become quite separate branches of historical transmission. However, it is interesting to notice that between the chronicles of Socrates and Sozomenos which are textually so closely related to each other, the painter seems to have given preference to Sozomenos who deals much more elaborately with legendary anecdotes, though on the other hand we must admit that our examples are too few to allow such generalizations.

The fact that in the period of Justinian to which we ascribe the pictorial archetypes of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas, chronicles with illustrations did actually exist cannot be doubted. Generally known is the Alexandrian world chronicle of which a few fragments from a papyrus codex have come down to us and are now preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow.[59] It describes events which reach to the year 392 A.D. and the actual remains, mostly with marginal illustrations, seem to have been written some time in the fifth century or perhaps a little later. Until fairly recently this was the only known fragment of this type of chronicle, but in the last few years two new important discoveries have been made which enlarge our knowledge of this field considerably. One is a papyrus leaf in Berlin, *Staatl. Museen No. 13296*, from a codex of the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century [60] and thus definitely older than the Moscow fragments. According to Lietzmann, who first made known this fragment, the text is an abbreviation of the so-called Barbarus Scaligeri. It is written in two columns and comprises the period

[59] A. Bauer and J. Strzygowski, "Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik," *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Vol. LI, fasc. 2, 1903.

[60] H. Lietzmann, "Ein Blatt aus einer antiken Weltchronik," *Quantulacumque, Studies presented to Kirsopp Lake* (1937), p. 339, with plate.

from 251–336 A.D. with the miniatures interspersed. The second valuable contribution was made by Koehler in his publication of half a parchment leaf in the Domkapitel of Merseburg *No. 202*, containing a section of the Annals of Ravenna from the years 411–454.[61] It is a leaf from an eleventh century codex, but there can be no doubt, as Koehler has shown, that it copies faithfully an early model, keeping the features of an archetype of the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. This material is now sufficient in order to get at least a very general idea of the character of the earliest chronicle illustration. In all three documents the scenes are very concise and limited to the most essential features, reducing them occasionally to mere symbols which stand for larger scenes. This is in conformity with the earliest illustration of narrative cycles in general and has to do with the narrow writing columns which are the heritage from the ancient papyrus roll and which do not allow a lateral expansion of scenes. It is not accidental but in line with this papyrus tradition that the Berlin fragment has two writing columns and the Merseburg leaf even three. Furthermore, neither would any marginal illustration like that of the Alexandrian world chronicle permit more space for a single scene. Only after the codex was invented does a tendency arise gradually to fuse two or three columns of writing into one and only then was the possibility given for more expanded miniatures. This new type of miniature which runs across the whole page develops quite early and to judge from manuscripts like the Vatican Virgil and the Milan Iliad, was already known when the papyrus chronicles of Moscow and Berlin and the archetype of the Merseburg leaf still used the older scheme of narrow column pictures.

The archetypes of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas obviously belonged to the new type of illustration whose miniatures fill the full width of the page as is the case in the late Scylitzes manuscript. In the light of the preserved chronicles the three new ones we know from scattered miniatures in the Gregory manuscript of Paris, help to bridge over the gap between the rather primitive early papyrus chronicles on the one hand and the late

[61] B. Bischoff and W. Koehler, "Eine illustrierte Ausgabe der Spätantiken Ravennater Annalen," *Medieval Studies in memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, I (1939), p. 125 ff., fig. 1–2.

Byzantine and Slavonic copies on the other. If we would search among the various extant Byzantine manuscripts for further historical miniatures which might, in a way similar to the Paris Gregory manuscript, have been taken over from another text, we may be able to detect still more illustrated chronicles of which no copy with its illustrations has come down to us.

THE DATE OF JUSTINIAN'S EDICT XIII

By Gertrude Malz

The date of Justinian's Edict XIII, which directs the reorganization of the administration of Egypt, has been accepted by scholars in general as 538/539. Although the end of the edict, where the date is regularly given, has been lost, two references within the body of the text show that it was issued in a second indiction. Mention is made of "the second indiction of the past cycle, fifteen years ago" and of "the just past first indiction."[1] There were only two second indictions in Justinian's reign, 538/539 and 553/554. The earlier date was accepted by Zachariae von Lingenthal in his edition of the *Novellae* in 1881,[2] but in his second edition of Edict XIII ten years later he concluded that 553/554 was the correct one.[3] His conclusion was rejected by Kroll in his edition of the *Novellae*[4] and by Gelzer,[5] Cantarelli,[6] Rouillard,[7] and Hardy,[8] all of whom adopted the date of 538/539. I believe that the additional evidence furnished by the papyri of Dioscorus of Aphrodito confirms Zachariae von Lingenthal's final dating of the edict.

The strongest argument in favor of 538/539 is the fact that the edict is addressed to John, the praetorian praefect of the East. The notorious John of Cappadocia, who fell in disgrace in 541, is the only praetorian praefect of the East of that name known in the reign of Justinian. He held the office during the eight or nine

[1] Edict XIII, 15 (p. 788, 10); 24 (p. 793, 1). The text is that of Schoell-Kroll, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, Vol. III, *Novellae*, 5th ed. (Berlin, 1928).

[2] *Justiniani Novellae*, ed. C. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal (Leipzig, 1881), I, 529.

[3] *De dioecesi aegyptiaca lex ab Imp. Iustiniani anno 554 lata*, ed. C. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal (Leipzig, 1891), *praef.*, p. 5 f.

[4] Schoell-Kroll, *op. cit.*, p. 795. Completed by Kroll after the death of Schoell.

[5] M. Gelzer, *Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Aegyptens* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 21–28.

[6] L. Cantarelli, "La serie dei prefetti di Egitto, III," *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, serie quinta, memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, XIV (1913), 386.

[7] G. Rouillard, *L'Administration Civile de l'Égypte Byzantine*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1928), pp. 20–25.

[8] E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York, 1931), pp. 17–18, 31.

years before his downfall.[9] Areobindus was the praetorian praefect in April 553 and Peter in June 555 [10] and it is not known who was in office in the intervening months. If Edict XIII belongs to 554, it is necessary to assume that a second and otherwise unknown John was praetorian praefect in that year or that the address is erroneous.

The edict has been preserved in only one manuscript.[11] It begins: *ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τοῦ πρὸς Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐνδοξότατον ὕπαρχον τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων: — νόμος περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἐπαρχιῶν.*[12] Zachariae von Lingenthal suggested that this heading was the later addition of an ignorant scribe,[13] but the librarian of St. Mark's who examined it at Cantarelli's request declared that it was by the same hand as the text without any later additions or corrections.[14] If it is correct and not a mistake due to the scribe of the extant manuscript or its prototype, the evidence in favor of dating the edict in 553/554 seems to me to preclude the identification of John with John of Cappadocia.

Part of this evidence is to be found in section 15 of the edict. The contributions to the expenses of Alexandria which were formerly furnished by the export taxes are explained with the comment, "this system remained not only in the administration of the most glorious Strategius but also up to the second indiction of the past cycle, fifteen years ago." [15] If the reckoning is from 553/554, Strategius must have been in office before 538/539. A Strategius is known to have been Count of the Sacred Largesses in 536 and 537.[16] Kroll believes that the office referred to is not that of Count of the Sacred Largesses but Augustalis of Egypt

[9] For an account of the fall of John of Cappadocia and the sources relating to him see J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1931), II, 55 ff.

[10] Novella 147, cf. 145, 146; 159.

[11] For a description of this ms. (*Codex Marcianus Graecus 179*) and its contents see Schoell-Kroll, *op. cit.*, *praef.*, pp. ix–xi. This is the *Codex Venetus* of Zachariae von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, *praef.*, pp. 3–6.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 9 corrected to *νόμου περὶ τῆς* A. (sc. *πόλεως*). Cf. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Romanistische Abt., XV (1894), 371.

[13] Zachariae von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, praef., p. 6.

[14] See note 6.

[15] Schoell-Kroll, *op. cit.*, p. 788, 10 f.: *τοῦτο τὰ σχῆμα μεῖναι οὐ μόνον <ἐπὶ> τῆς Στρατηγίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας ἐπινεμήσεως τοῦ παρῳχηκότος κύκλου τῆς πρὸ ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα.*

[16] Novellae 22, *subscriptio*, 105, 136. The last should perhaps be dated in 535.

and he places Strategius in that office before 524.[17] But export taxes were paid into the treasury of the Count of the Sacred Largesses [18] and it is to be expected that any disposition of them would be identified with his name rather than with that of the Augustalis.

Two other officials mentioned in Edict XIII must be considered. Beginning with section 23, Justinian takes up the administration of the Thebaid. In section 24 he names as the first duty of the duke of the Thebaid the shipment of grain to Alexandria for delivery to the Augustalis of Alexandria. The grain from the Thebaid destined for Constantinople is to be received in Alexandria by September 10, that for the *alimonia* of Alexandria by October 15. The duke of the Thebaid is responsible for the complete and prompt delivery of the prescribed amount. The edict continues: "Nor do we make any innovation, demanding anything not done hitherto. For we know that also John, the most glorious son of Kometes of magnificent memory, before the completion of the month August of the just past first indiction brought all the grain to Alexandria and then delivered it to the one holding the office of Augustalis. This same thing did also the one who is now holding the same office in his stead, the most glorious Horion." [19]

Horion, duke of the Thebaid, is mentioned in *P. Lond. V, 1708*.[20] This papyrus is a lengthy arbitration in a family dispute written in the cursive hand of Dioscorus. It is one of the documents drawn up in Antinoopolis by Dioscorus during his stay in that city and brought by him to Aphrodito on his return to his native village. The beginning is fragmentary but it contains the words "of the first indiction" (3) and "of the second year" (6). It has been established that Dioscorus sought refuge at Antinoopolis in 566 [21]

[17] Schoell-Kroll, *op. cit.*, p. 795.

[18] See Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, IV (1900), 672.

[19] Schoell-Kroll, *op. cit.*, p. 792, 31 ff.: *καὶ οὐδὲ καινίζομέν τι τῶν μὴ μέχρι νῦν γενομένων ἐπιζητοῦντες. Ἴσμεν γάρ, ὡς καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐνδοξότατος Κομήτου <τοῦ> τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς μνήμης παῖς πρὸ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τοῦ αὐγούστου μηνὸς τῆς ἄρτι παρελθούσης πρώτης ἐπινεμήσεως τὸν πάντα σῖτον εἰσήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τὸ τηνικαῦτα τῷ τὴν αὐγουσταλίαν ἔχοντι παρέδωκεν ἀρχήν. Ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἔπραξε καὶ ὁ νῦν τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεχόμενος, τουτέστιν Ὠρίων ὁ ἐνδοξότατος.*

[20] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, V, ed. H. I. Bell (London, 1917).

[21] J. Maspero, "Les papyrus Beaugé," *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*, X (1912), 140 ff. Cf. P. Lond, V, p. 56.

and the latest date preserved on his papyri written there is 570.[22] Therefore, as Bell points out in the introduction to *P. Lond. V, 1708*, the first indiction, which is almost certainly the current one, fixes the date of the papyrus between May, 567 and May, 568 and if the second year is the regnal year, though this is doubtful, the date can be more narrowly limited as between May and November 13, 567.

The important lines for our consideration are 79–87. The defendant Psates in opposing the claims of his sisters to an inheritance from their parents explains that their mother died during the second year of office of Apion, seventeen years ago, and that their father died in the second year of Marcianus' term, after becoming blind in the time of Horion.[23] This places Apion in office about 550. The mother of Psates is said to have died before the father (29 f.) and apparently her death preceded his blindness also. Horion then held office some time after 550. The office used for the purpose of dating is not named, but Bell shows in his note on line 79 that it is undoubtedly that of duke of the Thebaid. The wording used is *ἀρχῆς Ἀπίωνος τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου πράττοντος* (80) and *Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) τηνικαῦτα πράττοντος* (83). *Πράττων* is used in the same sense of administering (the rule) in *P. Lond. V, 1674*, 92 in connection with duke Athanasius and *πράττων τὴν ἀρχήν* in *P. Masp. II, 67166*, 8 to describe John, who I believe is also duke.[24] A different phrase is used in connection with Horion: *Ὁρίωνος τοῦ προηγησαμένο(υ) ἔναγχος τὴν ταξιαρχικὴν τότε ἐπέχοντος ἐξουσίαν* (86 f.). Bell comments: "probably the meaning is 'who had recently (*i.e.*, before the second year of Marcianus, when Apollos died) been in office, holding the authority of taxiarch.' " This translation is doubtless correct. The diffi-

[22] P. Masp. — J. Maspero, *Papyrus Grecs d'Époque Byzantine*, in *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*, Cairo, 1911–1916, 3 vols. — II, 67151, 67152.

[23] In 160 f., 173 f. the father is said to have died seventeen years before but, as Bell suggests, *τοῦ πατρός* is obviously a slip for *τῆς μητρός*.

[24] He is called arabarches, since that office was held previously, just as the duke Cyrus is called referendarius in P. Masp. I, 67002, ii, 1. This John is to be identified with the John, duke of the Thebaid, to whom is addressed the poem by Dioscorus in *Berliner Klassikertexte* V, ed. Schubart and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Dichterfragmente* (1907), xi, 3, not with the John of Edict XIII (p. 792, 32).

culty Bell feels as to "the awkward method of expression, naturally suggesting two different offices" is removed if Edict XIII is dated in 553/554 and Horion is recognized as the one who held the office of duke of the Thebaid when the power of that official was increased and he was made duke and Augustalis. The phrase *τὴν ταξιαρχικὴν τότε ἐπέχοντος ἐξουσίαν* is used to distinguish the period of Horion's term before the issuance of the edict, when his authority was more limited, whether taxiarch refers to him as the head of the ducal staff but still subordinate to the Augustal praefect or emphasizes his military authority in comparison with his weaker civil power.

Bell recognizes that the mention of Horion supports the date of 553/554 for Edict XIII, but he assumes that there were two dukes of the Thebaid of that name since "Gelzer's arguments seem conclusive." These arguments for 538/539 are based on Justinian's activity in administrative reform in 535 and 536, on the evidence of *P. Aphro. Cairo 1* (= *P. Masp. I, 67002*), and on the necessity of re-establishing order after the religious strife in Alexandria following the death of the patriarch Timotheus.[25]

In 535 changes were made in the administration of Galatia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Thrace, Isauria, Helenopontus, and Paphlagonia [26] and in 536 in Cappadocia, Arabia, and Palestine,[27] and their governors were given both civil and military authority. Gelzer sees in this a planned reversal of Diocletian's system of the separation of powers and considers that Egypt was reorganized in 538/539 in line with the same plan. But the situation is not parallel in spite of certain similarities. Through Edict XIII the governors of Alexandria and Aegyptus, Libya, the Thebaid, and presumably Augustamnica and Arcadia also, were granted both civil and military powers and were made of equal rank, all directly subordinate to the praetorian praefect of the East. In Egypt there were now five provinces, each with its own governor, in place of one diocese under the direction of the Augustal praefect, whereas the reforms of 535 and 536 strengthened the authority of a single

[25] See note 5.
[26] Novellae 8, 24–29.
[27] Novellae 30, 102, 103.

governor in each province and in some cases united two smaller provinces into one.

P. Masp. I, 67002, addressed to Athanasius, duke and Augustalis of the Thebaid, was written by Dioscorus at Antinoopolis soon after a fifteenth indiction (i, 10). Gelzer places the indiction in 551/552, the inevitable conclusion of a scholar limited to the papyri of Dioscorus known before 1909. The papyri published since then have made it clear that the year referred to is 566/567.[28]

On the death of Timotheus on February 8, 536 the quarrel between two groups of Monophysites broke into violence, with one side supporting Theodosius as the successor to the patriarchate, the other Gaianus. This period of disorder and rioting lasted well over a year, until Paul was named patriarch by Constantinople to bring Egypt back to orthodoxy and was given authority over even the highest officials.[29] Gelzer believes that Paul came to Alexandria in 538 and that the political reform of Edict XIII was contemporaneous with and prompted by the measures adopted to settle the religious disturbance. He understands that the confusion in the collection of taxes in Egypt, which is mentioned in the introduction of Edict XIII [30] as responsible for its promulgation, was connected with the ecclesiastical conflict. However, the statement about the disturbed condition of affairs is worded in a general manner and refers to all of Egypt. There is nothing in the edict which links it specifically with the religious situation in Alexandria.

The passage from section 24 quoted above enables us to date Edict XIII by month and year as well as by indiction, if Zachariae von Lingenthal's change of the unintelligible manuscript reading *τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός* to *τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός* is correct.[31] Since Horion, like John, has already brought all the grain to Alexandria before the end of August, the edict can not be earlier than August of the second indiction. Nor can it be later, as the third indiction begins September 1. The date of the edict is then August, 554 A.D. It

[28] See note 21.

[29] Cf. Rouillard, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–20.

[30] Schoell-Kroll, *op. cit.*, p. 780, 9 ff.: *ἐννοήσαντες τοίνυν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν δημοσίων εἰσπράξεων ἐδόκει πως τετάχθαι, ἀλλ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν διοίκησιν οὕτως ἦν συγκεχυμένα, ὥστε μηδὲ ὅ τι πράττεται κατὰ χώραν ἐνταῦθα γινώσκεσθαι, [καὶ] ἐθαυμάσαμεν τὴν μέχρι νῦν τοῦ πράγματος ἀταξίαν.*

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 793, 1.

may well be, as Zachariae von Lingenthal suggests,[32] that occupation with the pragmatic sanction of August 13, 554 concerning the reorganization of Italy led Justinian to turn his attention to Egypt also.

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[32] Zachariae von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, praef., p. 6.

THE MAIDEN'S STRATAGEM

By Campbell Bonner

The ancient tale to which I venture to give this name has been treated in the past by two eminent scholars, Pio Rajna and Georg Voigt, and eighteen years ago I called attention to an unedited version of it and some unnoticed echoes in later literature. The paper then presented was not published, partly because I hoped that other relevant material might come to light, but chiefly because of other obligations which have only lately been discharged. Recently Dr. G. Levi Della Vida has rendered a valuable service by publishing a Moslem version of the tale and showing its relation to various Christian stories; and the appearance of his work has reminded me that my own contribution to the subject should no longer be delayed.[1]

[1] In studies of this kind, more perhaps than in any other, each investigator stands upon the shoulders of his predecessors; and I trust I shall not seem to make light of my debt to the authorities named in this note if I acknowledge my obligation to them briefly and once for all. The first important work on the sources of the story here discussed was done in 1876 by Pio Rajna in his book *Le Fonti dell'Orlando Furioso*; second edition, to which I refer, in 1900 (pp. 459–463). Georg Voigt's article "Die Lucretia-Fabel und ihre literarischen Verwandten" (*Berichte der Sächs. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl., XXXV, 1883, 1–36) seems to me to be open to criticism in that it incorporates the "Euphrasia legend," with its relatives, in a complex which should be more strictly circumscribed; but in his treatment of our story (15–30) he adds much valuable matter to what Rajna had brought together. N. Y. Marr, *Antioch Stratig, Plenenie Ierusalima persami v 614* (*The Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614*) St. Petersburg, 1909 (*Teksty i rozyskanija po armjanogruzinskoi filologii*, IX); the author publishes the Georgian version and the Armenian fragments, and in connection with the episode of the nun makes use of Voigt's work. G. Levi Della Vida, "A Christian Legend in Moslem Garb" (*Byzantion*, XV, 144–157), deals with an unnoticed Moslem variant of our story, points out the probable literary sources of al-Makīn's form of it, and calls attention to the importance of Marr's work in *The Capture of Jerusalem*, besides giving a useful general view of the problem. In later notes these four works will be cited merely by the author's name with page reference.

My preliminary paper was read before the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society in 1924, and an abstract (of only a few lines) was included in the report of that meeting (*JAOS* XLIV, 1924, 176). In the earlier stages of my work helpful suggestions and useful information came to me from G. L. Kittredge, Dean P. Lockwood, and A. H. Krappe. Recently I am under great obligations to Robert P. Blake, who has most generously taken the trouble to make English translations of the Georgian and Armenian forms of our story, and has put at my service his knowledge of Marr's work, which is unfortunately inaccessible to me.

For the moment it will suffice to state the theme of the tale in its simplest form, as follows. A chaste woman who has fallen into the power of a brutal captor delays his advances by promising to give him a magical herb or salve that will make him invulnerable. She rubs her neck with the feigned drug and bids him strike with his sword to test the power of her magic. Thus she tricks him into beheading her, and frustrates his designs upon her virtue. Postponing discussion of the story-pattern, we may first consider the unpublished Greek version.

It was found in a manuscript belonging to the University of Michigan (No. 82), a synaxarion of the Orthodox Church covering the whole year (September–August), and apparently lacking only a single leaf at the end. The book once belonged to the monastery of Kaisariane, a few miles from Athens at the foot of Mount Hymettos, as appears from an inscription in a bad modern hand, scrawled on the last leaf of the manuscript, a fly-leaf added after the loss of the last leaf of the text: "This book belongs to the holy monastery of Kaisariane, and if any man removes it from the monastery he shall have the curses of the 318 holy and inspired Fathers who assembled in the Council of Nicaea."

Further evidence that the manuscript once belonged to this famous monastery is to be found in several entries on the front fly-leaf, in which various men and women certify that they have dedicated to the monastery certain properties, usually fields or olive-orchards, occasionally sums of money.

The monastery of Kaisariane has long been a ruin. Only its church and one or two other decayed buildings still stand; and in place of an abbot and a throng of monks there remained in recent years — who knows its fate now? — only a single priest, who served the offices of the church on Sundays and holy days for a little flock drawn from neighboring hamlets and the nearer suburbs of the city. After service the congregation was wont to linger under the shade of a great plane-tree by the spring to break its fast and sip coffee or *ouzo*. It was a welcome resting-place for travellers who took this peaceful nook on their way to the top of Hymettos, towering above the green glen that hides Kaisariane from the city.

The books of the monastery, like its lands, have long since passed into the hands of others. Who first braved the curse and

took this volume from its place is not known.[2] In time it came into the library of the fourth Earl of Ashburnham, and later into the possession of a famous dealer, Mr. W. M. Voynich, from whom the University of Michigan purchased it in 1922.

The manuscript measures 29.2 by 20.5 cm. and has a modern pigskin binding. There are 329 leaves of paper, with the text in two carefully ruled columns. Elaborate rubricated headings are placed at the beginning of each month, and red is used for occasional ornaments and initials, especially when a new day begins or the life of a new saint is taken up, and also to begin the crude iambic verses that are prefixed to the narratives. No thorough palaeographical study of the manuscript has yet been made, but two scribes writing quite similar hands appear to have executed the work in the fourteenth century. The writing is small and is of a type that is evidently derived from good manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

In its contents and their arrangement the book clearly belongs to that class of synaxaria to which Delehaye has assigned the symbol M*, and which is the later and inferior of the two great divisions into which the manuscripts fall;[3] furthermore, it seems — though a thorough study might alter this impression — to be more closely related to the standard-bearer of this class, M (Paris. 1582) than to any other representative of the group. Synaxaria of the M* class are characterized by a different arrangement of their matter, by a different selection of saints' lives, and especially by the insertion of various long narratives of the edifying kind that are not found in the other principal family. These marks are present in our manuscript, and it also has peculiarities of its own, which have not been investigated systematically, though they may prove to be worth study, especially since the manuscript covers the entire church year. Among the special features that I have noted, a very few will serve to illustrate the aberrant character of the selection. Under the commemoration of St. John the Apostle

[2] Careless or avaricious abbots seem to have permitted the sale of books as early as the seventeenth century. Interesting facts bearing upon the dispersion of the library will be found in J. Gennadios' monograph Ἡ Καισαριανή (Athens, 1930), p. 39 f., pp. 43–45.

[3] *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris: Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae . . . opera et studio Hippolyti Delehaye* (Bruxellis, apud socios Bollandianos, 1902). See especially columns XXXVIII ff. and LII.

(September 26) there is introduced a long narrative that is based upon the apocryphal Acts of John ascribed to Prochorus;[4] and this is followed by several *testimonia* about the death of John, apparently drawn from the *Chronicon* of Georgius Monachus (II, 447–8 De Boor). Under August 31, among other entries peculiar to this manuscript, there is the beginning of an account (mutilated by the loss of the last leaf of the text) of a conflagration in the church of the Virgin on the Acropolis (the Parthenon), "which happened in our own times." The opening of this narrative touches in a summary fashion upon a story of the foundation of the church which differs in some details from that given in the Anonymus Vindobonensis.[5]

Still another story, which has not been reported from any other synaxarion, is the occasion of this paper. It tells of an otherwise unknown virgin martyr, Anna of Jerusalem, and appears under May 7. The commemorations proper to that date are listed in the following order: 1, the appearance of the Cross in the heavens under Constantius; 2, Cyril of Jerusalem; 3, Acacius; 4, Barbarus; 5, Gaïnnus and Gaius; 6, Anna; 7, the 318 Nicene Fathers.

The text of the legend of Anna follows:

τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ: μνήμη τῆς ἁγίας ὁσιομάρτυρος Ἄννης.

Ἄννην τίς μὴ θαυμάσει τὴν ἀριστέα,
νικῶσαν πλάνην ξίφους τομὴν εἰσδύντα;

Αὕτη ἡ ἁγία παρθένος ἦν εἰς ἓν τῶν γυναικείων μοναστηρίων τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τῶν ἐλαιῶν· ὅτε δὲ κατὰ συγχώρησιν θεοῦ πᾶσα ἡ Παλαιστίνη εἰς χεῖρας Περσῶν παρεδόθη, καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἁγία πόλις ἥλω παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀσκητήρια καὶ οἱ παρθενῶνες ᾐχμαλωτίσθησαν, καὶ εἰς φθορὰν καὶ προνοὴν τοῖς ἀθέοις Πέρσαις δίδονται παρὰ θεοῦ, διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν. συνελήφθη δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἡ μακαρῖτις παρά τινος Πέρσου τῶν ἐπισήμων. ἦν δὲ εὐειδὴς πάνυ καὶ ὡραιοτάτη τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν. ἐκτενῆ οὖν προσευχὴν μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν ἐποιεῖτο διηνεκῶς ὥστε διαφυλάξαι αὐτῆς τὴν παρθενίαν ἄφθορον. ἀκούει τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῆς ὁ θεός, καὶ εἰς πέρας ἄγει τὴν αἴτησιν αὐτῆς. ὡς οὖν

[4] Published by Th. Zahn, *Acta Johannis*, Erlangen, 1884; not to be confused with the Leukian Acts in Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II, 1.

[5] *Cod. theol. graec. N. 252*, fol. 29–32; published by L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, I, 251 ff., and by C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, I, 739 ff. (§ 11).

ἐνέκειτο ὁ αἰχμαλωτίσας αὐτὴν Πέρσης τυφθῆναι αὐτῆς σὺν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, σοφίζει ταύτην ὁ θεός ὡς τὴν ἀνδρειωτάτην Ἰουδὶθ κατὰ τῆς Ὁλοφέρνου τυραννίδος καὶ ἀκολασίας σοφίσας [5.a] καί φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν δι᾽ ἑρμηνέως ὅτι τίς μοι δώσει τοῦ δεσπότου μου ἀξιωθῆναι σύνευνον γενέσθαι; ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κἀγὼ ὡς δεσπότην ἀγαπῶ σε, βούλομαι θαρρῆσαί σοι πρᾶγμα παράδοξον, παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πολλοῖς γινωσκόμενον. καί φησιν ἐκεῖνος, εἰπέ. ἡ δὲ ἁγία παρθένος φησίν, ἔστι τις βοτάνη παρὰ πολλοῖς ἄγνωστος, ἣν ἐάν τις λάβῃ καὶ ταύτην λεάνας ἐκ τοῦ ὀποῦ αὐτῆς τὸ σῶμα χρίσας, οὐκ ἄν ποτε σίδηρος τοῦ σώματος ἐκείνου ἅψεται. ὁ δὲ ἀκόλαστος ἐκεῖνός φησι· νῦν τὸν ἐμὸν σκοπὸν πλήρωσον, καὶ εὐκαίρως δεῖξόν μοι τὴν βοτάνην. ἡ δέ, ἀδύνατον ταύτην ληφθῆναι παρὰ ἐφθαρμένης γυναικός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀπειρογάμου καὶ ἀφθόρου· ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς πρὸς τὸν σίδηρον μάχης. καὶ δὴ παραχωρεῖ αὐτὴν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ. ἔωθεν δὲ λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν, δεῦρο δεῖξόν μοι τὴν βοτάνην. ἡ δὲ μακαρία ἀπελθοῦσα σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐσχηματίσατο τὴν βοτάνην, καὶ λέγει, ἰδού, αὕτη ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος ἔφη, καὶ πόθεν δῆλον; ἡ δέ φησι, τρίψον καὶ χρῖσον μέρος τοῦ σώματός σου καὶ δοκίμασον μετὰ ξίφους, καὶ ὄψει τὴν ἐνέργειαν. ὁ δὲ φειδόμενος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠνέσχετο. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νύμφη τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν νυμφεύσεως ἐπιθυμοῦσα, τρίβει τὴν βοτάνην καὶ χρίει τὸν ἑαυτῆς αὐχένα, καί φησι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, κράτησον ταῖς δυσὶ χερσὶ τὸ ξίφος καὶ δὸς πάσῃ δυνάμει, καὶ ἐξ ἔργων αὐτῶν μαθήσῃ τῆς βοτάνης τὴν δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῆς πεισθεὶς καὶ νομίσας ἔχειν τινὰ πεῖραν ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου, λαβὼν τὸ ξίφος πάσῃ δυνάμει παίει κατὰ τοῦ αὐχένος αὐτῆς· καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πληγῆς ἀπέτεμε τὴν μακαρίαν αὐτῆς κεφαλήν. εἰς συναίσθησιν οὖν ἐλθὼν τῆς γενομένης αὐτῷ χλεύης, ἤρξατο βρύχειν τοὺς ὀδόντας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν τοῦτον ὤνησε. καὶ οὕτως ἐπληρώθη αὐτῆς ἡ μαρτυρία.

The language and style call for little comment. The orthography is fairly good; the few cases of itacism and confusion of ο and ω are here corrected without further comment, and accents and punctuation have been made to conform to modern use. The iambic trimeters (or choliambics?) at the beginning were prob-

[5a] In l. 14 of the Gk. text above (not counting the verses), σοφίσας is an emendation introduced by Professor Grégoire; the manuscript reads σοφίσαντος. I have allowed σοφίσας to stand, rather than make a troublesome change in proof, but believe that the genitive should be retained, in view of the irregularity of participial constructions in late Gk. (Jannaris, 2145). [My correction really is ὁ Θεὸς ὁ . . . σοφίσας. *H. G.*]

ably bad to begin with and have suffered some corruption; ἀριστέα must have been meant for ἀριστείαν, and εἰσδύντα is probably corrupt as well as barbarous. The manuscript omits the final ν of προσευχήν and the final ς of ἀκολασίας. For δώσει it has δῶσαι. There are the usual abbreviations of *nomina sacra*. Three grammatical points may be worth mention; the use of παρά with dative to express agency, as in παρ' αὐτοῖς (Jannaris, *Hist. Gram.*, 1632), the use of σύν with accusative, σὺν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν (Jannaris, 1670), and the use of τίς with future indicative to express a wish. τίς with ἄν and optative introduces a wish several times in classical poetry, as in Aesch. *Agam.* 1448, Soph. *Ajax* 879, *O.C.* 1160. The use of πῶς in wishes, in classical Greek with ἄν and optative, later with the subjunctive, is more common; for the latter construction, cf. Marc. Ant. 9. 40.

A translation follows:

Commemoration of the Holy Martyr Anna

Who marvelleth not, beholding Anna's deed,
Who felt the sword, but gained the martyr's meed?

This holy virgin was in one of the nunneries of the holy city Jerusalem, on the holy Mount of Olives; and when by the permission of God, all Palestine was given over into the hands of the Persians, this holy city also was captured by them, and all the monasteries and the nunneries were taken, and given over by God to the godless Persians for rape and pillage, because of our sins. Now this blessed maid also was seized by one of the Persian nobles. She was very fair to look upon, and most beautiful both in body and in soul; so to her Master, Christ, she made earnest and continuous supplication, with many tears, that she might keep her maidenhood inviolate. And God heard her entreaty, and brought her prayer to fulfilment.

So when the Persian who had captured her was pressing upon her for the wounding of her soul as well as her body, God gave her wisdom, even as to Judith, the bravest among women, when he made her wise to destroy the oppression and the lewdness of Holophernes. And she spoke to him by an interpreter, saying, "Would that I might be thought worthy to be the bedmate of my lord! But since henceforth I love thee as my master, I am minded to entrust to thee a wondrous thing, known to many of the Greeks." And he said, "Speak." And the holy maiden said, "There is a certain herb, unknown to many, which if one take and pound in a mortar, and anoint his body with the juice thereof, iron shall never hurt his body." And the lewd man said, "Do my will now, and in good time show me the herb." She said, "This herb may not be got by a corrupted woman, but only by a maid unwed and inviolate. For it be not so, the wonder of its battle with the steel worketh not." And so he excused her for that evening.

In the morning he said to her, "Come show me the herb." And the blessed maid went with him and made as if she had found the plant. And she said to him, "Behold, here it is." The barbarian said, "How shall I know that?" She said, "Crush it, and anoint some part of thy body, and try with the sword, and thou shalt see its power." But he was fain to spare himself, and would not endure to

try it. Then the bride of Christ, desiring to be espoused to her Lord, bruised the herb and anointed her own neck. She said to the barbarian, "Take thy sword with thy two hands and strike with all thy might; and from the deed itself thou shalt learn the power of the herb."

Believing her words, and thinking that he had a test (i.e. of a protection?) in time of war, he took the sword and struck upon her neck with all his might; and with that very stroke he cut off her blessed head. Then, perceiving that he had been mocked, he began to gnash his teeth, but it availed him nought. And thus was fulfilled her martyrdom.

To aid in the consideration of its relationships, the following points in this story should be observed. The place is Jerusalem, the time 614, when the city was captured by the Persians. The fact that the heroine is called by a very common name, not found elsewhere in connection with similar stories, shows that she was originally nameless. Noteworthy is the vivid conversation between Anna and her captor, which differs not a little from the sober style of most such narratives, and the fact that she does not scruple to pretend a ready consent to his wishes in order to deceive him. The magic substance in this story is an herb which must be sought out of doors, and the girl goes through the form of searching for it; it is not something that she already possesses or makes from ordinary domestic materials. Particularly important, because it may be an original element in the story, is her warning that the charm will be ineffective unless she is kept inviolate until she finds the herb. This detail, which occurs in no other early version known to me, has an ancient and genuine sound, since the importance of chastity in magical operations is well known.[6] On the whole, it is evident that we are dealing with a novella which may go back at least to the Hellenistic period; somebody has given it the appearance of a Christian martyrdom by assigning a definite date and place to the incident, and by introducing familiar phrases of Christian piety. The value of this version, as we shall see, consists in the fact that it preserves more of the coloring of the ancient popular tale than any of its kindred; but since it is not attested at as early a date as another story, which we shall next examine, we may refer to it for convenience as Version B.

The narrative which we shall call Version A, is further removed from the original popular tale, but is preserved in a text that was written at an earlier date than Version B. It is found in the

[6] Much matter bearing on this point will be found in E. Fehrle's monograph, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (RGVV VI, 1910).

Chronicon of Georgius Monachus, who wrote in the reign of Michael III, 842–867. The passage is rather long (p. 478, 6 — 479, 12, ed. De Boor), and most of it may be condensed without losing anything of importance, since it is written in the author's usual florid style. The incident is told in connection with the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian and Maximian (303). A beautiful woman, vowed to virginity, was required to offer a pagan sacrifice, and refused; whereupon order was given that she should be surrendered to the lust of a soldier, and if she then persisted in her refusal, should be beheaded. She turned in her perplexity to Anthimus the bishop of Nicomedia, afterwards martyred, who admonished her that the preservation of her faith was more important even than the chastity of the body; as one would submit to robbery of a garment rather than of the body itself, so it is better to give the body to insult rather than lose the purity of the soul. The remainder of the story is closer to Version B, and certainly nearer to the unpretentious style of the original novella. I give a translation only, since the Greek text is accessible in a modern edition:

But divine grace, which gives ways[7] of help in trouble, then kept the girl's virtue inviolate by a very clever scheme. When she was shut in a room she deceived the soldier, saying, "Do not wrong me, man, and I will pay you a fee worthy of the favor you do me. Since I am skilled in drugs, I will give you a drug that will make you immortal; if you anoint your whole body with it, you will be invulnerable among your enemies. If you wish to have proof of it now, let me prepare this drug." He was very glad to allow her to do so, and the blessed maid took wax, mixed oil with it and kneaded it for a long time, then anointing her own neck said to him, "Strike as you have might, and you will see the working of the ointment, for you will neither wound nor kill me." And he lifted his sword on high, and bringing it down upon her, he straightway cut off her precious head. And thus overcoming the wickedness of her enemies, she put on the twofold crown, of martyrdom and of purity.

It is clear that the nucleus of this story is the same popular tale that was used in Version B; and in the conversation between the girl and the soldier, where the narrator spares us his stylistic ornaments, there are some similar turns of expression. Yet even here there are slight differences. In place of pretending to accept her situation gladly as in Version B, the girl proceeds as if she hoped to save herself from outrage by bribing her captor; and in place

[7] The word is *προφάσεις*; for this and other late developments in the meanings of *πρόφασις* see my note in AJP LXII, 457–9.

of a pretended magical herb she uses a salve made of wax and oil. The differences are more marked in the introductory part of Georgius' narrative; the girl, nameless, is not a nun in a convent, and her danger is not due to capture in war, but to a persecution represented as official. The place is not specified, but the mention of Anthimus seems to show that Nicomedia is meant,[8] and the time is that of the persecution under Diocletian. The casuistic discussion with Anthimus is obviously no part of the original pattern.

Georg Voigt [9] appears to have been the first to call attention to Georgius Monachus as the earliest Greek source for Version A. Before that Pio Rajna [10] had used a story in Georgius Cedrenus (ca. 1100), which was drawn directly from Georgius Monachus with a few insignificant verbal changes.[11] Still later, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulos told the same story in different words.[12] There is no variation in the incidents, and the only new feature is that the hitherto nameless virgin is now addressed by the bishop Anthimus as Euphrasia. Nicephorus, however, was not the first to give this name, which must have been attached to the heroic maiden before the year 1000; for in the Menologium of Basil II,[13] written at about that time, under the date January 19, Euphrasia is commemorated as a martyr in Nicomedia under Maximian, and her story is the same as that related by Georgius Monachus, though it is told in simpler language, and there is no mention of Anthimus. As in Georgius' narrative, the girl does not pretend to yield without reluctance to the man's desire, but tries to buy her freedom by a charm against wounds. This is called merely a *φάρμακον*, and the condensed story in the Menologium says nothing of its nature or preparation. It is not even said expressly that the girl went through the motions of anointing her neck; when the man demands proof of the power of the drug, she simply bids him strike it with his sword, and so

[8] Cf. Euseb. viii.6.6.

[9] See Note 1; p. 16.

[10] In discussing the episode of the death of Isabella, p. 461. Even in his second edition Rajna did not note the priority of Georgius Monachus, and Della Vida has also overlooked it.

[11] CSHB XXXV, 465–6.

[12] *Eccl. Hist.* vii.13 (PG CXLV, 1229–31).

[13] *Cod. Vatican. Graec. 1613*, p. 333.

saves herself from shame. In spite of the baldness of the narrative it is clearly an abbreviated form of Version A. A story differing only in verbal details is to be found in the ordinary synaxaria under Jan. 19, and it appears even in the Michigan manuscript, notwithstanding the fact that the longer story which we call Version B appears elsewhere in it.

So far as I know, no other Greek sources for this story have been found; but since Greek writings have transmitted so many ancient popular stories to other peoples, it is a reasonable assumption that these or other Greek versions of the maiden's stratagem have supplied the originals from which various Oriental versions have been derived. We must next examine some of these non-Greek forms of the story.

There are three that are closely related among themselves and also related to the story of Anna in the Michigan synaxarion, that is, our Version B. They are all episodes in a longer work, *The Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians*, which included not only the narrative of the barbarities committed by the captors, but also passages of a hortatory character drawing lessons from the suffering and the heroism of the martyrs. It has been regarded as a homily, perhaps rightly. The text of the story that interests us exists in an Arabic and a Georgian version of this *Capture of Jerusalem*, the original language of which was almost certainly Greek, and in an Armenian version excerpted from the same work. Of these the Arabic version was first brought to the attention of scholars in 1896 by Couret,[14] and afterwards published from a better and more complete manuscript by Peeters.[15] The Georgian version and the Armenian fragments were published by N. Y. Marr in 1909.[16] For the Arabic form of our story I have used the translation made by Dr. Della Vida for his article on the subject;[17] for the Georgian and Armenian forms I am greatly indebted

[14] Couret's notice of the manuscript, with a translation by Broydé, was published at Orléans in 1896 in the Mémoires de l'Académie de Sainte-Croix; this is virtually inaccessible, though Della Vida found that a reprint was in the Princeton University Library. Broydé's translation with the original text was printed also in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, II (1897), 125–164.

[15] *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* (*Beyrouth*), IX, 1–42; see also the same author's article in *Analecta Bollandiana* XXXVIII, 137–147.

[16] See Note 1.

[17] Della Vida, 153–4.

to Professor Robert P. Blake, who has very kindly translated both from Marr's text.

In common with Version B, all these stories place the scene of the incident in Jerusalem at the time of the Persian capture in 614, and at a convent on the Mount of Olives; and all three give a detail which may well be a part of the primitive novella, namely that the girl suggests that her captor use the charmed drug and then allow a blow to be aimed at him with the sword; this he has not the courage to do, and so she all the more easily deludes him into killing her. This feature of the conversation between the nun and her captor is not found in Version A. On the other hand there are differences between these non-Greek versions and Version B. All three say that the nuns seized by the Persian soldiery numbered four hundred; no number is given in B. The Armenian version says the convent was called P'araḥ (sheepfold), a detail not elsewhere attested. All the three versions agree in representing the magical substance not as an herb that must be found, but as an oil or ointment which the nun already possesses and which, as it would seem, she carries on her person. Further, all agree in representing the offer of the magical drug as a bribe, by means of which the nun hopes to save her virtue. Here, as in Version A, a feeling of religious propriety seems to have modified the form — the original one, as I think — in which the girl feigns readiness to comply with her master's wishes, and offers the charm merely as a gift to prove her good will towards him. Finally, the girl is nameless in the three eastern versions, as she was doubtless in the primitive novella. In the narrative of the Michigan synaxarion the name Anna was chosen at random.

A word must be said about the origin of *The Capture of Jerusalem*, although it has been treated elsewhere by those who are competent, as I am not, to deal with the languages in which the narrative has been preserved. The heading of the Georgian version describes the narrative as written by a monk of the monastery of St. Saba named Sṭraṭiki. Marr recognized that the Georgian and Arabic versions of the *Capture* were ultimately derived from a Greek original, although the immediate source of the Georgian narrative appears to have been Arabic. The name "Sṭraṭiki" he took to be the Greek Strategos (or Strategios), and decided that that must have been another name (the secular name) for

Antiochus of St. Saba. Peeters, however, shows that this identification is very unlikely.[18] Antiochus was the abbot, not merely a monk, of St. Saba, and there is no evidence that the name Strategos ever belonged to him; and further, in the Arabic text published by Peeters, the author of the *Capture* is "Isṭrātīyūs," which may represent Eustratios — a person, it is true, who is otherwise unknown in connection with St. Saba. The Armenian excerpts that contain the story of the nun and the Persian soldier are obviously derived from the same narrative, but were probably translated directly from the Greek original.

The problem of the authorship of the *Capture of Jerusalem* is not of primary importance in connection with the history of our story. No matter who wrote the narrative, he can scarcely claim either to have invented the story or to have been the first to record it. All that the narrative proves is that the story of the nun was well known in the seventh century, since the *Capture* was doubtless composed soon after the event; and that the incident came to be associated with the sack of Jerusalem in the minds of many people, so that in time a more primitive type of the story, such as Version B, was affected by it and given a date and place to correspond. There is little doubt that after each notorious persecution Christian chroniclers made it a point to record outstanding examples of fortitude in prospect of outrage and death; and where the circumstances of actual martyrdoms were lacking in picturesque and dramatic interest, the authors turned to ancient popular stories of heroic courage that were adaptable for their purpose. Thus it comes about that in Nicomedia, in connection with the persecution under Diocletian, and in Jerusalem after the Persian sack of the city, the same story is told with slight differences of detail.

Of the Arabic, Georgian, and Armenian forms of the story, which we may call for convenience Version C, it is the Arabic that seems to be told with the greatest economy and simplicity, so far as I can judge from Dr. Della Vida's translation. If Marr is right in his belief that the Georgian was translated from an Arabic text, that would partly account for the greater length of the Georgian, for translators usually employ more words than their models; but it seems to me that much of the extra length of the Georgian story

[18] *Analecta Bollandiana*, 141–3; *Mélanges St. Joseph*, 8–10.

is due to nothing more than pious padding and careless verbosity. On account of its length I refrain from reproducing it here, although it might be desirable to do so for the sake of completeness. I give Mr. Blake's translation from the Armenian,[19] which seems to deserve attention not only because of its moderate length, but also because it is thought with good reason to have been derived directly from a Greek original:

> There was a cloister on the Mount of Olives whose name was P'araḥ (ovile). In this were living four hundred nuns. When, however, the Persians came against the city of Jerusalem and laid siege to it, then they led forth the four hundred maids and divided them up for ravishment. But a certain insolent and heartless one of them, when he wished to ravish the lamb of Christ, was laudably deceived — the licentious one in appearance like the devil. When he approached to ravish, the bride of Christ said to him: "Grant me as a boon my maidenhead, and I shall bestow upon thee oil, which, however many arrows and swords thou mayst receive, will not let *them* touch thee." And he in amazement said unto the holy one: "Bring me such a substance and I shall not touch thee," thinking this to himself, that "if I get this, then shall I do whatsoever I wish"; but the overweening one was disappointed in his vain hope. For the wise maid produced from her *raiment* a vial of holy oil *and* said to the lawless one: "Take this and anoint thy neck, and I shall smite with the sword, and then *shalt* thou believe what a gift I have bestowed upon thee." And he said: "No, but on thy neck will I try this"; *that* which the holy one had been praying for, what she intended and desired, that she might deceive through her wisdom, so that she might not become the prey through the snare of the seducer. She chose to receive bodily death rather than *that* of the spirit, wherefore filled with joy at the words of the impious *one*, fearlessly, with joyous countenance and great readiness, she anointed her neck with that vivifying oil and bending down she said to that stupid Persian: "Smite with power and learn what this oil is." He, however, beholding her fervent desire, in the belief that he had heard the truth, the unclean *one*, was ignorant that by leaving his vileness she was hastening to Christ; the foe smote mightily in the just hope (i.e. naturally expecting) that her neck would be untouched by the sword. When he saw her precious head cut off and cast upon the ground, he knew that he, the harsh and the shameless, had been defeated by a woman.
>
> O marvellous ruse, O good deceit, O praiseworthy prevarication! Hearken unto this, O *ye* women, and be like in modesty unto her who, despising the life here, inherited the kingdom of the heavens, yearning for the immortal bridegroom Christ!

A form of our story was current among the Christians of Egypt, and has come down to us through three versions, all in the Arabic language. They have been fully treated by Della Vida, and only the essential points need be repeated here. First, it occurs as an episode in the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, by Severus, compiled at the end of the tenth century.[20] The portion that com-

[19] *Vark' srboc' haranc'* (i Venetik 1855), I, 461–2.

[20] Text edited and translated by B. Evetts, *Patrologia Orientalis*, V, 162–4.

prises the story of the nun is based upon a biography of the patriarch Michael (eighth century) by his secretary John the Deacon. The story appears also in Abū Ṣāliḥ's *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* (early thirteenth century)[21] and in the chronicle (*Historia Saracenica*) of al-Makīn (Elmacinus);[22] this last version, according to Della Vida, is an abridgement from the work of Severus, and may now be disregarded. These sources agree in representing the incident as having taken place when the caliph Marwān II had been defeated and driven into Egypt (750–1), in making the heroine of the story a nun seized at the sack of her convent, and in representing her as trying to save her virtue by offering a magical substance capable of making the user invulnerable. On the whole, the Egyptian version looks like an adaptation of Version C; for the change in place and time is natural, and no importance can be attached to the circumstance that in Severus and Abū Ṣāliḥ the number of nuns seized is thirty instead of four hundred as in C. In Severus the magical substance is "oil blessed by holy men," in Abū Ṣāliḥ it is oil taken from the lamp burning in the nun's cell before the image of the Virgin; both details were developed under ecclesiastical influence, and there is no reason to think, as Della Vida does, that the latter has a more genuine sound. Oil blessed by holy men, as well as oil from lamps in the shrines of saints, was highly valued, and devout persons might carry it with them in small flasks.[23]

Both Severus and Abū Ṣāliḥ report one feature of the nun's conversation which does not appear elsewhere, but which might well have been a part of the original novella; that is, the nun, by way of strengthening her story about her drug, says that her ancestors were mighty warriors who kept themselves unscathed through many battles by using this secret protection. But in the study of traditional stories one cannot be sure whether plausible though unnecessary particulars, such as this, belong to an early form of the story, or have been added by some later teller of the tale who happened to have a gift for vivid and imaginative narration.

[21] Edited and translated by Evetts in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Part 7, 240–242.

[22] Georgius Elmacinus, *Historia Saracenica* (Leyden, 1625), p. 99.

[23] See F. X. Kraus, *Real-encycl. der christl. Altertümer*, I, 522, § 4; 524, § 9.

There are some differences between the narratives of Severus and Abū Ṣāliḥ which, though not without interest, are of no importance for our purpose. The nun is called Febronia by Abū Ṣāliḥ, the plundering soldiers are not Marwān's but Bashmurites, and the conversation is somewhat more lively and dramatic than in Severus. The last point suggests a closer connection with a popular tale, but again it may be only a mark of a more vigorous narrator.

Much more interesting than these stories of Christian Egypt is a story, entirely Moslem in its atmosphere, which Dr. Levi Della Vida has made the starting-point of his study, "A Christian Legend in Moslem Garb." [24] Here also, to avoid repeating what Della Vida has set forth in full, I confine myself to an outline. The fourteenth century Egyptian scholar Ibn as-Subkī tells the incident in connection with the Tatar capture of Bagdad in 1278. The caliph's widow, who is not named, avoided violation by the Tatar conqueror Hūlāgū through a variation of the stratagem with which we are familiar. She told Hūlāgū that the caliph's sword, which she had kept, had the marvelous property of wounding nobody unless it were wielded by the caliph himself; and she proposed to try it on her maidservant in the presence of the conqueror. The girl, previously instructed by her mistress, raised a terrible outcry; whereupon the lady, ridiculing her fears, told the maid to take the sword and strike at her. Thus she escaped disgrace by death. It is probably significant that the chronicler mentions an earlier writer who had related the story about "a pious woman" and a ruffian. Della Vida is doubtless right in his belief that the Moslem story is derived from a Christian legend; but the readiness with which the formula is applied to different times and circumstances shows that the Christian legends could have been adapted just as easily from some pagan story of the voluntary death of a noble captive woman.

It is very strange that a story from central Europe should resemble Ibn as-Subkī's narrative about the caliph's widow in just the particular which sets it apart from the usual pattern of our story, namely that the magical power is connected with the sword. Voigt [25] gives in summary an episode from Nicolaus von

[24] Della Vida, 145–6.
[25] Voigt, 22–23.

Jeroschin's rhymed German translation of Peter von Dusburg's Chronicle of Prussia; both writers belong to the first half of the fourteenth century. Jeroschin interpolates an episode, not found in Dusburg, about a nun whose virtue was threatened by a savage Lithuanian. She promises to make him invulnerable, has him bring a sharp sword over which she says supposedly magical charms, and bids him strike her to prove the power of the spell. There is no need to consider the possibility of a literary connection with Ibn as-Subkī; in both stories a variant form of the primitive story has been used, and the importance of the German narrative consists simply in this: it proves that the old pattern was widely diffused, in one place suffering typical modifications and variations, in another remaining faithful to the original outline.

Almost contemporary with this German example is one that Voigt cites from an unpublished manuscript;[26] it is a work by Giovanni Malpighini, a younger contemporary and protégé of Petrarca, and is mentioned as *Historia Elysiae* or *Narratio violatae pudicitiae*. Voigt's abstract is as follows:

> Die Ravennatin Elisa, stolz auf ihre Schönheit, lässt sich in die Liebesbande eines Mannes verstricken, der schlimmer und roher ist, als sie glaubt. Er weiss sie bei Seite zu ziehen und droht ihr Gewalt anzuthun. Sie aber, um ihre Ehre zu retten, spiegelt ihm vor, sie sei durch den Saft eines Wunderkrautes unverletzbar geworden, und durch diese List bewegt sie ihn ihr den Kopf abzuschlagen.

The mention of a magical herb seems to bring the story into a relationship with our Version B, as it occurs in the Michigan synaxarion. The connection is still clearer in the story told by Francisco Barbaro in his *De re uxoria* (1416) of the noble Brasilla:[27]

> Ea enim Dyrrachii nobilibus parentibus nata, ut a certis auctoribus traditur, hostium excursione capta paene violata est. Haec profecto vultu pulcherrima, in summo periculo, ingenio, virtute, magnitudine animi, pudicitiam pie incorrupteque tutata est: multis enim verbis impetum Cerici victoris placavit, furorem cohibuit; si castam se servaverit, mercedis instar, ut nullis militaribus armis caedi possit, unguento quodam magico facturam se recepit. Ingenuae et modestae mulieris oratio et magiae deditissimus locus fidem vindicavit. Collocatis ab eo custodibus, cum aliquot radices generosa virgo colligeret, exitum rei anxius expectat. Tum ea magno animo militem convenit, se non verbis sed herbis periculum facturum pollicetur. Dehinc, ubi cervicem succo perunxit, jugulum praebet. Cericus vero,

[26] Voigt, pp. 26–27.

[27] Francisci Barbari *de re uxoria* liber . . . nova edizione per cura di A. Gnesotto (Padova, 1915), pp. 85–86.

quasi tuto temerarius futurus, ense caput eximit, et pudicissimae mentis testimonium admiratur.

This story also, with its magical herb gathered by the girl under guard, seems to be related to Version B; but it is probably based upon a popular tale, for Barbaro's "certi auctores" mean nothing in the absence of particulars. The names Brasilla and Cericus are new; the latter looks a little like a corruption of some adjective of nationality.

It has long been agreed among scholars that this narrative of Barbaro's is the source from which Ariosto drew his famous story of the death of Isabella in the *Orlando Furioso* (Canto 29, 8–27). This heroine escapes from the violence of Rodomonte by deceiving him with a brew of herbs which, as she declares, will make the user of it invulnerable. The language of stanza 15 is worth noting, for a special reason.

> Ho notizia d'un erba, e l'ho veduta
> venendo, e so dove trovarne appresso;
> che bollita con elera e con ruta
> ad un fuoco di legna di cipresso,
> e fra mano innocenti indi premuta,
> manda un liquor, che, chi si bagna d'esso
> tre volte il corpo, in tal modo l'indura,
> che dal ferro e dal fuoco l'assicura.

Some details of the prescription for preparing the magical herb are undoubtedly of Ariosto's own invention, for they are not to be found in Barbaro's brief narrative. But one point, "fra mano innocenti indi premuta," reminds one of the story that Anna tells the Persian in Version B — that, to be effective, the herb must be gathered by an inviolate maiden. Ariosto may have developed this idea from the clause, "si castam se servaverit" in Barbaro, although in its context it only means that if Cericus spares her honor she will make him invulnerable. He may have supplied it, as he added other details, because it was generally known in Renaissance times, as in the ancient world, that virginity, or at least temporary continence, was requisite for many magical operations. Finally, he may have known a variant popular tradition as well as the story in Barbaro; for as we have noted in connection with other forms of this novella, popular oral tradition may again and again have modified the literary transmission of the story.

Voigt deals briefly with an impudent borrowing of the Isabella story by a late eighteenth century writer, Gaetano Cioni. He used the plot for one of a collection of novelle which he wrote and tried to palm off as the work of a fifteenth century author, Giraldo Giraldi, suggesting that Ariosto had drawn from that source. Neither Voigt nor Rajna mentions the use made of the death of Isabella by a great English author. My attention was drawn by the late Professor G. L. Kittredge to the fact that in the Second Part of *Tamburlaine the Great* (Act IV, Scene 2) Christopher Marlowe has used a similar story; he tells it of Theridamas, lord of Algiers (Rodomonte) and Olympia (Isabella). There are some differences; Olympia is the widow of a conquered opponent of Theridamas, not a maiden. The magical substance is not an herb, but an ointment which Olympia already possesses. The latter version is more convenient for dramatic purposes, since there is no need to gather simples and prepare them. But on the whole the resemblance between the scene in Marlowe and the corresponding passage in Ariosto is less close than might have been expected. Ellis-Fermor in his edition of *Tamburlaine the Great* remarks circumspectly that "if he used Ariosto at all it must have been either through a report of the tale or from a memory of it recurring from a perhaps not very recent reading." [28]

A very curious parallel to the story that we have been examining appears in an unexpected place. In 1910 the novelist and story-writer Jack London published a book called *Lost Face*, a collection of short stories taking its name from the first of the group, which is the one that concerns us. It tells of a Polish adventurer who joined a band of Russian fur-thieves, and along with them fell into the hands of a tribe of Alaskan Indians in the days before the American purchase of the territory. His comrades were tortured to death; and in order to insure himself a quicker and more honorable end, he employed the ancient trick, telling the chief of his captors that he would prepare a brew that would make him invulnerable. So he concocted a mess of various ingredients, rubbed his neck with it, and then told the Indian to take his axe and strike with all his might, which was done. The author adds many details in his vigorous and rather gruesome style, especially in describing the manner in which the Pole beguiles the suspicious Indian.

[28] Introduction, p. 45.

Apart from these touches, the interest of the story for our purpose consists in the fact that it has been adapted for a man as the chief actor instead of a woman.

I ventured some years ago to inquire of Mr. London's widow whether she knew anything of the source of the story. She answered the inquiry very graciously, but could give no help beyond the general statement that her husband was a great reader of strange stories of every sort. Whether his literary interests may have led him to read *Tamburlaine* or a translation of Ariosto, it is vain to conjecture. He may have known the tale from some book of lives of the saints; but Euphrasia is an obscure martyr, not mentioned in the more popular works of that sort. I am more inclined to believe that it came to him from some oral tradition gathered in the course of his wanderings among men of many countries.

Some general observations based upon this study may be useful, though merely as a warning not to expect too much from an investigation of this kind. It is easy to show that a group of stories is linked together in such a way that all must be descended from a single primitive form, and it is not hard to prove that some one of the narratives in literary form is derived from another. One may also argue plausibly that this or that version, because of the naturalness and propriety of its development, seems to be nearer than another to the original pattern. But to establish a definite stemma for the recorded versions of a popular novella is difficult, if not impossible, because of the repeated modifications produced by literary and oral versions upon each other. In the stories examined above, the account of the martyrdom of Anna in the Michigan synaxarion (Version B) seems to be closest to the original novella, though we may be sure that in the old novella the heroine was nameless, the time pre-Christian, the place anywhere; but in addition to the Christian coloring we find that this primitive-sounding story (Version B) has been connected with a definite historical incident. On the other hand the documents that record this historical incident, namely the versions of *The Capture of Jerusalem*, use our story merely as an illustration of pagan atrocities, and use it in a form less "primitive" than Version B. We saw that in Barbaro's story of Brasilla, with its mention of the gathering of herbs, and possibly even in Ariosto, with the significant

requirement of chastity on the part of the herb-gatherer, there may be a return to details of a primitive version centuries after some literary versions had omitted these points as of no importance. Finally we must remember that with a simple and adaptable story-pattern, certain variations are potentially present from the beginning. In this story some details would vary according as it was told of a maiden or of a loyal wife or widow. In the latter cases the question of virginity would either not be raised or the story teller might substitute a requirement of continence for a stated time.

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POSTSCRIPT

Not long after the foregoing article was sent to the editor, I learned from Dr. Della Vida (by letter of July 5, 1942) that he had recently seen another version of the Maiden's Stratagem. It was found along with some other pious stories in a fragmentary Arabic manuscript written about 1300 A.D., now in the library of the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, New Jersey. Dr. Della Vida has now published an account of the manuscript in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et histoire orientales* VII (1943); but he has generously sent me a translation of this story and allowed me to refer to it here. The narrative, which is quite short, agrees with versions B and C against A in giving the place as Jerusalem, and the time is evidently that of the Persian conquest; it also agrees with B and C in making the nun suggest that her captor try the drug himself, which he refuses to do. It agrees with B against A and C in that the nun says that the drug will be useless unless procured by a virgin. On the other hand it agrees with A and C against B in representing the drugs as prepared from oil, while B makes it a wild herb. The net result is to emphasize the difficulty of working out any scheme showing the descent of the individual stories from one primitive tale.

Dr. Della Vida has also suggested, with great probability, in my opinion, that still another form of our story may be detected in one of the additions to the *Leimonarion* of Johannes Moschos, which Nissen edited in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XXXVIII, 351–376. Unfortunately it is the last in this group of additional narratives (371–2) and the end of the story is missing. Several sentences in the introductory part of the narrative are strongly reminiscent of the beginning of versions B and C; but if this introduction led up to that story, it was enlarged by details not recorded elsewhere. Here the nun starves herself, hoping to avoid the shameful fate of the rest of the sisterhood, many of whom are said to have reconciled themselves to becoming the concubines of their captors. The final attempt upon the chaste nun took place at a banquet which she was forced to attend; when she refused to yield to her Persian master, she was beaten. There the manuscript ends, but the narrative may have gone on to tell how, in despair, she pretended to consent and then resorted to the trick with the feigned magical drug.

AN ALLEGED PORTRAIT OF HERACLIUS

By Otto Kurz

The *Ms. I B 18* of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples contains, in its present fragmentary state, a Coptic version of the *Book of Job* (from chapter xl to the end) and the first three chapters of the *Book of Proverbs*. On the last folio of the *Book of Job*, immediately below the end title, is a pen drawing representing four human figures. The figure of a bearded man is distinguished by his size as well as by the halo surrounding his head. To his left three ladies are standing. The man is wearing a lorica over his tunica, his cloak is fastened on the right shoulder. On his head he wears a jewelled diadem. The three ladies are likewise richly dressed. The one on the extreme right wears a jewelled diadem and the two others also wear jewelled head-dresses. All three wear ear-rings and jewelled collars and belts.

This drawing has achieved a certain fame, if the word fame is permissible in connection with a Coptic drawing. It has frequently been illustrated and is discussed in most books on Byzantine and Early Christian art.[1] It figured among the treasures shown in 1931 at the Byzantine exhibition in Paris.[2]

The date of the manuscript is not under discussion. It is generally thought to date from the seventh century or thereabouts. But opinions differ as to the subject of its illustration. With regard to its contents, it seemed obvious to interpret the drawing as a representation of Job with his daughters. As such it was published for the first time in 1810 by G. Zoega.[3] This interpretation was widely accepted. D. Ainalov was the first to challenge it.[4] He pointed out that the drawing had no connection with the story of Job as told in the Bible. It was the portrait of an Imperial family, similar in type to the mosaics of San Vitale in Ravenna. Such Imperial portraits were usual as frontispieces of Byzantine

[1] For the bibliography see H. Buchthal and O. Kurz, *A hand list of illuminated Oriental Christian manuscripts* (1942), No. 203.

[2] No. 645 of the catalogue.

[3] *Catalogus codicum copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur* (1810), p. 178.

[4] *Ellinističeskija osnovy vizantiskago iskusstva* (1900), p. 42, pl. I.

manuscripts.[5] In this particular case a monk would have copied one of the official portraits, usually sent from the capital to the different provinces. This interpretation was accepted by a number of scholars.[6] One of them — R. Delbrueck [7] — goes even further than Ainalov. He says: "Zoega thought the drawing represented Job and his daughters, but as Job never appears in the robes of an Emperor, this must be regarded as out of the question. One might think of one of the Hebrew Kings, of David or Solomon, but the ladies accompanying him exclude this possibility, therefore the drawing must represent an Emperor and his family." Having reached this conclusion, Delbrueck proceeds to the identification of the Emperor. "There are no bearded Emperors before Phocas, who wore a pointed beard. Heraclius is the first Emperor who, up to 630, wore a short circular beard. Most of his co-regents and successors followed this fashion. From 630 onwards, Heraclius wore the long flowing beard of a patriarch. Among this group of Emperors, Heraclius is the only one who had daughters. The Empress might be Martina, his niece and second wife, whom he married in 613; the older princess would be his sister and mother-in-law Epiphania the Elder, while the younger would be his daughter from his first marriage, Eudoxia, born in 611; this would date the miniature around 620."

This sounds so convincingly circumstantial that it won general acceptance for Delbrueck's interpretation of the drawing.[8] At the Byzantine Exhibition at Paris the drawing was labelled "l'Empereur Heraclius et ses enfants." There does not however seem to be any explanation for the appearance of the Imperial family in the middle of a Coptic manuscript between the Book of Job and the Book of Proverbs.

The solution is simple. Job in royal garments has no place in the story of Job's affliction as told by those versions of the Bible which are familiar to us. The Coptic text, at the end of which the problematic drawing appears, is however a rendering of the *Sep-*

[5] The passage from St. John Chrysostom (Migne, *P. G.*, LI, 71) adduced by Ainalov refers to Imperial portraits in general, not to book miniatures.

[6] J. Strzygowski, "Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik," *Denkschriften d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl.* LI (1905), p. 189. — O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst* (1914), I, p. 286.

[7] *Die Consulardiptychen* (1929), pp. 270–274.

[8] G. Duthuit et F. Volbach, *Art Byzantin* (1933), p. 69, pl. 77.

tuagint. Here the *Book of Job* contains a final chapter which is to be found neither in the Hebrew original, nor in the Vulgate, nor in any of the European versions. In this chapter it is said that Job's name was originally Jobab and he is identified with Jobab, King of Edom (*Gen.* xxxvi, 33).[9]

Thus the meaning of the drawing as illustration of the text preceding it becomes clear. We are not looking on Job the pious sufferer, but on Job-Jobab, the King of Edom. At his side appear his three daughters, Hemera, Kasia and "'Αμαλθαίας" (*Job*, xlii, 14).

Exit Heraclius. The drawing is no portrait of a contemporary Emperor, yet this error contains some truth. The Coptic monk visualized the Biblical king with the regalia of a contemporary ruler.

[9] *Job*, xlii in fine: *καὶ οὗτοι οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ βασιλεύσαντες ἐν* 'Εδώμ. . . . 'Ιωβὰβ *ὁ καλούμενος* 'Ιώβ.

THE LIFE OF ST. THEODORE OF EDESSA

By A. Vasiliev

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The hagiographic literature of the mediaeval Christian Orient possesses profound interest and great value, and is a truly original feature of Byzantine civilization. Generally speaking, educated Byzantine men, particularly in the capital and the most important centers of the Empire, were closely concerned with the works of classical writers treating of Hellenistic civilization and ancient mythology. They tried, very often slavishly, to imitate these models and as a result created an artificial, verbose, and sometimes dull literature unconnected with reality and disjoined from the interests and tastes of the masses. A brilliant exception to this trend is historical writing, which produced a great number of eminent historians and important memoirists. But in the remote provincial towns, and especially in monasteries, both in the territory of the Empire and in the regions which passed under the power of the Arabs in the seventh century, the monks devoted themselves eagerly to literary work. They had little education, but they were filled with keen religious enthusiasm and well acquainted with the tastes and tendencies of their own monastic communities and the mass of the people. They compiled, accordingly, a large number of lives of saints. In these writings they intermingled reality with fantasy, historical facts with fairy tales, preserving at the same time many details of the daily life of cities, towns, villages, and convents which were omitted as insignificant by historians and chroniclers.

"Realism and romanticism," L. Bréhier well says, "these two tendencies of modern literatures, manifested themselves in Byzantium, and they are both a reaction against the superstitious imitation of classical antiquity. It is in these long disdained works such as lives of the saints and dramatic homilies that the mediaeval Greeks have best affirmed their originality. . . . The monks represent in Byzantine society, which was so well organized and so conservative, an original and almost a fantastic element (*la fantaisie*). Breaking with a past that seemed to them dead, they

renounced plagiarism from classical authors and, ten centuries before our romanticists, they tried to replace the fastidious decoration of pagan mythology by Christian marvel, a fertile source of literary emotion. It is for this reason that the work of Byzantine monks deserves to be studied, and it is due to them that the mediaeval Greeks had a truly national literature, whose growth was unfortunately checked by the disasters of the Empire." [1]

However similar to each other at first sight many of these writings may seem in general composition, almost all, even the too lengthy and too rhetorical, have historical, literary, and cultural importance. They are now popularly called "hagiographic novels" (*roman hagiographique*).[2] But some of these "novels" are priceless mines of information on the customs, manners, and political and religious ideas that we vainly try to discover in other evidence. The charm of their delightfully naive presentation of facts, customs and manners, and religious achievements and exploits fascinated the simple minds of the monks and people in the middle ages, and continues to fascinate the imagination of scholars in our own day.

The *Life* of Theodore of Edessa, with which I propose to deal, without doubt belongs among these "hagiographic novels." Compiled in the East, on territory formerly Byzantine but in the ninth century, when Saint Theodore lived, belonging to the Arabian Caliphate, this story in some parts reminds us of the tales of the Thousand and One Nights, where historical details are generally overshadowed by entirely fabulous elements, but where the historical kernel is undeniably present. It is extremely tempting as far as possible to strip off the layers of legend and fairy tale and disclose the historical basis beneath the naive embellishments and pious ejaculations. Success in this task is not always attainable. But even so the Lives of the Saints will always preserve a cultural significance from their depiction of monastic and hermitic life and their reflection of the customs and manners of the regions where the saints performed their exploits. The *Life* of Theodore of Edessa has been severely, perhaps too severely, criticized.[3] Other

[1] L. Bréhier, "Le romantisme et le réalisme à Byzance," *Le Correspondant*, Janvier 1922 (Paris), p. 333.

[2] See P. Peeters, "La Passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVIII (1930), p. 91. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I (Brussels, 1935), 38, n. 4.

[3] See P. Peeters, *loc. cit.*, pp. 81–82.

critics have praised its interest, historical importance, and "spice" (*eine Würze*).[4] Accordingly, I believe a new study of the *Life* will be not without value, and that we may reach some conclusions, unfortunately tentative, on the basis of evidence which has not yet been fully utilized by scholars. If I am not mistaken, nothing has heretofore been written in English on the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa.

I

The "Life" of Saint Theodore of Edessa and its Significance

In 1886 the Russian Byzantinist V. G. Vasilievski published a fragment from the Greek text of the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa concerning the situation of the Christians and Christian shrines in Palestine immediately after its conquest by the Arabs. Vasilievski took the fragment from a manuscript of the Synodal Library in Moscow, which, according to a scribe's note at the end of the manuscript, was copied in 1023. At the close of the *Life*, as Vasilievski observed, is an account of the relations of a caliph supposedly converted to Christianity by Theodore with the Byzantine Emperor Michael and his mother Theodora. The Greek text of the fragment was accompanied by a Russian translation.[5]

In 1893 in an article on the famous Greek monastery (laura) of St. Sabas in Palestine, a German scholar, A. Ehrhard, mentions Theodore of Edessa, a monk of that monastery, as is clear from the title of his *Life*, which was compiled by his nephew Basil, bishop of Emesa. Unfortunately, Ehrhard writes, the *Vita* of Theodore of Edessa is not yet published; therefore further investigation is impossible. From various printed catalogues Ehrhard knew of several manuscripts containing the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa, among them those of the Synodal Library in Moscow.[6] The fragment published by Vasilievski he did not know.

But when this article was printed in 1893, the complete Greek text of the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa had already been published

[4] See N. Bonwetsch, "Die Vita des Theodor, Erzbischofs von Edessa," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, II (1921), 286–287.

[5] V. Vasilievski, "Epiphanius' Account of Jerusalem and the Places lying within, compiled in the first half of the ninth century," *Pravoslavny Palestinsky Sbornik*, number 11 (vol. IV, 2). St. Petersburg, 1886, appendix IV, pp. 263–265.

[6] A. Ehrhard, "Das griechische Kloster Mar-Saba in Palestina," *Römische Quartalschrift*, VII (1893), 53–54.

in Russia by a Russian philologist, J. V. Pomyalovski.[7] Pomyalovski's edition is based on two Greek parchment manuscripts in the Moscow Synodal Library, numbers XV and XVIII according to the old catalogue of Matthaei, or numbers 381 and 126 according to the more recent catalogue of the Archbishop Vladimir.[8] MS. XV (381) consisting of 367 folios was brought to Moscow in the seventeenth century by Arsenius Sukhanov from the Georgian monastery (Iviron) on Mount Athos, and contains twelve pieces, mostly hagiographic in character. The *Life* of Theodore of Edessa occupies folios 227 r–285 v. From a note on the last folio we learn that the manuscript was copied by the humble and sinful Theophanes in June 1023 A.D.[9] The other Ms. XVIII [10] (126) consisting of 198 folios, which was also brought to Moscow by Arsenius Sukhanov from the Laura of St. Athanasius on Mount Athos, contains thirteen pieces, hagiographic and edifying in character, and was compiled partly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, partly in the fifteenth. The *Life* of Theodore is to be found on folios 112–181 v.[11]

Pomyalovski knew that the second part of the *Life* (beginning with p. 54, l. 11 of his edition) was also preserved in a manuscript of the National Library in Paris.[12] Later when the text of the *Life* had already been printed, he learned that A. Papadopoulos Kerameus had copied the first half of the *Life* from a paper manuscript at the Library of the Monastery of Our Lady on the island of Chalce near Constantinople. Papadopoulos Kerameus gave his copy to Pomyalovski for comparison, and in the introduction to

[7] *The Life of our holy Father Theodore, archbishop of Edessa, published by J. Pomyalovski, according to two manuscripts of the Moscow Synodal Library* (St. Petersburg, 1892), pp. XVIII + 147. The title, introduction, and notes to the indices in Russian.

[8] Matthaei, *Accurata codicum Graecorum MSS. bibliothecarum Mosquensium Sanctissimi Synodi notitia et recensio.* Lipsiae, 1805, I, p. 32 (No. XV) and p. 34 (No. XVIII). Arch. Vladimir, *A Systematic Description of the Manuscripts of the Moscow Synodal Library* (Moscow, 1894), part I. Greek manuscripts, p. 574 (No. 381) and p. 123 (No. 126). In Russian.

[9] Pomyalovski, *op. cit.*, pp. I–IV.

[10] On p. I of Pomyalovski's introduction is a misprint: XIII for XVIII. XVIII is correctly given on p. IV.

[11] Pomyalovski, *op. cit.*, pp. IV–VII.

[12] *Fabricii-Harlesii Bibliotheca Graeca*, X (Hamburg, 1807), p. 335: Theodori Sabaitae vitae pars. Paris, in cod. DCCLXXVI, no. 7. The number of this manuscript is now 776. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1886), I, 143. I have seen this manuscript; beginning

his edition the latter published its variants. The text of Chalce is closely related to the Moscow manuscript number XVIII (126); the end of the *Life* is missing.[13]

Several other manuscripts of the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa exist. During my work at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai in 1902 I consulted among other Greek manuscripts Codex number 544 (saec. XIV), which contains the text of the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa (folios 59–206 v.). This text is close to that of the first Moscow manuscript which was used by Pomyalovski, and in my opinion this manuscript is identical with his second Moscow manuscript.[14] I have seen another manuscript in Paris, Suppl. 441 (saec. XVII).[15] There are manuscripts in Turin, 147, saec. XVI,[16] and in Rome, cod. Angelic. B l. 8, saec. 11, fol. 219–265.[17]

Some philological emendations to Pomyalovski's text were made by P. V. Nikitin.[18] In their edition of the Greek texts of *Stories of the Forty-two Amorian Martyrs* Vasilievski and Nikitin several times referred to the Greek text of the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa.[19]

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with p. 54, l. 11 of Pomyalovski's edition, it goes only to the opening lines of chapter LXIV, p. 63, and ends with the words *κατεγόγγυζον τοῦ κιονίτου* (fol. 29 v.).

[13] Pomyalovski, *op. cit.*, pp. VIII–XVIII. See also Dr. Jos. Boyens, "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae monasterii Deiparae in Chalce insula," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XX (1901), 66: Codex 82, fol. 33–94. Only the title of the *Life* is given. In marg. inferiore fol. 94 v. scriptum est: *λείπει τὰ ἑξῆς*.

[14] A. Vasiliev, "Notes on some Greek manuscripts of Lives of the Saints on Mount Sinai," *Vizantisky Vremennik*, XIV (1907), 331–332 (in Russian). See also V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum* (Oxford, 1886), p. 132 (number 544).

[15] H. Omont, *op. cit.*, part 3 (Paris, 1888), p. 261, Suppl. 441, folios 1–59. See also H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits du Supplément Grec de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883), p. 50.

[16] J. Pasinus, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei*, I (Turin, 1749), 238 (cod. CXLVII).

[17] Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, 1897), p. 152 (Ehrhard). P. Franchi de'Cavalieri e G. Muccio, "Index codicum graecorum bibliothecae Angelicae," *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, IV (1896), 132, no. 86 (B.l.8), fol. 219–265; also "Addenda et corrigenda," *ib.*, 184 (Pomyalovski's edition is indicated).

[18] P. Nikitin, "On some Greek texts of Lives of Saints," *Memoirs (Zapiski) of the Academy of Sciences. Historico-philological Section.* VIIIth series, I (1897), pp. 63–67 (in Russian). See some laudatory notes on this study in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XVI (1897), 186.

[19] V. Vasilievski and P. Nikitin, *Stories of Forty-two Amorian Martyrs* (St. Petersburg, 1905), pp. 138, 142, 211, 241, 251 (in Greek and Russian).

It is incomprehensible why Archbishop Sergius in his priceless *Complete Menologion of the Orient* wrote that Pomyalovski in 1892 published the *Life* of Theodore in a Russian version from a Greek manuscript of the Moscow Synodal Library.[20] As we know, Pomyalovski published the Greek text only, and from two, not one, manuscripts of the Synodal Library; he gave no Russian translation. S. Vailhé also mentions Pomyalovski's non-existent Russian translation.[21]

A little bibliographical information on the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa can be found in some hagiographic handbooks or bulletins.[22]

The Greek text of the *Life* has been rendered into Modern Greek.[23]

It is interesting to note that the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa was well known in Slavonic literature. Long before Pomyalovski's publication of its Greek text a Slavo-Russian version was published in St. Petersburg in 1879–1885.[24] Unfortunately this Slavonic text gives almost no interesting variants from the published Greek text. Some other manuscripts of the Slavonic version of the *Life* exist in Moscow. The older texts of the Slavonic translation go back to the fourteenth century. Some South-Slavonic versions may also exist.[25] A brief note of Theodore's life and writings based on the Slavonic version of the *Life* is to be found in Russian church-historical literature.[26]

[20] Archbishop Sergius, *The Complete Menologion of the Orient* (Sec. ed., Vladimir, 1901), II, part II, 263 (in Russian).

[21] S. Vailhé, "Les écrivains de Mar-Saba," *Echos d'Orient*, II (1898–1899), 43, n. 1.

[22] See for example *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca. Editio altera* (Brussels, 1909), p. 247. M.-Th. Disdier, "Bulletin bibliographique d'hagiographie byzantine et néo-grecque (1918–1931)," *Echos d'Orient*, XXXII (1933), 115.

[23] The rendering into Modern Greek, published originally in the Greek book Ἡ Καλοκαιρινή was reprinted in Κ. Χ. Δουκάκης, Μέγας Συναξαριστής (Athens, 1893, July), pp. 263–282 (under July 19th).

[24] The *Life* of Theodore of Edessa from a manuscript which belongs to Prince Viazemsky, number LXXXIX, has been copied with lithographical ink upon transparent paper by Theodore Eliseev, St. Petersburg, I (1879); II (1880); III (1885). Publication of the *Obščestvo lubiteléi drevnei pismennosti*, numbers XLVIII, LXI, and LXXII.

[25] See V. J(agič), in his review of Pomyalovski's edition, *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XV (1893), 611.

[26] Filaret, *An Historical Study of Church Fathers* (St. Petersburg, 1882), III, 231–234 (§§ 270–277). Arch. Sergius, *The Complete Menologion of the Orient* (sec. ed. Vladimir, 1901), II, 2, 262–263. *Dobrotoljubie*, supplemented in a Russian version (Moscow, 1889), III, 345–346. All these books in Russian.

Theodore himself was the author of several theological writings, some of them not yet published. His best known work is the *Hundred Chapters of Ascetic Life* (κεφάλαια πρακτικά) which was published in the seventeenth century by P. Possinus in his *Thesaurus asceticus* (Paris, 1684, pp. 345 sq.) but not reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.[27] Chapter XL of Pomyalovski's edition (p. 35) explains that Theodore's edifying and instructive talks with the monks of the laura of St. Sabas were written down on the spot by a scribe and divided into a hundred chapters (see above). N. Bonwetsch observes in this connection that, since Pomyalovski did not include the *Hundred Chapters* in his edition, it is impossible to establish how much they have in common with the analogous writings of Theodore of Studion.[28] Bonwetsch's statement is not strictly correct, because, as I have noted, Theodore's *Hundred Chapters* were published by Possinus, and therefore material for a comparison between the two works is available. Among other writings of Theodore of Edessa we may mention Διδασκαλία περὶ πίστεως ὀρθοδόξου and Λόγος πίστεως καὶ διακρίσεως αἱρετικῶν.[29]

In content the *Life* of Theodore is not particularly interesting from the historical point of view. Of course, Theodore himself, who was a native of Edessa, a monk in the Laura of Saint Sabas, later bishop of Edessa, and who finally ended his life in his favorite monastery of Saint Sabas, is an historical personage. Some scattered chronological indications in the *Life* give us more or less approximately several dates. The most important information that we have in the text (ch. LXXXIV, p. 89) is the account of his visit to Constantinople during the reign of Michael III, the last representative of the Amorian dynasty, and his mother, "the blessed" Theodora. We know that their joint rule of the Empire, beginning in 842, ended on the fifteenth of March, 856, when, after the assassination of the Prime Minister Theoctistus, Theodora was deprived of her political power and shortly after ordered to retire with her daughters to a convent where she lived for many

[27] A Slavonic version of this work was published in *Dobrotoljubie* (Moscow, 1889). See the preceding note.

[28] N. Bonwetsch, "Die Vita des Theodor, Erzbischofs von Edessa," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, II (1921), p. 289.

[29] See Krumbacher, p. 152 (Ehrhard). S. Vailhé, "Les écrivains de Mar-Saba," *Echos d'Orient*, II (1898–1899), 43.

years. Even if one is too skeptical to believe that Theodore went to Constantinople, — in my opinion he did — the mention of Michael and Theodora is an unmistakable indication that Theodore lived in the middle of the ninth century.

Before the publication of the Greek text of the *Life* of Theodore there was striking confusion as to the dates of his life. Le Quien thought that Theodore lived under Justin II, Tiberius II, and Maurice (565–602), when the city of Edessa still belonged to the Roman emperors, at any rate before the Arabian epoch (ac saltem ante Saracenica tempora).[30] Fabricius called Theodore an archdeacon of Edessa famous at the beginning of the twelfth century.[31] Assemani stated that Theodore, bishop of Edessa, was, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, among those bishops who caused trouble in the Syriac church after the death of the jacobite patriarch, Athanasius, in 1207.[32] In his *History of Edessa* R. Duval does not mention the name of Theodore among the bishops of Edessa either in the sixth, ninth, or twelfth century.[33]

The title of the *Life* runs in an abridged version as follows: The life of Theodore (whose memory is celebrated) on July 19, famous for his asceticism in the Laura of St. Sabas, later archbishop of the city of Edessa, written by Basil, bishop of Emesa. I shall summarize the contents. His parents, Symeon and Maria, were a wealthy couple of Edessa. After several years of marriage, Maria gave birth to a daughter whose son, Basil, bishop of Emesa, was later to be the author of his uncle's *Life*;[34] but she had no son. After many prayers to the martyr Theodore in which her husband joined, Theodore and the Apostle Paul appeared to them in a dream and announced that Maria would give birth to a son (ch.

[30] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, II (Paris, 1740), 966.

[31] *Fabricii-Harlesii Bibliotheca Graeca*, X (Hamburg, 1807), 387.

[32] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, II (Rome, 1721), 231; 370–371.

[33] R. Duval, *Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Edesse jusqu'à la première Croisade* (Paris, 1892). See the list of bishops from 510 to 603 (p. 197). This book was originally published in *Journal Asiatique*, 1891. In the index of proper names of *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, part IV, by J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1895), p. 205, the name of Theodore, bishop of Edessa, is indicated; but this is a misprint. The reading is properly Theodosius of Edessa, bishop in the ninth century, brother of the historian Dionysius of Tell-Mahré. See p. XIX. R. Duval, *op. cit.*, pp. 264 fol.

[34] *συνοικοῦσα τῷ ἀνδρὶ θυγατρὸς μὲν μιᾶς μήτηρ ἐγεγόνει, τῆς ἐμὲ δηλονότι τεκούσης* (ch. II, p. 3).

III, pp. 2–4). The son was born painlessly and was baptized Theodore. When he was five years old, his parents engaged a teacher to instruct him in the Scriptures, and two years later they sent him to school, where, however, the child revealed neither zeal nor capacity for learning until the local archbishop dedicated him as a reader. After that Theodore became wonderfully successful in various branches of knowledge. One of the teachers of Edessa, the sophist Sophronius, taught him grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. At the age of eighteen Theodore lost his father, the next year his mother. He divided his property between his sister [35] and the poor, and went to Jerusalem. He was then twenty years of age. He spent a week visiting the sanctuaries of Jerusalem and then retired to the Laura (monastery) of St. Sabas, whose abbot, Joannes, consecrated him a monk (ch. IV–X, pp. 4–8). After Joannes' death Theodore retired to an isolated cell where with many privations and religious exercises he spent twenty-four years (ch. XI–XV, pp. 9–12). During this time he wrote "books inspired of God," which have been preserved in the Laura as a great treasure. The fame of his ascetic practices spread wide, and from all quarters people came to him to seek advice and consolation. Among them was a young man from Edessa who decided to stay with Theodore, and became a monk under the name of Michael and one of Theodore's most fervent disciples. Michael, an expert in rope and basket work, sometimes went to Jerusalem to the hospice of the Laura to sell his handiwork and brought back the money gained to the monastery where the abbot used it for the needs of the Laura or distributed it to the poor (ch. XVI–XX, pp. 13–15). Then follows the story of the Arab conquest of Phoenicia and Palestine. The author of the *Life* assigns as the chief cause of this, human sinfulness and the impiety of the Emperor Constans (641–668), Heraclius' grandson, who embraced the Monothelite doctrine, killed his own brother Theodosius, exiled Pope Martin to Chersonesus (*εἰς Χερσῶνα*), mutilated the sainted martyr Maximus, etc. We know that these crimes are historical facts. The author of the Life also knows that under Heraclius (610–641) the Persians were thoroughly defeated and Jerusalem after its recapture as well as Phoenicia and Palestine in general enjoyed peace and good order. Then Muhammed appeared, and the Per-

[35] *μέρος μὲν τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ ἐμῇ δὲ μητρὶ δούς* (ch. VII, p. 7).

sians along with the Arabs with an innumerable army drew near Damascus, which was unsuccessfully defended by two commanders of the Orient (*οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς*), Baanes [36] and Basiliskos. Phoenicia and Palestine, including the holy city of Jerusalem, were conquered. Then follows a description of the oppression of the Christians and the misuse of Christian churches in the Orient (ch. XXI–XXIII, pp. 15–17).

It would of course be futile to expect historical accuracy from the author of the *Life*. It is well known that the appearance of Muhammed and the conquest of Palestine and Syria by the Arabs took place at the time not of Constans but of Heraclius. But a document like the *Life* of Theodore, written to edify, required a cruel and impious emperor to receive a divine visitation such as Muhammed's invasion: Constans was such an emperor. In addition the *Life* attributes the conquest of Palestine and Syria by the Arabs solely to Muhammed, who as the founder of an impious religion entirely eclipsed those orthodox caliphs who achieved a long list of brilliant Arab conquests. Let us note here that the Byzantine general Baanes mentioned in the *Life* is also named in Byzantine sources.[37] I have been unable to find the name of the other Byzantine general, Basiliskos, in this period. This name, then, is a definite new contribution, though slight, to our historical knowledge of the epoch.

The author of the *Life* then relates at length the martyrdom of Theodore's disciple Michael (ch. XXIV–XXXIV, pp. 17–30). According to the legend, a Persian king, Adramelekh (*Ἀδραμέλεχ*) and his wife Seïda (*Σεΐς*) came from Babylon, i.e., Baghdad,[38] to Jerusalem; he treated the Christians mildly and even liked to enter into discussion with them. During their sojourn in Jerusalem Michael made one of his customary trips to sell his handiwork. Seïda saw the handsome young monk and used all means to tempt him but in vain; angered, "the new Egyptian wife" [39] sent Michael in chains to her husband, accusing the monk of insulting her and demanding his death. Adramelekh, struck with Michael's

[36] In the Slavic version *Joan* = Joannes (p. 45). See above, n. 24.

[37] See *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, 337–338.

[38] See the *Life*, p. 72: *ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τῇ παρὰ Πέρσαις νῦν καλουμένῃ Βαγδάδ.*

[39] See the *Life*, p. 18: *μέχρι τῆς θύρας τοῦ καταγωγίου τῆς νέας Αἰγυπτίας.* This of course suggests Potiphar's wife. *Genesis*, XXXIX.

wise rejoinders, tried through "an eloquent Jew learned in the Law" [40] to convert him to Muhammedanism. Thereupon Michael and the Jew conducted a debate on the Apostle Paul and Muhammed, which ended in Michael's triumph to the great enjoyment of the Christian scribes and doctors who attended the debate.[41] This interesting detail has historical basis, for the caliphs are known to have had at their court many Christian doctors, and learned men both Jews and Christians who instructed the Arabs in Greek philosophy and other fields of science as well as furnishing them with Greek manuscripts.[42] Michael was then tortured; although fire and poison failed to hurt him, he was finally beheaded. His remains were buried in the Laura on July 19 by the monks of the monastery of St. Sabas.

The story of the martyr Michael is an independent legend which the author of the *Life* rather clumsily connected with the time of Theodore of Edessa. The author himself says that he included this digression because of its very great edification.[43] In reality it has no connection with the ninth century. The legend of Michael occurs separately in ancient Russian literature.[44] A Georgian version exists of the Passion of Saint Michael, which we shall discuss later, especially in connection with the study of Paul Peeters. This legend has some historical background. The name of Adramelekh in the text is a distorted form of that of Abd-al-Malik (685–705), the very well known Umayyad caliph.[45] Abd-al-Malik's tolerance towards Christians has been noted. He permitted Athanasius, a very wealthy and influential Christian,

[40] The *Life*, p. 22: *εἶχε δὲ καί τινα Ἑβραῖον οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ νομομαθῆ καὶ λόγιον.*

[41] In another place in the *Life*, Christian doctors and scribes at the court of the caliph are mentioned (ch. LXX, pp. 73–74).

[42] See G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, II, 281. Cf. W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall* (London, 1892), p. 463. Ph. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1937), p. 355.

[43] *Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν διήγησιν παρεκβατικώτερον κατέταξα τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ χάριν περισσοτέρας ὠφελείας* (Ch. XXXV, p. 30). Cf. the opening lines of ch. XXXVI, p. 31.

[44] Loparev, "Byzantine Lives of the Saints of the eighth and ninth centuries," *Viz. Vremennik*, XIX (1912–1915), 46. In Russian.

[45] See my review of Pomyalovski's edition, in *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, CCLXXXVI (1893), 203. Loparev, *op. cit.*, p. 62 (both in Russian), P. Peeters, *Anal. Boll.*, XLVIII (1930), 84. In the Georgian version of St. Michael's Passion, translated by Peeters, not only the name of Abd-al-Malik is given, but also that of his father Marwan: Abdalmelik Maruani filius (p. 67, 2).

to rebuild at Edessa the magnificent basilica of the Holy Virgin.[46] Religious debates between Christians and Muhammedans were often staged in his presence.[47]

After this excursus on the life and martyrdom of St. Michael, the *Life* comes back to Theodore telling of his asceticism with all its privations and self-restraint as well as of his edifying conversations with the monks, one of which is given in the text (ch. XXXIX, pp. 32–35). These instructive discourses, as we have noted above, were written down by a scribe who attended the audience, and were divided into one hundred chapters (ch. XXXV–XL, pp. 30–35). They have come down to us entire. The *Life* then proceeds to a very interesting passage which has in my opinion great historical significance.

"At that time," during the Passion Week and the Easter period, the Patriarch of Antioch accompanied by his bishops was in Jerusalem. He came to worship at the Holy Sepulchre as well as to arrange "some ecclesiastical matters."[48] During his sojourn at Jerusalem, the clergy and laymen of Edessa addressed a petition to him and to the Patriarch of Jerusalem begging for a new bishop for their city; they complained that their city had no spiritual head and that various heresies were flourishing dangerously. After careful investigation, the two Patriarchs and the members of the synod unanimously decided that Theodore should be appointed bishop of Edessa. The Patriarch of Jerusalem wrote Theodore to come immediately to Jerusalem, without explaining the reason for the summons. When Theodore arrived, the decision of the Patriarchs and the synod was announced to him. He at first declined to take such a high post, but later, yielding to their unanimous desire, accepted it, and on Holy Thursday of the Passion Week he was ordained by the Patriarch of Antioch. During the religious service, according to the *Life*, a white dove descended upon the head of the new bishop, and the two Patriarchs, the bishops and the priests, seeing this miracle, praised God. After having spent Good Friday, Holy Saturday,[49] and Easter Sunday with the Patri-

[46] R. Duval, *Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Edesse* (Paris, 1892), p. 256.

[47] See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 354.

[48] *τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διά τινας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ὑποθέσεις* (Ch. XLI, p. 35).

[49] *τήν τε μεγάλην παρασκευὴν τὸ ἅγιόν τε σάββατον* (ch. XLII, p. 38).

archs and other clergy, Theodore left Jerusalem, on Monday of Easter week,[50] for his beloved Laura of St. Sabas in order to take leave of its community of monks. After saying farewell with deep emotion he returned to Jerusalem and there spent the Sunday after Easter Sunday.[51] The next day, probably, he left the Patriarchs and bishops and went to Edessa, accompanied by the author of the *Life*, his nephew Basil of Emesa, and two other brethren (ch. XLI–XLIV, pp. 35–39).

This section of the *Life* is of great historical value. The text says that during the Passion Week and Easter the Patriarch of Antioch accompanied by his bishops was in Jerusalem, worshipping at the Holy Sepulchre as well as arranging "some ecclesiastical matters." What were these ecclesiastical matters? To my mind there is no doubt that they included the compilation by the three Orthodox (Melkite) Patriarchs in the Orient, those of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, of a letter to the Emperor Theophilus on his iconoclastic policy. The *Life* mentions only two Patriarchs present at that time in Jerusalem, those of Jerusalem and Antioch. Why the Patriarch of Alexandria was not mentioned we shall explain later in a special chapter devoted to this letter. The year and month of its compilation are given in the title of the letter, April, 836.[52] Easter in 836 fell on April 9, so that the events of the *Life* fall into the following order. On Holy Thursday, April 6, Theodore was ordained bishop of Edessa; Good Friday, Holy Saturday, and Easter Sunday, April 7, 8, and 9, Theodore spent at Jerusalem; on Monday of Easter week, April 10, he left for the Laura of St. Sabas; Sunday after Easter Sunday, April 16, he was back in Jerusalem; and probably next day, Monday, April 17, he left Jerusalem for Edessa.[53]

Let us resume the exposition of the content of the *Life*. As we have seen, Theodore, accompanied by Basil of Emesa and two

[50] *ἐξέρχεται τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς διακινησίμου πρὸς τὴν λαύραν* (*ibidem*). *Ἡ διακινήσιμος* = *ἡ διακαινήσιμος*. This was the name of the week following Easter Sunday; it comes from the adjective *καινός* — *καινὴ ἑβδομάς*, i.e., new week, week of renovation.

[51] *τὴν νέαν κυριακὴν ἐκεῖσε τελέσας* (ch. XLIII, p. 39). For the adjective *νέαν* cf. the preceding note.

[52] See the latest edition of the text of this letter, with an Italian translation, by L. Duchesne, "L'iconographie byzantine dans un document grec du IXe siècle," Roma e Oriente, Anno III, V (November 1912–April 1913), 225: *μηνὶ Ἀπριλλίῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδ', ἔτους ϛτμδ'* (6344).

[53] On the letter of the three Patriarchs to Theophilus see chapter V.

other brethren, left Jerusalem for Edessa. During the first part of his journey, before reaching the Euphrates, Theodore was overwhelmed with poignant sorrow and even decided to flee back to his favorite laura, but a celestial vision comforted him and he gave up this intention. Beyond the Euphrates the new shepherd was joyfully welcomed by the population of the city of Harran (Karrhai) and the neighboring regions. Finally he reached Edessa; the representatives of the church and of the lay administration as well as masses of people streamed out of the city to meet their new bishop. Immediately on his arrival Theodore visited the Cathedral of Our Lord and was overjoyed to see that in beauty and size it was in no way inferior to the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem; then he visited all other local shrines and finally rested in the episcopal building (ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπείῳ), which became his permanent abode. Finding some deeply rooted heretic doctrines in the city, Theodore on an early Sunday delivered a very lengthy sermon instructing his new flock to hold fast to the decrees of the first six Ecumenical Councils and of the Seventh Council, which had recently been held at Nicaea and had condemned iconoclasm. Theodore named the most important heretics, Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Sabellius, and others, and discussed and refuted their doctrines. This sermon clearly reveals Theodore's attitude towards the holy images whose worship was first restored in 787 at the Seventh Ecumenical Council. Theodore discloses himself as an ardent iconworshipper, and some passages in the sermon mention "all-sacred" icons, especially in connection with the decrees of the last Ecumenical Council of 787. Finally Theodore exclaims, "Who does not anathematize (among many other heretics indicated in the sermon) those who disregard the worshipping of sacred and holy icons?"[54] This sermon was delivered in 836, shortly after Theodore's ordination as bishop of Edessa, which took place as we know in April of that year. It would not be amiss to point out that neither the emperors

[54] See pp. 44 (ch. XLVI), 45, 47 (ch. XLVII); see also p. 92 (ch. LXXXVI), which describes Theodore's return from Constantinople to Baghdad, bringing a cross and a holy icon of Christ. In this connection, I do not well understand a note inserted by the editors of the French edition of my book *Byzance et les Arabes*, which runs as follows: "It is remarkable that in the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa, a hagiographic novel of the time of Michael III, there is no question of icons but much of the cross." A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I (Brussels, 1935), p. 38, n. 4.

of the second iconoclastic period, Leo V the Armenian, Michael II the Stammerer, and Theophilus, Theodore's contemporaries, nor the final restoration of iconworship in 843 by Theophilus' wife, the "blessed" Theodora, are mentioned in the *Life*.[55] Theodore's whole sermon pulsated with zeal for Orthodoxy and hatred of heretics and iconoclasts (ch. XLIV–LIII, pp. 39–52).

Several shrines at Edessa are mentioned in the *Life*. The most important church was the Cathedral of Our Lord,[56] which in the seventh century was visited by the Emperor Heraclius.[57] There was also the Church of the Holy Apostles, where Theodore's mother had prayed for a son,[58] and the chapel or martyry (*Martyrion*) dedicated to the Great Confessors, Gourias, Samonas, and Abibas,[59] whose relics were seen in Constantinople in 1200 by a Russian pilgrim, Antony, the archbishop of Novgorod.[60] There were many other churches whose names are not given in the *Life*.[61] In addition, in the vicinity of Edessa was a nunnery with a very strict rule [62] and the Church of Saint George, the burial place of the stylite Theodosius, who spent most of his life on a pillar in its vicinity.[63] It is worth noting that the famous ἀχειροποίητος (not made with hands) Image of Christ, which in 944 was transported from Edessa to Constantinople, is not mentioned in the *Life*.[64]

[55] The name of Theodora is given in the *Life* later, in connection with Theodore's visit to Constantinople (p. 89, ch. LXXXIV).

[56] *εἰς τὸ κυριακὸν ἀφίκετο, τὴν καθολικὴν, φημὶ ἐκκλησίαν.* Ch. XLV, pp. 40–41.

[57] R. Duval, *Histoire d'Edesse*, pp. 239–240.

[58] *πρὸς τὸν θεῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ναὸν.* Ch. III, p. 3.

[59] *πρὸς τὸ μαρτύριον ἀπῄει τῶν μεγάλων ὁμολογητῶν Γουρία, Σαμονᾶ καὶ Ἀβίβου.* Ch. XLV, p. 41.

[60] *The Journey of the Archbishop of Novgorod, Antony, to Tsargrad*, ed. by P. Savvaitov (St. Petersburg, 1872), p. 151; ed. by Ch. Loparev, in the *Palestinsky Sbornik*, 51 (St. Petersburg, 1899), 31; 60; 89. Both in Old Russian. *Itinéraires russes en Orient, traduits par Mme. B. de Khitrowo*, I, 1 (Geneva, 1889), p. 106. "Le Livre du Pèlerin d'Antoine de Novgorod," trad. par Marcelle Ehrhard, *Romania*, LVIII (1932), 61–62. On Gourias, Samonas and Abibas see Arch. Sergius, *The Complete Menologion of the Orient* (Sec. ed. Vladimir, 1901), II, 2, p. 471 (November 15). In Russian. The Greek text of their *Lives* by Symeon Metaphrastes, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CXVI, 127–162. On Syriac versions Duval, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–134.

[61] *τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ περιφανεῖς κατιδὼν ἐκκλησίας.* Ch. XLV, p. 41.

[62] Ch. LXII–LXIV, pp. 62–63.

[63] Pp. 67; 69; 91; 117.

[64] The legend of the Image of Christ still survives among the people of Edessa. See for instance, H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der*

We need not wonder that Theodore, as we have noted above, was so pleasantly surprised on his arrival in Edessa at the beauty and size of the Cathedral. It was a remarkable piece of architecture and in the middle ages was considered one of the wonders of the world. Arab geographers unanimously praise the beauty of the church. Masudi, Ibn-al-Faqih, and Maqdisi (Muqaddasi) write that this church belongs among the "four" wonders of the world.[65] Ibn-Khurdadhbeh, Ibn-Rustah (Rosteh), Ibn-al-Faqih (in another place) say that no other monument of stone can surpass in beauty the church of Edessa.[66] Al-Istakhri and Ibn-Hawqal state that in the whole empire of Islam there is no greater church than the church at Edessa.[67] A later Arabian geographer, Abulfeda, writes that Edessa, in his time lying in ruins, once was a great city with a large church and over three hundred Christian monasteries.[68] A German traveller in the second half of the nineteenth century remarks that the beautiful mosque at Edessa, Ulu Djami, may be the site of the church that the older Arabian geographers and travellers praised as one of the wonders of the world.[69]

In 825, a little before the arrival of Theodore in Edessa, the governor of Mesopotamia, Muhammed-ibn-Tahir, according to R. Duval, ordered all newly built churches of Edessa to be demolished, i.e., the church of the Forty Martyrs, the sacristy and treasury of the Cathedral, the northern chambers of the Baptistery, the basilicas, and the nunnery of Orthodox nuns.[70] The text of the *Life* gives no indication of any such destruction.

One day Theodore made an expedition into the surrounding country. He was struck by the sight of many well constructed pillars, and asked their purpose from the priests who accompanied

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Türkei (6. Auflage, Berlin, 1893), p. 242 (*Gesammelte Schriften und Denkwürdigkeiten des General-Feldmarschalls Grafen H. von Moltke*, VIII).

[65] *Masudi, Tenbih. Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, VIII, 144. Maçoudi, *Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, trad. par B. Carra de Vaux (Paris, 1897), p. 198. Ibn-al-Faqih, *Bibl. geog. arab.*, V, 106. Maqdisi, *ib.*, III, 141, 147. Maçoudi, *Prairies d'or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, II (Paris, 1863), p. 331.

[66] Ibn Chordadbeh, *Bibl. geogr. arab.*, VI, 161 (Arabic text) and 123 (French translation). Ibn-Rosteh, *ib.*, VII, 83. Ibn-al-Faqih, *ib.*, V, 134.

[67] Al-Istakhri, *ib.*, I, 76. Ibn-Haukal, *ib.*, II, 154.

[68] *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, trad. par Stanislas Guyard, II, part II (Paris, 1883), p. 52.

[69] Ed. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 194.

[70] Duval, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

him. He was told that they had been erected at the time of the pious Emperor Maurice and had at various periods been the dwelling places of many stylites. Now one stylite only remained, an old man named Theodosius; his age was unknown but he had reputedly been living on the pillar for ninety-five years.[71] Theodore returned to his episcopal abode; but next morning, accompanied by a few servants, he again left the city to visit the stylite. They had a number of long conversations. Theodosius predicted to Theodore his conversion to Christianity of a Persian king, and told him a legendary story of a rich man, Ader (Ἄδερ), who gave up all his wealth and settled in the Laura of Saint Sabas under the name of Athanasius; his youngest son occupied the patriarchal throne in Jerusalem for seven years.[72] Finally the stylite told him the story of his own life. He had, he said, lived and prayed on the pillar for forty-nine years (cf. p. 53, l. 6 of the text: 95 years). At Theodosius' suggestion Theodore visited a nearby nunnery. Theodore submitted to the stylite a plan to go to "Babylon, which now by the Persians is called Baghdad" [73] to meet the king and explain to him the desperate situation of his diocese because of the wide spread of heresy. Theodosius gave his full approval to the idea (ch. LIV–LXX, pp. 52–73). This section of the *Life* gives us very interesting information as to the number of stylites formerly living in this region, whose memories had been preserved in numerous pillars still standing at that time.

H. Delehaye, the author of an excellent monograph on the Stylites, is of course perfectly familiar with Pomyalovski's edition of the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa. In one place he writes, "If one may rely on information taken from the curious *Life* of S. Theodore, bishop of Edessa, a great number of pillars must have been built in the neighborhood of this city during the reign of the Emperor Maurice, and many stylites at various epochs must have lived there." [74] In another passage he places more credence in the

[71] P. 53, l. 6: *ἀκηκοέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ*. This seems to mean *he heard from him*. But cf. p. 67, l. 15: 49 years.

[72] Two patriarchs of Jerusalem occupied the throne for seven years: John III (517–524) and Amos (594–601). Loparev, "Byzantine Lives of the Saints of the eighth and ninth centuries," *Viz. Vrem.*, XIX (1912–1915), 50 (in Russian).

[73] *εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τῇ παρὰ Πέρσαις νῦν καλουμένῃ Βαγδάδ* (Ch. LXIX, p. 72, see above).

[74] H. Delehaye, *Les Saints Stylites* (Brussels–Paris, 1923), p. CXXIII.

Life. We read: "Upon one of the pillars which stood at the outskirts of his episcopal city, Theodore of Edessa remarked an old stylite who had been there, it was said, for ninety-five years. The Bishop visited him, became his friend, and confided in him. The old man had ascended the pillar more than fifty years previously. He died at a very advanced age and was buried by the Bishop in the church of Saint George." [75]

We know that stylites lived in the region of Edessa long before the time of Theodore. In the second half of the fourth century under Theodosius the Great, a stylite, Theodulus, in the vicinity of Edessa stayed on his pillar forty-eight years.[76] In the eighth century another stylite, Thomas of Tela, lived between Nisibis and Edessa.[77] The *Life* accordingly gives corroboration of an earlier intensive religious life in the region of Edessa, one manifestation of which was the very strange method of saving one's soul and attaining heavenly bliss by spending one's life on top of a pillar. Loparev's suggestion that the pillars around Edessa might originally have been fortified places is quite unnecessary.[78]

One rather puzzling point arises in this connection. The *Life* states that these pillars were erected at the time of the pious Emperor Maurice. Maurice was the third emperor after Justinian the Great and reigned from 582 to 602, in other words about two hundred and fifty years before the time of Theodore of Edessa. In respect to his religious policy it is usually said that he, his two predecessors, and his murderer and successor, Phocas, were firmly orthodox. Perhaps we may now modify this statement somewhat.

The tragic death of Maurice and all the members of his family left a deep impression on the masses of the people. At the orders of Phocas, the five sons of the fallen emperor were slain in their father's presence, and then Maurice himself was killed. Their bodies were thrown into the waters of the bay while their severed heads were exposed to public view in Constantinople. Maurice's

[75] H. Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. CXXIX. Delehaye does not name the stylite; but he is undoubtedly the Theodosius mentioned many times in the *Life* (see pp. 52; 79; 80; 117). Delehaye makes no attempt to resolve the discrepancy already noted as to the number of years the stylite spent on the pillar.

[76] *Idem*, p. CXVIII.

[77] *Idem*, p. CXXVI.

[78] Loparev, *loc. cit.*, p. 48.

widow Constantina and her three daughters were placed in a convent and later (605) put to death.[79] But there is a tradition that one of Maurice's daughters and his sister escaped the massacre and took refuge in Jerusalem. An epitaph discovered on a mosaic in Jerusalem giving the name of Anatolia of Arabissos, which was Maurice's native city, may be that of the sister of the unfortunate emperor.[80] Her name is not elsewhere given us. In the Greek Menologion under November 9 we have the commemoration of "Saints Eustolia and Sosipatra (Sopatra), daughter of the Emperor Maurice." [81] No doubt the Eustolia of the Menologion is the Anatolia of the epitaph; and as these two names, Eustolia and Sosipatra, are connected in the Menologion and Sosipatra is specified as daughter of the Emperor Maurice, we may well conclude that Anatolia (Eustolia) was the name of Maurice's sister.

The tragic death of Maurice and the bravery he revealed in his last hours excited great compassion for him, and the bloody rule of his murderer Phocas strengthened this feeling. Legends began to arise. One of him is reported by John of Antioch. It seemed to Maurice that he was standing in one of the halls of his palace and a divine voice asked him if he wished punishment for his sins in this life or the next. Maurice chose this life and the voice told him that he would be delivered over to a soldier, Phocas.[82] This story is related by Theophanes with more embellishments.[83] The story of another sign predicting the manner of Maurice's death is told in the *Life* of Saint Theodore Sykeotes, Maurice's contempo-

[79] On this date see Yvonne Janssens, "Les Bleus et les Verts sous Maurice, Phocas et Héraclius," *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 519; 521.

[80] S. A. Couret, *La Palestine sous les empereurs grecs, 326–636* (Grenoble, 1869), p. 213. H. Vincent et F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire.* Vol. II. *Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris, 1914), p. 921. See the epitaph in *Revue biblique*, XXXIV (1925), 375; according to the inscription, Anatolia breathed her last on October 21 of the third indiction, which falls on the years 615 and 630 (*ibidem*, 376–377).

[81] Arch. Sergius, *The Complete Menologion of the Orient*, II, 1, p. 348. Sergius gives even the dates of their deaths: Eustolia died in 610 and Sosipatra about 625. These two holy women are mentioned in the Russian book of Filaret, *Podvižnicy vostočnoy cerkvi* (Holy Women of the Oriental Church), 1871. I have not seen this book.

[82] Joannes Antioch., *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, V, 1 (Paris, 1870), 36, fr. 218 d. Also Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 285; a few words in *Anastasii Chronographia Tripertita*, ed. de Boor, 174–175.

[83] Theophanes, 284–286 = *Anastasii Chron. Trip.*, 175–176. On these legends see Kulakovski, *History of Byzantium*, II (Kiev, 1912), 494–496 (in Russian).

rary.[84] Legends predicting the tragic end of Maurice and his family as well as the actual details of their cruel fate passed from Greek into Russian sources and were given in some detail in *The Russian Chronograph of the Version of the Year 1512* under the reign of Phocas "the Tormenter,"[85] as well as in *The Russian Chronograph of the Western Russian Version*, which was compiled approximately at the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century.[86]

As a result of his martyr's death Maurice became a saint in the Greek Orthodox Church. November 28 is the day of the commemoration of the "Orthodox Tsars Constantine and Maurice and their Children." According to Archbishop Sergius Constantine is Constantine II who reigned for a few months in 641.[87] The *Life* of Theodore of Edessa offers corroboration by stating that under "the pious Emperor Maurice" many pillars were erected in the region of Edessa and stylites thereupon performed their strange religious exercises.

But was Maurice strictly Orthodox? Recently a very interesting question has been raised by Yvonne Janssens concerning the political faction on which Maurice relied. From her conscientious study we learn that the Greens were his favorite faction and that they finally betrayed him.[88] Her thesis, sharply criticized by Fr. Dölger and vigorously supported by H. Grégoire,[89] is in my opinion quite justifiable. Her evidence, a scholium to Theophylact Simocatta in the *Vaticanus Graecus* 977, a scholium to Procopius

[84] Θεοφίλου Ἰωάννου Μνημεῖα Ἁγιολογικά (Venice, 1884), pp. 468–469. I do not quite understand why L. Bréhier calls Theodore Sykeotes *père spirituel* of Maurice. *Histoire de l'église. . . .* A. Fliche et V. Martin. 5. *Grégoire le Grand, les Etats barbares et la conquête arabe* par L. Bréhier et R. Aigrain (Paris, 1938), p. 15.

[85] *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles* (*Polnoe Sobranie Russkich Letopisei*), XXII (St. Petersburg, 1911), 301–302 (*Russian Chronograph*, part I).

[86] *Ibidem*, XXII, part II (Petrograd, 1914), 117–118. On its dating see p. I.

[87] Arch. Sergius, *op. cit.*, II, 1, 369. In a Greek Synaxarium the name of the Emperor *Maurikios* is given as *Nerikios*. The Constantine just mentioned is perhaps not Constantine II, whose reign lasted a few months only, but Constantine IV (668–685), who in 680 convoked the Sixth Ecumenical Council. See Arch. Sergius, II, 1, 269 (under September 3).

[88] Yvonne Janssens, "Les Bleus et les Verts sous Maurice, Phocas et Héraclius," *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 499–536.

[89] Fr. Dölger, in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXVII (1937), 542–543. H. Grégoire, "L'empereur Maurice s'appuyait-il sur les Verts ou sur les Bleus?" *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov* (*Seminarium Kondakovianum*), X (1938), 107–111.

in the *Vaticanus Graecus* 152,[90] a passage in the *Chronographia* of Theophanes,[91] and especially the locus classicus [92] in the *Ecclesiastical History* of the Syrian writer John of Ephesus,[93] is abundant and valuable, derived from various sources, and cannot be neglected or discarded. Maurice was favorably disposed towards the Greens. The factions in Byzantium represented not only political and social elements of prime importance in the internal life of the Empire, but also specific religious interests, and the Greens were always connected with the Monophysitic doctrine; we may hence conclude that Maurice was favorably inclined to the Monophysites. These considerations are important to me because they help to explain a document so far neglected. I refer to a legendary history of Maurice written in Syriac, published and translated into French by F. Nau.[94]

This piece of literature was compiled by an anonymous Syrian writer, a Jacobite, that is a Monophysite. The title follows: *A History of Saint Maurice, the Emperor of the Romans*.[95] The Syrian Jacobite or Monophysite Church thus considered Maurice a saint. In his preface to the edition F. Nau remarks: "Maurice, the Oriental Emperor, 582–602, continually maintained close relations with the See of Saint Peter, and it is strange that the Jacobites claim him and make a martyr of him." [96] This *History of Saint Maurice* first describes his virtues, especially as a judge, and gives the distribution of his time: "the first three hours of the

[90] S. P. Maas, "Metrische Acclamationen der Byzantiner," *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, XXI (1912), 29, n. 1 (the older editions of the scholia are indicated). Y. Janssens, *op. cit.*, 499–500.

[91] Theophanes, 287.

[92] See H. Grégoire, *op. cit.*, 110, n. 6.

[93] R. Payne Smith, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford, 1860), 360 (V, 21). E. W. Brooks, *Johannis Ephesini Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pars tertia* (Louvain, 1936), p. 206 (*Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Scriptores syri. Versio. Series tertia.* Tomus III).

[94] "Les légendes syriaques d'Aaron de Saroug, de Maxime et Domèce, d'Abraham, maître de Barsoma et de l'empereur Maurice." Texte syriaque édité et traduit par F. Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis*, V (1910), 695 (287)–778 (370).

[95] F. Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis*, V (1910), 773 (365)–778 (370).

[96] Nau, *ibidem*, 698 (290). L. Bréhier, paraphrasing Nau's statement, writes, "It is not clear why the Syriac legend made this emperor a saint since he was always in communion with Rome." *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, publiée sous la direction de A. Fliche et V. Martin. 4. De la mort de Théodose à l'élection de Grégoire le Grand* par P. de Labriolle, G. Bardy, L. Bréhier, G. de Plinval (Paris, 1937), p. 489.

day he devoted to rendering judgments, the next two to matters of state, two more to listening to reports and giving orders, the eighth and ninth to taking food, three hours to prayer, and four hours to sleep. As to the remaining eight, he attended divine service with diligence and recited (the psalms) of David." Growing old, he often prayed God to punish him on earth for his sins and not to deprive him of the perfect recompense of heaven. After he had once prayed to this effect three hours, an angel appeared to him saying: "Thou hast fatigued God by thy prayer long ago. . . . If thou wishest to have the most elevated recompense (above) and be punished here below, thy punishment will be as follows: thou willst lose thine empire, thy children will be massacred before thine eyes, and finally thine enemies will burn thee. Choose what thou wishest. In twenty days I shall return to see thee and what thou choosest shall befall thee." At the end of twenty days the angel appeared and asked Maurice his decision. The Emperor answered that he had chosen earthly suffering and death, and the angel left him. Two days later Phocas' revolt broke out. Phocas said to the Romans: "If Maurice or one of his children lives, the Roman Empire will be without strength, and its enemies will not be subdued. If you listen to me, we will destroy him with all his family and make him perish the last." All the Romans answered unanimously and said to him, "Do what thou wishest; we are with thee." Then follows the story of Maurice's death. Maurice was captured, and in his presence all his sons were slain. A story well known in our Greek sources of the attempt of a nurse to save the youngest son is also told in Syriac tradition. The end of the Syriac story differs from the Greek tradition. The Syriac version follows. "Phocas and the nobles had a boat brought and put wood within it. They poured naphtha on the wood, then brought Maurice with bound hands and placed him in the middle of the vessel. They set fire to the wood around Maurice and launched the boat. The fire blazed up swiftly. The flames increased behind Maurice and burnt through the bonds that fastened his hands and he lifted his hands towards heaven, thanking God aloud that He had judged him worthy of that grace (of earthly punishment). The inhabitants of Constantinople remained in their dwellings and heard the praises that

Maurice was addressing to God. Such was the end of his life, and his battle was won." [97]

In the Syriac version, as I have noted above, some details differ from Greek tradition. The anonymous author, as Nau writes, dramatizes the story by the intervention of an angel and assumes that Maurice was burnt alive; he does not know the legend of the survival of Maurice's oldest son, Theodosius, nor that of the survival of the youngest son who was supposedly saved by his nurse and who died at Sinai.[98] This legend was written by a monk of Sinai, Anastasius, who wrote some time after 650.[99] A monk, extremely reserved and silent, took up his residence at Sinai. No one knew who he was. After two years he died and was buried. Next day another monk died. When the tomb was reopened in order to bury him, the corpse of the monk who had been buried the preceding day had disappeared. He had been carried off by God to heaven. It was then thought that he was Maurice's youngest son, saved by his nurse's sacrifice of her own child, when the tyrant Phocas killed the rest of Maurice's sons in the Hippodrome. When he grew up, the nurse told him his story, and he consecrated himself to God as payment for the one who had been put to death in his place.[100]

I have dwelt on the Syriac text at some length for two reasons. First, if I am not mistaken, it has never been considered by those scholars especially interested in the reign of Maurice. Secondly,

[97] Nau, *op. cit.*, 778 (370).

[98] Nau, *op. cit.*, 767 (359).

[99] F. Nau, *Les récits inédits du moine Anastase. Contribution à l'histoire du Sinai au commencement du VIIe siècle. Traduction française* (Paris, 1902), pp. 30–31. This is an offprint of the study printed in *Revue de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, VII (1902), 1–26 and 110–151. The Greek text is published in the *Oriens christianus*, II (1902), 58–89.

[100] The same tradition is recorded by the Christian Arabian historian of the tenth century, Eutychius of Alexandria. *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho, I (Beirut-Paris, 1906), 215 (Arabic text). *Corp. Scr. Christ. Oriental. Scriptores arabici. Textus, serie tertia.* T. VI. A Latin translation in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CXI, col. 1082. N. Adontz's article *Les légendes de Maurice et de Constantin V empereurs de Byzance* has no relation whatever to the legend which is being discussed in this study. Adontz deals with a very debatable question on the Armenian origin of Maurice. *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales*, II (Brussels, 1933–1934). *Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 1–12. See also A. Merk's *Review* of an Armenian book of H. K. Ter Sahakean, "Die armenischen Kaiser von Byzanz," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XIX (1910), 547–550.

I think this text gives good support for the thesis of Miss Y. Janssens and H. Grégoire that Maurice favored the Greens, i.e. the Monophysites or Jacobites. This entirely answers the doubts expressed many years ago by F. Nau and recently by L. Bréhier, as to why Maurice was considered a saint by the Jacobites. He has the very rare distinction of being considered a saint by both the Greek Orthodox and the Monophysitic Churches. The *Life* of Theodore of Edessa in its relation of the pillars erected during Maurice's time gives a reflection of an Orthodox tradition. The legendary Syriac History of Saint Maurice shows traces of a Monophysitic tradition.

In chapters LXX–CXI (pp. 73–116) the *Life* tells a most interesting story of Theodore's journey to Babylon (Baghdad) to the Persian King Muawiyah (Μαυΐας), the latter's conversion to Christianity, Theodore's journey to Constantinople, his return to Babylon and later to Edessa, and the martyr's death of the new convert under his Christian name of Ioannes. I shall discuss this story in detail in the third section of my study.

Through a vision Theodore learned of Muawiyah's (Ioannes') death; some time later a deacon arrived from Babylon and told Theodore the details. A few days later the old stylite Theodosius died. The local bishop brought his body down from his pillar and piously buried it in the Church of Saint George. Theodore felt deep grief at the death of these two close friends and did not long survive them. Three years after Muawiyah's death he appeared in a dream to Theodore and beckoned him. Theodore assembled his flock, took leave of them, and departed first to Jerusalem and thence to the Laura of Saint Sabas to his former cell. There three weeks later he breathed his last. The abbot (higumen) of the Laura immediately informed the Patriarch of Jerusalem of Theodore's death. The Patriarch came to the Laura and took part in the solemn funeral service. On July 19 Theodore's body was buried near the grave of "his kinsman and martyr" Michael.[101] The *Life* ends with the statement of Basil, its author, that he has performed his task to the best of his ability but inadequately for the dignity of the subject (ch. CXII–CXV, pp. 116–120).

At the beginning of the twelfth century, the first Russian pilgrim, Daniel, on a visit to the monastery of Saint Sabas saw there

[101] τοῦ συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ καὶ μάρτυρος.

the relics of many saints, among them Saint Theodore of Edessa and his kinsman Michael. According to Daniel, "the relics are in a state of perfect preservation and exhale an undefinable fragrance." [102]

The commemoration of Theodore of Edessa by the Greek Orthodox Church is held on July 9 and July 19. In the *Complete Menologion of the Orient* for July 9 is written "(Commemoration) of Saint Theodore, bishop of Edessa, and along with him other saints in the ninth century (842–857)." [103] For July 19 in the *Menologion* we read only, "(Commemoration) of Theodore, bishop of Edessa," with a reference back to July 9.[104] According to the *Life* Theodore was buried on July 19 so that July 9 may have been the day of his death according to church tradition.

From the date of the *Life* Loparev tried to establish a more or less plausible chronology of Theodore's life.[105] According to Loparev Theodore was born about 793, baptized in 795, began his education in 798, lost his father in 811 and his mother in 812; in 813 he retired to the Laura of Saint Sabas where he lived a very strict monastic life till 836. In this year he became bishop of Edessa. He made his journey from Baghdad to Constantinople between 850 and 856 and died in the sixties of the ninth century. In one of his notes Loparev writes that a certain Father Augustine [106] gave him another chronology of Theodore's life. Born in 800, he began his education in 806, was ordained in 808, became monk in a monastery in 820, anchorite in 823, bishop in 856, and died in 867.[107] This chronology is much less acceptable than that established by Loparev. As we have seen above, Theodore was made bishop of Edessa in 836 and as such went to Constantinople

[102] "Choždenie Daniila" (*The Pilgrimage of Daniel*), ed. by Venevitinov, *Palestinski Sbornik*, I, part 3 (St. Petersburg, 1884), 55 (in old Russian). *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, trad. par Mme B. de Khitrowo, I, 1 (Geneva, 1889), 34; ch. XXXVIII. Archbishop Sergius, *The Complete Menologion of the Orient* (sec. ed., II, 2, Vladimir, 1901), p. 263 (in Russian).

[103] Sergius, *op. cit.*, II, 1, p. 207; also II, 2, pp. 262–263. On p. 207 are some interesting references to Slavonic sources.

[104] *Ibidem*, p. 218.

[105] Loparev, "Byzantine Lives of the Saints of the eighth and ninth Centuries," *Viz. Vremennik*, XIX (1912–1915), 47 and 61–62 (in Russian). From Loparev L. Bréhier, "L'hagiographie byzantine des VIIIe et IXe siècles, hors des limites de l'Empire et en Occident," *Journal des Savants* (1917), pp. 16–17.

[106] I do not know the identity of this Father Augustine.

[107] See Loparev, *op. cit.*, 62, n. 1.

before 856, when Theophilus' mother, the Empress Theodora, whose name is mentioned in the *Life,* resigned her power and retired to a convent.

The legend of Theodore of Edessa was very well known and affected later legends. In this respect one text is worth noting which, as far as I recollect, has never previously been quoted. In 1890 a Russian scholar, L. N. Maïkov, discovered a Slavonic manuscript containing the description of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, Alexandria, and finally Constantinople which possibly was written down by a priest of Novgorod, Gregory Kalekas (about 1321–1322). This text was carefully examined by Chr. Loparev, who in 1898 published a very interesting study on the subject.[108] According to the text an unnamed prince paid a visit to Constantinople. This prince could not be a Byzantine Emperor because he was not familiar with Constantinople; a Slavonic prince is also improbable. One possibility only remains: an Oriental prince who adopted Christianity. Several legends on such princes I shall mention later. According to Loparev the legend under consideration is based on several traditions; but the main legend is based on the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa, whose Slavonic versions were known in Mediaeval Russia.[109] The anonymous Pilgrim, though he took for model the bishop of Edessa and the Persian king whom he converted, changed the data of Theodore's life to suit his own time. The Laura of Saint Sabas in Palestine became the monastery of Saint Andrew the Simple in Constantinople; the baptism of Manichaeans and other heretics in the *Life* of Theodore is replaced by the baptism of Franks (*Friazi*). The tragic martyr's death of the Persian king in Theodore's *Life* is omitted by the Anonymous; it was enough for him that the king was converted to Christianity. Some details approximate closely to those in Theodore's life.[110]

[108] Chr. Loparev, "An Anonymous Russian Description of Constantinople (*ca.* 1321)," *Izvestija Otdelenija Russkago Jazyka i Slovesnosti,* III, book 2 (1898), 339–357 (in Russian).

[109] Referring to my review of Pomyalovski's edition, Loparev says that I stated that the Russian pilgrim Daniel used a Slavonic version of the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa (p. 344). I made no such statement. I wrote only that at the beginning of the twelfth century the first Russian pilgrim, Daniel, saw Theodore's relics in the Laura of Saint Sabas (my review, p. 208).

[110] The description of Constantinople given by the Anonymous Pilgrim is very interesting. It was used neither by J. Ebersolt (*Constantinople Byzantine et les*

It is interesting to note that the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa was known in ancient Russian literature. An epistle exists from Joseph Sanin, abbot of the Volokolamsk monastery, often referred to as Josif Volotski, to Boris Vasilievich Kutuzov.[111] At that time, at the end of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth, under the Russian Grand Prince Ivan III (1462–1505), the so-called "heresy of the Judaizers" was spreading in Russia and Joseph Sanin was a brilliant and energetic leader of the anti-Judaizing party.[112] In his epistle to Boris Vasilievich Kutuzov, Joseph Sanin refers to Saint Theodore, bishop of Edessa, who endured many evils from heretics; they even came to kill him and seize the church property. But Theodore had gone to Babylon to an infidel king from whom he received help; so he preserved the holy churches intact.[113] This passage in Joseph Sanin's epistle is merely an abridgment of the Greek text in Pomyalovski's edition, chapter LXIX, pp. 71–72.

Later, in the seventeenth century, Archpriest (*Protopop*) Avvakum, who was burned for his opposition to the religious reforms of Patriarch Nikon, mentions Theodore of Edessa in his autobiography, one of the outstanding works of Old Russian literature. In order to prove that God can act even through vile tools, Avvakum recollects that Saint Theodore of Edessa was regenerated by a prostitute. He writes, "Read the Life of Theodore of Edessa, thou willst find: a prostitute has restored to life a dead man." [114] I have not yet been able to identify this reference in Pomyalovski's Greek text.

Voyageurs du Levant, Paris, 1918) nor by myself ("Quelques remarques sur les voyageurs du moyen âge à Constantinople," *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, I, 293–298).

[111] I am greatly indebted to Prof. G. V. Vernadsky, Yale University, for his help in the identification of these two persons. The printed text of the epistle reads, "In an epistle of the abbot (*igumen*) Joseph to Boris Vasilievich."

[112] See G. Vernadsky, "The Heresy of the Judaizers and Ivan III," *Speculum*, VIII (1933), no. 4, 440–441 (excellent bibliography).

[113] *Drevnjaja rossiskaja vivliofika*, ed. N. Novikov. Sec. ed. Part XIV (Moscow, 1790), 187.

[114] *The Life of Avvakum* (*Žitie Avvakuma*), ed. Y. L. Barskov, *Pamjatniki istorii staroobrjadčestva XVII veka*, I, 1. *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, XXXIX (Leningrad, 1927), 30. *The Life of Archpriest Avvakum compiled by himself*, ed. N. K. Gudzi (Leningrad-Moscow, ed. *Academia*, *s.d.* [1936?]), p. 96 (in Russian). A very good French translation of Avvakum's autobiography by Pierre Pascal now exists (Paris, 1938). Also P. Pascal's monograph *Avvakum et les débuts du raskol. La crise religieuse au XVIIe siècle en Russie* (Paris, 1938), XXV + 618 p. In this

II

Arabian Version of the "Life" of Saint Theodore of Edessa

One of the Arabic manuscripts of the National Library of Paris contains an Arabian version of the *Life* of Theodore. In the Catalogue of that library no. 147 is entitled: "Vie du saint père Abbâ Théodore qui par sa dévotion et par sa mortification, pendant qu'il était moine, dans la laure de S. Saba, mérita d'être élevé au Siège épiscopal d'Edesse. Cet écrit a pour auteur Basile disciple de Théodore et évêque de Manbadj (Bambyce, Hiérapolis). On trouve dans cette notice (folio 196 v et suiv.) une longue et singulière histoire de la conversion du Calife al-Mâmoûn au christianisme par Théodore et du martyre de ce prince." [115]

In this description two things are to be noted: (1) the compiler of the *Life*, Basil, bishop of Emesa, is called Basil, bishop of Manbidj (Mabboûg, Mampetze, Hiérapolis); (2) the converted caliph is called not Moawiyah, but al-Mamun, i.e. the famous caliph who ruled from 813 to 833.

Many years ago I consulted this manuscript and copied some fragments for collation with the Greek text, especially the story of the caliph's conversion. Unfortunately for the time being I am deprived of access to the manuscript. As far as I remember the Arabian version contains some important variants. But generally speaking it is an abridgment of the Greek text, though it reflects in many cases the origin and psychology of the Christian translator. The substitution of the name of al-Mamun for Moawiyah is very interesting. Apparently the translator was not satisfied with the conversion of the caliph Moawiyah, who was unknown to him, and found a remarkable substitute in the person of the famous caliph al-Mamun.

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book the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa is not mentioned. S. F. Ternovski, *Study of Byzantine history and its Prejudiced Application in Ancient Russia* (Kiev, 1875), p. 174 (in Russian).

[115] M. le baron de Slane. *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883–1895), MS. 147, p. 33. The catalogue was published after the author's death by H. Zotenberg. I have already printed this passage in my review of Pomyalovski's edition, *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, part 286 (March, 1893), 208. P. Peeters in his study *La Passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte* referring to the Arabian version quotes *Arabe* 215, *catalogue de Zotenberg*, p. 55; *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVIII (1930), 85.

I give here in an English rendering the story of the conversion of al-Mamun. As I have mentioned above, my copy of several pages of the Arabian version was made many years ago, and I am now unable to understand some words in my own copy. But these few omissions will not prevent us from gaining an idea of the real character of the version. I shall give first in an English translation the account of Theodore's journey to Baghdad and his meeting with al-Mamun who at that time was desperately ill. Then I shall give the story of al-Mamun's conversion.

fol. 196 v.
Pomyalovski, p. 73.

After many days (Theodore) arrived in Baghdad, where at that time (ruled) al-Mamun. He came into a church of the Christians and said a prayer for the Metropolitan (Katholikos). Then he remained in the church, because he had no other place (to stay). On Sunday, after the end of the Liturgy, he was kindly received by the Metropolitan, who asked him the cause of his arrival. The blessed Theodore sighed from the bottom of his heart and started to relate what pains the heretics had inflicted upon him, how they had wished to kill him, and in what grief his flock was shrouded. As if the Creator wished to manifest His power,

fol. 197
Pomyalovski, p. 74.

there were, in the Metropolitan's assembly, some Christian scribes and doctors of the King. When the Metropolitan had heard Theodore's narrative, he became very sad and begged the scribes and doctors who were present to report his story to the King. But they said to him: "At this time, it is impossible, because the King is dangerously ill . . . and his eyes are already veiled. He is on the point of death, so that no one can come to see him but his chief doctor to treat him." Then the blessed Theodore answering them said: "Who knows, it may happen that God would grant him good health through me." When the chief doctor heard his words, he felt no malice but answered him saying: "If thou hast experience in medical science, relief may come[116] (to the King) by the aid of God; and the whole of thy demand will be fulfilled according to thy wish." Next morning the chief doctor came to see the King as usual to treat him, and after having treated him he said to him: "Oh, King! The Bishop of the city ar-Ruha (Edessa) has come here to our city. He has excellent knowledge of the art of medicine. Order, Your Majesty, that he be brought (here). Perhaps he will do his best for the benefit of Your Majesty." And (the King) immediately ordered the Bishop brought in. The

fol. 197 v.
Pomyalovski, p. 75.

Bishop took in his small bag some dust from the Holy Sepulchre, and went his way praying, relying on the aid of the Most High, being under the protection of the God of Heavens, and singing hymns. He reached the palace and entered in to the King. He found him looking anxiously at

[116] The MS. reading of this word is not clear to me.

him in hope of his aid. Then (the King) addressed him in a weak voice saying: "Oh, Bishop! If thou canst help me and be useful to me, do it quickly in order to assuage the violence of my unbearable suffering. I am near death." The blessed Theodore bent his knees and raised the eyes of his heart towards heaven praying. And the Lord was near, and His power was revealed in sending to the King aid and speedy recovery through his saint. Then Theodore asked for water in a clean vase, threw into it some dust[117] and made the King drink a part of it; with the rest he anointed all his body and ordered no one of his family or servants to remain with him. All his attendants left him, and the doors were locked. A long sleep enveloped the King. . . . Immediately all pain and illness disappeared; his eyes began to see, and the fever changed into perspiration. And I say that he returned from the doors of death to life. After a long sleep (the King) awoke and saw himself recovered and cured. And he called Theodore, the miraculous doctor. . . . A few days later the King asked Theodore saying: "Oh, man of God, inform me of the cause of thy coming to my city, and what dost thou want? I am ready to fulfill thy demands." And Theodore answered him saying: "As to myself, oh King, when I was elected by the Patriarch of the city of Great Antioch to be bishop of the city of ar-Ruha (Edessa),[118] which is under thine empire, I found on my arrival there a great number of heretics. (Then follows his description of violent actions of heretics against the churches of Edessa and against himself.)[119] When the King had heard his relation, he wished no repetition of the story. Immediately he called one of his nobles, made him governor of the city of ar-Ruha (Edessa) and ordered him to go (there). Along with him he sent letters which included his instructions on this subject. Here is the title: "From al-Mamun, caliph of the city of Baghdad, to the inhabitants of the city of ar-Ruha and its surroundings. On the arrival of the governor appointed by our Majesty, according to our mandate, all the wealth that was taken from the church of al-Ruha shall be returned to the Christians with its revenue. The sects of Manichaeans who disagree with . . . and Arians[120] who oppose the Christian faith must return to the doctrine of the church of the bishop Theodore; in this case they shall dwell in our city. But if

Pomyalovski, p. 76.
fol. 198

fol. 199.
Pomyalovski, p. 78.

[117] Presumably this is the dust from the Holy Sepulchre, but the Arabian word is not clear to me.

[118] In the Greek text (p. 77) we read, "The Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem ordained me bishop of Edessa against my wish and desire." The Arabian version mentions only one Patriarch, and omits Theodore's statement that he did not wish to accept this high nomination.

[119] In the Greek text, pp. 77–78.

[120] In the Greek text there are *οἱ Μανιχαῖοι*, *οἱ Νεστοριανοί* and *Εὐτυχιανισταί* (p. 78).

they adhere to their doctrines, they shall be deprived of all their property and leave the city in all contempt. Thus the new governor must act, according to our order. As to the former governor, he must present himself before our Majesty for punishment for his base acts. Greetings!" [121]

Then follows the story of al-Mamun's conversion.

fol. 201.
Pomyalovski, p. 81.

When the blessed Theodore entered, he sat in the King's presence. The King said to him; "God knows that I do not wish to separate from thee, because my soul loves thee much." When the bishop Theodore heard his word, he made the sign of the cross on his forehead and said: "Indeed, oh King, I see between me and thee an open door and

fol. 201 v.

neither can I go out of it nor thou come through it; (it is) as if the door were closed. And my soul is sad of this." The King said to him: "What is this door? Explain to me the meaning of it." Then the bishop Theodore said to him: "Two men wished to go to the imperial city to see the King. One of them was rich and had a great number of servants. And he followed a paved, large, and wide road. The other man was poor and had nothing; he walked on a narrow mountain path. These two roads were not far away from each other, so that each man could see his companion. The rich man began to advise the poor man to leave the narrow path and go with him on the wide road. And the poor man said to him: 'The day is already nearing the evening, and we shall arrive when the chief gate of the city is closed; and we shall spend the night outside the gate. And brigands will lie in ambush for us and take away our clothes, and wild beasts will devour us. But take my advice and climb

Pomyalovski, p. 82.
fol. 202

with me on this narrow, rough but short mountain path. We shall be a little tired, but we shall reach the small door, where guardians constantly keep awake waiting for all comers and open it to them, no matter at what hour of night they come.' But the rich man did not follow his advice; he preferred the wide and easy road and continued on it. And he happened to reach the city after the coming of evening, and he found the gate closed; so that he himself and those who were with him remained overnight outside the city. And wild beasts came and killed six of them. As to the poor man, he, tired after his long walk along the narrow path, reached the small gate. The guardians opened it to him, and joyfully he entered (the city), rested from all fatigue, and avoided obscurity, night, and danger." Then the King said to him: "Indeed that rich man was very stupid, walking along the road he did not know; he did not accept the advice of the poor man, who suggested to him salvation. But he was himself the cause of his own destruc-

[121] In the Greek text this letter is missing; there is no reference to the fate of the former governor.

tion and that of those who were with him. I ask thee to explain to me and to interpret the first and the second parables." . . . Thereupon the Bishop drew out of his bosom the Holy Gospel and said: "This is the source from which if thou drinkest thou willst not die. This is the door! This is the road, if thou art anxious to reach that which is life. Draw (water), drink it and go along the road which will lead you to the open door and introduce you into the
fol. 203 life where is no death. And thou willst live for ever, for this is the only road of life, and there are no other roads."

This edifying speech is continued at some length (Greek text, pp. 82–83). Theodore ends as follows:

fol. 203 v. Pomyalovski, pp. 83–84. "But if thou dost not believe and if thou adherest to thine own faith, thou willst be cursed and delivered to the fire of Gehenna, to endless darkness and constant pain, which will have no end. Behold! before thee there is life and death. I am here to persuade thee to prefer life to death and renounce the faith of . . . (*lacuna*),[122] the obedient precursor of Antichrist. If thou belongest to our faith and our God, Jesus Christ, thou willst be like that wise man who found
fol. 204. one pearl of great price; and he sold all that he had, and acquired it."[123] The bishop Theodore was successful in his speech and perfect in his presentation, because he knew the Greek, Persian, and Arabic languages;[124] he was clear and skillful in using them. The Caliph was like good and excellent earth that has received celestial seed, and the eyes of his heart were enlightened. Thereupon he took the Bishop by the hand, immediately brought him to his inner room (treasury), closed the door after them, and asked Theodore to read to him the Holy Gospel from the beginning to the end and to explain to him obscure points of his mysterious conversation. After that the Caliph studied the matter several successive days, wishing the Bishop to advise him; so that (the Bishop) became doctor of the Caliph's soul. When the King heard the last words of his speech, he said to him: "I already believe in the Father, the Son, and the
Pomyalovski, p. 85. Holy Ghost. But now teach me what I have to know and believe. . . . I obey thee in whatever thou mayst order and tell me." Thereupon (the Bishop) wrote out for him in the Arabian language[125] the Orthodox Creed with prayers to be

[122] The Arabian translator here omitted only one word, *Muhammed*, unwilling and perhaps afraid to call him the precursor of Antichrist. The Greek reads: *τῆς λαοπλάνου θρησκείας ἀποστῆναι τοῦ Μωάμεδ, ὅστις ἐστὶ πρόδρομος τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου* (p. 84).

[123] Matthew, XIII, 45–46.

[124] The Greek text adds the Syriac: *εὐφυῶς γὰρ ὡμίλει τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Σύρων καὶ Ἰσμαηλιτῶν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Περσῶν γλῶσσαν* (p. 84).

[125] In Greek "in the Syriac language." *Θεόδωρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ ἐγγράφως τῇ Συριάδι γλώττῃ τὸ σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως* (p. 85).

made, and the psalms of David; he also edified him for many days and taught him the path of faith and true belief.[126] Some days later, the King accompanied by the Bishop rode out of the city towards the river of Tigris. The King ordered no official to follow him except three devoted servants who had already been converted to the true belief.[127] Thus they reached a remote place on the bank of the river. And he said to the Bishop: "Oh, my spiritual father, here is water and an empty place; and there is no one to see us and prevent us from baptism." And with these words he took off his clothes and the three servants did the same thing. The Bishop addressed prayers appropriate to divine baptism, baptized them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, anointed them, and called the King Joannes (Youhana). After they had left the water and put on their clothes, the Holy Ghost descended upon them. Their countenances were transfigured, and the Hand of the Most High changed the colour of their faces. Then all of them rode back and returned to the palace. On that day the Bishop celebrated divine service in the place which had been arranged for their prayers and solitude, and administered to them the communion of the body and blood of the Lord. And they rejoiced a spiritual joy, according to the word of the Prophet Isaiah: "I will rejoice in the Lord."[128]

Pomyalovski, p. 86. fol. 205.

From the mention of the Arabian version of Theodore's *Life* which I gave in my review of Pomyalovski's edition, scholars of various countries have later raised several times the question whether the original text of the *Life* was Greek or Arabic. If I am not mistaken, none of them studied the Arab manuscript itself. Most of them were not Orientalists.

The position of Ch. Loparev in this case is not very clear. He remarks: "It seems this *Life* was originally written in the Arabian language. M. Vasiliev discovered an Arabic text; but the Greek versions do not mention being translations. The Greek text may have been penned by the author himself."[129] Of course the second half of this passage is strikingly contradictory to the first half. In his study based on Loparev's work, L. Bréhier saw this contra-

[126] The Arabian translator omits here Theodore's attack on the erroneous doctrines of the Arabs and Persians, and his demand that the Caliph anathematize Muhammed and his extraordinary and mythical nonsense as well as the heresies of the Arians and Manichaeans (p. 85).

[127] According to the Greek text, these three servants were Alans: *ἐξ* 'Αλανῶν *καταγομένους* (p. 85, ch. LXXXII).

[128] Isaiah, LXI, 10.

[129] Ch. Loparev, "Byzantine Lives of the Saints of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," *Viz. Vremennik*, XIX (1912–1915), 41 (in Russian).

diction and omitted the first half of the statement, saying, "Vasiliev discovered an Arabic text of this *Life*; but there is no indication whatever that the Greek text was translated." [130] But five years later in 1922 the same scholar apparently changed his opinion and wrote that the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa was probably originally (*d'abord*) composed in Arabic.[131] After some hesitation P. Peeters in the same year, 1922, casually mentions the Arabic original of Theodore's *Life*.[132] Later in 1930 advancing his theory of the dependence of Theodore's *Life* of the Passion of Michael the Sabaïte (of Sabas), which I have discussed above, he writes: "One can provisionally lay aside the Arabian *Life* of Theodore which was mentioned by A. Vasiliev. It could not modify to any considerable extent the conclusion which is important for the moment, nor in addition would it be of such a nature as to throw light upon the composition of the Greek *Life*." [133]

I myself believe there is no ground whatever for presuming that the Arabian version was the original text of the *Life*. The original text is the Greek one which very probably has come down to us from the pen of Theodore's nephew, Basil, bishop of Emesa. The question of the interrelation between various Greek versions preserved in the library of Mount Sinai and several European libraries and not yet published, has not been elucidated. The publication of these Greek versions is not justifiable; they would not give us much new material. But it would be very desirable to have the Arabian version of the *Life* printed. It might furnish us with some data on the personality of the translator, his psychology, and his attitude to the Muhammedan authorities, as well as to the situation of various Christian groups in the Near East.

[130] L. Bréhier, "L'hagiographie byzantine des VIIIe et IXe siècles, hors des limites de l'Empire et en Occident," *Journal des Savants, nouv. série*, 15e année, 1917, p. 16.

[131] L. Bréhier, "Le romantisme et le réalisme à Byzance," *Le Correspondant*, 1922 (Paris), p. 327.

[132] P. Peeters, "Traductions et traducteur dans l'hagiographie orientale à l'époque byzantine," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XL (1922), 262.

[133] P. Peeters, "La Passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVIII (1930), 85.

III

Conversion of the Arab Prince Muawiyah

Without doubt, the most interesting and curious story included in the *Life* of Theodore is that of the conversion to Christianity of the Persian king, Muawiyah [134] (ch. LXX–CXI, pp. 72–116). It is told at full length with many details, and is the central point of the *Life*. Rudakov writes of Theodore of Edessa, "The son of a wealthy citizen of Edessa, who lived an ascetic life in Palestine, is known by the legend of his conversion to Christianity of the Babylonian king Mawiya." [135] Bréhier calls this story "a most romantic episode" ("*l'épisode le plus romanesque*").[136]

Legends of the conversion and baptism of Oriental kings or princes are very widespread in Byzantine and thence in Old Russian literature. Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian supposedly converted the Roman Emperor Carinus (283–285).[137] In the sixth century the Saracen prince Alamundar was baptized.[138] I suppose this legend refers to al-Mundhir III (505–554), the king of Hira on the Euphrates under the Arabian dynasty of the Lakhmites.[139] The son of a Persian king was baptized under the name of Onuphrius, and became famous in Egypt for the sanctity of his life.[140] The nephew (ἀνεψιός) of a ruler of Syria, who had

[134] For the sake of uniformity I shall use the form *Muawiyah* throughout. *Mawiyas* (Μαυΐας) is the spelling given in the text of the *Life* and in other Greek sources.

[135] A. P. Rudakov, *Outlines in Byzantine Culture based on data from Greek Hagiography* (Moscow, 1917), p. 260 (in Russian).

[136] L. Bréhier, *loc cit.*, p. 17.

[137] See L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1907), pp. 214–225. See Ch. Loparev, *loc. cit.*, p. 64. Arch. Sergius, *The Complete Menologion of the Orient* (2 ed. Vladimir, 1901), II, 1, p. 196 and II, 2, p. 239 (in Russian). According to church tradition, Cosmas and Damian the Anargyri, the Free Doctors, endured martyrdom under the Emperor Carinus in 284. Their commemoration is given on July first.

[138] Ch. Loparev, *op. cit.*, p. 64. Alamundar is al-Mundhir.

[139] See *Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours publiée sous la direction de A. Fliche et V. Martin. 4. De la mort de Théodose à l'élection de Grégoire le Grand,* par . . . L. Bréhier . . . (Paris, 1937), pp. 519–529 (bibliography is given). I think Loparev is wrong in attributing Alamundar to the seventh century (*op. cit.*, p. 64). See also R. Aigrain, s.v. *Arabie, Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, III (1924), coll. 1225–1226 (excellent article). Al-Mundhir is Alamundar in Byzantine sources.

[140] Loparev, *op. cit.*, p. 64. *Idem*, "A Russian anonymous description of Constan-

been sent to Egypt, wished to be baptized there; but the priest was afraid of his uncle's anger and sent him to Sinai where the archbishop baptized him under the name of Pakhumius. Later he returned to Syria in order to convert his uncle. The Saracens stoned him to death so that he earned a martyr's crown.[141] An Egyptian king, Minaz (Μίναζ), according to the report of the Patriarch of Alexandria, Joakeim (1529–1566), was secretly baptized and left Egypt for Sinai where he died.[142] An anonymous, probably Oriental, king visited Constantinople and adopted Christianity; this legend has come down to us in an anonymous Russian description of Constantinople, written down probably by a priest of Novgorod, Gregorius Kalekas (*c.* 1321–1322). I have already analyzed it.[143] A wealthy and dissolute nobleman, Alexander, a senator's son, or according to an old Slavonic source, King Alexander, was converted and made bishop of Alexandria.[144] Theodore of Edessa himself in his pastoral activities emphasized the conver-

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tinople (*ca. 1321*)," *Izvestija Otdelenija Russkago Jazyka i Slovesnosti*, III, book 2 (St. Petersburg, 1898), p. 346, n. 1.

[141] Loparev, *op. cit.*, p. 64. *Idem*, *A Russian anon. description*, p. 346 and n. 1. See *Sancti Gregorii Decapolitae Sermo.* Λόγος ἱστορικὸς περὶ ὀπτασίας, ἥν τις Σαῤῥακηνός ποτε ἰδὼν ἐπίστευσε, μαρτυρήσας διὰ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, C, 1201, 1205, 1212. This work is probably spurious as it is falsely attributed to Gregory the Decapolite. See J. Pargoire, *L'église byzantine de 527 à 847* (Paris, 1905), p. 376. A Slavonic version exists of this story. See A. Veselovski, "Amfiloch (or Amfilog) — Evalakh," *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, April, 1889, pp. 377–378; reprinted in A. Veselovski's "Investigations in the field of Russian spiritual poetry (*Issledovanija v oblasti russkago duchovnago sticha*), part V (St. Petersburg, 1889), 341–342 (*Sbornik Otdelenija Russkago Jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk*, XLVI, no. 6). But whether genuine or spurious, the piece should have been mentioned by F. Dvorník in his *La vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves Macédoniens au IXe siècle* (Paris, 1926), esp. on pp. 28–29, where he mentions another dubious work attributed to Gregory the Decapolite, "a treatise against Saracens."

[142] Loparev, *op. cit.*, p. 64. Idem, *A Russian anonymous description*, p. 346, n. 1.

[143] Loparev, *A Russian anon. description*, 343–346.

[144] Loparev, *A Russian anon. description*, 346, n. 1. *Eusebii Alexandrini Vita, auctore Joanne Monacho, ejus notario.* Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, LXXXVI, 1, coll. 297–309. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (ed. altera, Brussels, 1909, p. 88) merely mentions him without giving the time of his life or day of his commemoration. In all probability Eusebius of Alexandria never existed and is merely a product of the imagination, and his biographer Joannes, according to Bardenhewer, was a literary cheat (*ein Schwindler*). O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur.* IV (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1924), pp. 87 and 90. In a Slavonic version Alexander is called *king*. See Ch. Loparev, *Description* (*Opisanie*) *of the manuscripts of the Society of the Amateurs of Ancient Literature* (*Lubitelei Drevnei Pismennosti*), part II (St. Petersburg, 1893), p. 364, no. CCXXXVI, fol. 105.

sion to Orthodoxy of pagans and heretics. His predecessors on the see of Edessa had acted similarly, as Theodore and his biographer, Basil of Emesa, knew. One of Theodore's predecessors, Barsimaios, converted a pagan priest, Sarbilos, who later perished for his new faith.[145]

In spite of Theodore's paternal attitude towards his flock he had a number of enemies among local heretics, who strongly disapproved the ardent zeal of the new bishop in Orthodoxy. In order to frustrate their guile Theodore decided to go to Babylon, i.e., Baghdad, whose king at that time was Muawiyah (Μαυΐας). Theodore was accompanied by Basil of Emesa and other priests and deacons. In Baghdad he was welcomed by the Orthodox metropolitan.[146] Theodore explained the cause of his arrival and asked to be announced to the king. The king was at that time so dangerously ill that all the doctors had given up hope of saving him. But Theodore appeared before the Oriental potentate and cured him by prayer. Afterwards they often met and conversed together, and the result of this intercourse was the complete restoration of Orthodoxy in Edessa and the surrounding region; the property which had been taken away from the church was restored; the heretics who persisted in the errors were killed or exiled; many, however, reembraced Orthodoxy. "And," says the *Life*, "the Christian (χριστώνυμος) people of Edessa became one flock under one shepherd, except the people of Agarenes" (p. 78). The *Life* then describes Theodore's visit to a hermit who lived in the neighborhood of Baghdad, in order to deliver a letter from Theodosius the Stylite (ch. LXXVI–LXXVIII, pp. 79–81). The *Life* passes on to the most interesting but enigmatic episode of the conversion of Muawiyah to Christianity. During their frequent

[145] A. Dmitrievski, *Description of liturgical manuscripts preserved in the libraries of the Orthodox Orient*, I (Kiev, 1895), 46: (under January 30) Τοῦ ἁγίου Βαρσιμαίου ἐπισκόπου Ἐδέσσης, τοῦ φωτίσαντος Σάρβηλον τὸν ἱερέα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Under Jan. 30 the name of Barsimaios is included in the Greek liturgical calendar. See Arch. Sergius, *The Complete Menologion of the Orient*, 2 ed., II, 1 (Vladimir, 1901), p. 29. Also Loparev, *Byz. Lives*, p. 64 (in Russian).

[146] Cf. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, II (Rome, 1721), 123–124. He mentions a Jacobite patriarch, Philoxenus-Basilius, who lived in Baghdad at the outset of the ninth century, as well as others; about 851 Theodosius was the Jacobite Patriarch. Cf. P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1937), p. 355: The Nestorian patriarch or catholicos had the right of residence in Baghdad, a privilege which the Jacobites had always sought in vain. See also Peeters, "La passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte," *Anal. Bollandiana*, XLVIII (1930), 90–91.

conversations Theodore tried to prove the superiority of the Christian religion. Finally he produced the Gospels and with inspired eloquence declared that the only way to salvation was the Christian faith. Theodore read and interpreted the Gospels to Muawiyah, which were not difficult for the king to understand as he spoke Greek, Syriac, Arabic (*τὴν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν γλῶσσαν*) and Persian. The next day Muawiyah expressed a desire to be baptized. Theodore gave him the Creed written in Syriac, the Trisagion, and the Paternoster; whereupon Muawiyah became a Christian and anathematized Muhammed and his doctrine (ch. LXXXI, p. 85). Shortly after in the presence of Basil of Emesa only, on the banks of the Tigris, Theodore baptized Muawiyah and three Alan servants. Muawiyah was given the name of Joannes (*Ἰωάννης*); Basil stood his godfather. Moved by religious enthusiasm the new convert asked Theodore to get him a particle of the life-giving Cross, "upon which my Redeemer was crucified for my sake" (ch. LXXXIV, p. 88). For this purpose Theodore carried a letter from Muawiyah to Constantinople, where at that time Michael was reigning together with "the blessed" Theodora, his mother. Theodore was cordially welcomed at the capital. He effected miraculous healings; among others, curing the Empress Theodora herself of a cataract. The Emperor Michael gave Theodore a golden casket adorned with precious stones which contained a particle of the life-giving Cross and a sacred image of the Savior, wrote a letter to the converted Muawiyah and dismissed Theodore with great honor. Theodore by way of Edessa safely arrived in Baghdad and was enthusiastically met by Muawiyah (ch. LXXXIV–LXXXVI, pp. 88–91). The situation of the Christians was constantly improving. This provoked the envy of the Jews. Finally a wealthy and influential Jew was allowed to arrange a religious debate. The debate was held in the presence of Muawiyah, a great number of his attendants, judges, and many other people, and resulted in a complete triumph for Christianity. The originator of the debate, at Theodore's invocation, was suddenly stricken dumb and regained the gift of speech only after he had sincerely repented his unbelief and received baptism (ch. LXXXVI–XCI, pp. 91–97). Next, according to the *Life*, Muawiyah together with Theodore, Basil, and three newly converted servants, visited a hermit, the former com-

panion of Theodosius the Stylite. This hermit told Muawiyah among other things that in the deserts of India on the shores of the Red (Erythraean) Sea at the mouth of the Ganges River (Γάγης ὁ ποταμός) near the lofty mountains of Arcan and Hyrcan (ἐν μεθορίοις τῶν μεγίστων ὀρέων Ἀρκάνου καὶ Ὑρκάνου) were to be found enormous jars (πίθοι) which did not stand straight up but lay on their sides, the work of ancient men; and many noble and wealthy Christians, after giving their property to the poor, lived ascetic lives in these jars (ch. XCII–XCIX, pp. 97–107; the story about the jars, ch. XCV, pp. 101–102). This rather puzzling passage at once suggests the Indian *stupas*, *topes*, or sacred cupolas, a specific type of Buddhist religious building, consisting of a solid mass of masonry, built above a receptacle containing a sacred relic. In the seventh century A.D. several thousand *stupas*, each about a hundred feet high, were built along the banks of the sacred River Ganges. "Although Buddhism at that period was visibly waning, the monks of the order were still numerous, and the occupants of the monasteries enumerated by the pilgrims numbered nearly two hundred thousand." [147] This is of course only an hypothesis that flashes into one's mind at first sight of this passage; I have no serious ground for substantiating it.

In the spring Theodore left his new spiritual son and, carrying rich treasures for distribution to the churches of Jerusalem, Edessa, and other places, left Baghdad. Basil of Emesa followed him. After a short visit to Edessa, Theodore arrived in Jerusalem, richly endowed the Church of the Resurrection, the Laura of St. Sabas and other churches, and then by way of Antioch returned to his flock at Edessa (ch. C–CV, pp. 107–113). After Theodore's departure, Muawiyah (Ioannes, John) was visited by a presentiment that death was near. He ordered heralds to assemble the people on the parade ground [148] and on May 30 [149] in the pres-

[147] V. A. Smith, *The early history of India from 600 B.C. to the Muhammedan conquest* (Sec. ed. revised and enlarged. Oxford, 1908), 152–153 (time of Asoka Maurya, 272–231 B.C.); 318 (the reign of Harsha, 606–648 A.D.). *The Cambridge History of India*, I (New York, 1922), pp. 624–625; for reproductions of *stupas* see plates XX, XXI, XXII.

[148] ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἀδνουμίων (p. 113, ch. CVII). Ἀδνούμιον = *ad nomen*, muster; ἀπογραφὴ ὀνομάτων. In the index of proper names Pomyalovski gives the nominative plural of this word τὰ Ἀδνουμία for τὰ Ἀδνούμια (p. 121).

[149] μηνὶ Μαΐῳ τριακοστῇ (p. 115); according to MS. B: τριακαιδεκάτῃ, *i.e.* on the thirteenth of May (*ib.*, n. 10).

ence of all proclaimed himself a Christian. The furious crowd arose and killed him; thus he earned the martyr's crown. His remains were given Christian burial (ch. CVI–CXI, pp. 113–116).

I have told this interesting story at length as it is given in the text of the *Life*. It is of course legendary. Nonetheless it has in my belief some historical basis. The basis of fact is so veiled and distorted that complete solution of the problem is difficult if not impossible. But some explanation must be attempted and something has already been achieved.

It is well known that no caliph of the ninth century was named Muawiyah. Indeed no caliph on the Arabian throne bore this name, except the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Muawiyah,[150] and Muawiyah II, who ruled only three months in 683 and left no successor. As we have seen above, the Arabian version of the *Life* of Theodore gives the name of al-Mamun instead of the Muawiyah of the Greek text.

In my review of Pomyalovski's edition published in 1893, I tried to find some analogy to Muawiyah's conversion in a Syriac writer of the second half of the twelfth century, the Patriarch of Antioch, Michael the Syrian, who died in 1199.[151] In 1893 the original Syriac text of his Chronicle had not been published, and I used an abridged Armenian version in a French translation. Michael, according to this version, includes the following episode in his story of the Caliph Mutasim (833–842), al-Mamun's brother, i.e. a contemporary of the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus (829–842). "Abussahol (Mutasim) discovered a plot hatched by his nephew Abbas, who had made an alliance with the Romans in order to destroy the power of the Dadjiks (Arabs) and ascend the throne, after having embraced Christianity. Abussahol (Mutasim) arrested him and starved him to death. The story of his crime was published by the Caliph's order all over the empire of the Dadjiks (Arabs); this is why the Dadjiks (Arabs) detest and curse Apas (Abbas)." [152]

[150] Cf. P. Peeters, "La Passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVIII (1930), 96. Peeters does not try to explain the appearance of the name of Muawiyah in the Greek text of the *Life*.

[151] *The Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, part 286, March, 1893, pp. 209–210 (in Russian).

[152] *Chronique de Michel le Grand, patriarche des Syriens Jacobites, traduite pour*

This story is based on an historical fact. Abbas was the son of al-Mamun (813–833). After al-Mamun's death Abbas was proclaimed caliph by some of the troops. He was at that time viceroy of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia and had already distinguished himself in the struggle with the Byzantines. But al-Mamun's brother, Mutasim, succeeded in gaining rule over the whole country (833–842). Later, when Mutasim was occupied with a war on Byzantium, some troops and courtiers plotted to put Abbas on the throne. The plot was nipped in the bud; the participators were severely punished, and Abbas himself forced to die of thirst.[153]

In my article just referred to I conjectured that the historical Abbas from the story of Michael the Syrian might be identical with the legendary Muawiyah of the Greek *Life* and al-Mamun of the Arabian version. In his note on my review, E. K(urtz) pointed out that the compiler of the *Vita*, Basil, according to his own statement, accompanied Theodore to the court of Baghdad and was an eyewitness of the events there; therefore it seemed to Kurtz hazardous (*gewagt*) to dismiss Basil's statements as mere legend.[154] In 1894 an anonymous reviewer of Pomyalovski's edition, after saying in connection with Muawiyah's conversion that it is not always easy to verify Basil's assertions, adds, "M. A. Vasiljevski [155] tried to do so as far as the conversion of the Caliph Muawiyah is concerned; but his attempt, according to Byz. Zeitschrift (II, 349), is very conjectural." [156] The anonymous reviewer had not read my review and, it seems to me, ascribed to E. K(urtz) statements he did not make. In 1897 in his brief sketch of the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa, A. Ehrhard writes, "Vasiliev calls attention to an Arabian translation and enlarges

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la première fois sur la version arménienne du prêtre Ischôk par V. Langlois (Venice, 1868), p. 275.

[153] See G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, II (Mannheim, 1848), pp. 296, 316–320. W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall* (sec. ed., London, 1892), pp. 508, 512. A new edition now exists, revised by Weir. Edinburgh, 1915. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I. *La dynastie d'Amorium* (Brussels, 1935), pp. 121–124, 165–166, 175 (Russian edition, St. Petersburg, 1900, pp. 101–104, 133–134, 140). P. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1937), p. 318 (a few words).

[154] *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II (1893), 349.

[155] By a curious error the reviewer here gave me the name of the famous Russian byzantinist, my teacher, V. G. Vasilievski.

[156] *Analecta Bollandiana*, XIII (1894), 60.

upon the Caliph of Baghdad, Muawiyah, who is mentioned in the *Vita*." [157]

In 1905 the third volume appeared of the French translation of the original complete Syriac text of the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian. It is of course extremely interesting to compare with the Syriac original the extract given above from the abridged Armenian version. The corresponding passage in the Syriac text reads as follows: "When Abu Ishaq (i.e., Mutasim) had taken Amorium and destroyed it by fire, he learned that his nephew (son of al-Mamun) Abbas was preparing to kill him. He arrested Abbas' secretary and his doctor, a Nestorian, who revealed to him Abbas' plot and all those who took his part. They communicated to the King the treaty which Abbas had made with Theophilus, the Emperor of the Romans, and the pact which he had agreed upon with the people of Baghdad: when they learned that Abu Ishaq (Mutasim) was killed, they were to proclaim in the streets and in the mosques that Abbas was King, and massacre whoever resisted. Thereupon Abu Ishaq ordered Abbas and the General Udjeif to be arrested and brought in chains upon camels. . . . Abbas died at Mabbug of torture and hunger. The King (Caliph) wrote a letter 'that everyone might know that Abbas, son of al-Mamun, was the enemy of our Empire, and that he had been ready to surrender the camp of the Taiyayê (Arabs) into the hands of the Romans. Therefore let him be cursed by everyone!' " [158]

Unfortunately I have no access to the original Armenian and Syriac texts of the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian; I must continue to limit myself to the French translation of the two passages which in my opinion refer to Muawiyah's conversion. The first point to notice is that the original Syriac text makes no mention of Abbas' decision to embrace Christianity as a result of his alliance with the Romans. The Syriac text mentions merely the treaty between Abbas and Theophilus. Historically it is practically certain that Abbas, who, we know, organized a plot against the reigning Caliph, his uncle Mutasim, must have made some

[157] Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Sec. ed., Munich, 1897), p. 152.

[158] *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, trad. par J.-B. Chabot, III (1905), p. 101.

agreement with the Emperor Theophilus;[159] but there is no historical ground for imagining that Abbas pledged himself to become a Christian.

When in 1893 in my review of Pomyalovski's edition I used the abridged Armenian version of the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian, and when later in 1905 I became familiar with Chabot's French translation, I thought like many others that the Armenian version was an abridged translation of the Syriac original. I was therefore surprised that such an essential detail in the Armenian version as Abbas' intention to embrace Christianity did not appear in the complete Syriac text. But now a more recent critical study of the Armenian version has shown us that it is not a translation but an adaptation. The adaptors have treated the original text very freely, adding and subtracting at their pleasure in order to make their work more suitable to Armenian readers.[160] Thus the passage on Abbas' intention to embrace Christianity was evidently added by the Armenian adaptors.

This identification of Muawiyah with Abbas is a mere hypothesis which personally I now believe untenable, the more so as it involves a chronological difficulty. Abbas was killed by Mutasim, who died in 842; that is, Abbas was killed before 842. But as we have seen above, Theodore of Edessa made his trip to Constantinople between 842 and 856; thus Muawiyah was still alive after 842.

Let us consider another and more plausible attempt at an historical identification of Muawiyah.

The Caliph Mutasim was followed by his two sons who reigned in succession, al-Wathiq (842–847) and al-Mutawakkil (847–861). The latter had several sons of whom the two older became caliphs: al-Muntasir (861–862), al-Mutazz (866–869), al-Mu-

[159] See A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 166 and n. 1 (cf. Russian ed. p. 134 and n. 1). See a hint of the relations of Abbas' adherents with the Greeks in Tabari, *Annales*, III, 1249; in French and Russian in A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 166 and 305 (French); p. 134 and appendix, p. 40 (in Russian).

[160] See E. Tisserant, "Michel le Syrien," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, X, 2 (Paris, 1929), coll. 1711–1719 (excellent article); on the Armenian version col. 1717. Tisserant based his statement on F. Haase, *Die armenische Rezension der Syrischen Chronik Michaels des Grossen*, *Oriens christianus*, new ser., V (1915), 60–82, 271–281.

tamid, al-Muwayyad, and al-Muwaffaq.[161] Here first appears an historical person, al-Muwayyad, a contemporary of Theodore of Edessa, whose name is almost identical with that of Μαυΐας of the *Life*. Under al-Mutazz al-Muwayyad was regarded as the heir to the throne. But the Caliph was informed that al-Muwayyad was plotting against him and was supported by the body of Turkish soldiery, who at that time were very powerful in the Caliphate. Al-Mutazz accordingly imprisoned his brother. The Turks attempted al-Muwayyad's release. Then al-Mutazz resolved on his brother's death, which seems to have been accomplished either by freezing in a bed of ice or by smothering in a downy robe. After death the body without mark of violence was exposed to indicate that death had been natural.[162] According to an Arabian source, al-Muwayyad died on August 8, 866.[163] In Arabian tradition there is no hint whatever that all-Muwayyad had Christian sympathies. But one point must be emphasized: our sources clearly express the element of martyrdom; al-Muwayyad died like a martyr. Such a tragic death may have profoundly affected the exalted imagination of Mesopotamian Christians. It is even possible that when al-Muwayyad was governor of Syria he showed tolerance to the Christians of that region, which would quite reasonably account for the rise of a legend portraying him as a Christian martyr.

In connection with the *Life* of Theodore the name of the Arabian prince al-Muwayyad has already several times been mentioned in

[161] See for example the genealogical tables in W. Muir, *The Caliphate: its rise, decline, and fall* (London, 1891), p. 528 and J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, III (Paris, 1905), 525. In the genealogical tables given by S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties* (London), p. 14 (Russian translation with commentary and supplement by W. Barthold, St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 10) and by Ph. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1937), p. 466, the name of Muwayyad is omitted.

[162] See Tabari, *Annales*, III, 1668–1669 = *Ibn-al-Athir*, ed. Tornberg, VII, 115–116. Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or*, texte et traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard, VII (Paris, 1873), 393–394. Abu'l-Mahasin ibn Tagri Bardi, *Annales*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll et B. P. Matthes, I, 2 (Leyden, 1855), 769–770. N. Abbot — Chicago, "Arabic papyri of the reign of Ǧa'far al-Mutawakkil a'la-Ilāh (A.H. 232–47/A.D. 847–61)," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XCII (Neue Folge, Band 17), 1938, p. 93. See also G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, II (Mannheim, 1848), 373–374; III, 400. W. Muir, *The Caliphate: its rise, decline, and fall* (London, 1891), pp. 528 and 582. In his *History of the Arabs* Hitti does not mention al-Muwayyad's story.

[163] Maçoudi, *op. cit.*, VII, 394: Thursday on the 22d of Ragab 252.

literature. In 1912–1915 in his *Study of Byzantine Lives of the Saints of the eighth and ninth centuries*, Ch. Loparev briefly tells the story of al-Muwayyad, whom he calls Moawid, and unexpectedly states that the chronicles say nothing about the cause of al-Muwayyad's assassination. We have seen, however, that our sources clearly emphasize the plot against al-Mutazz which was the real cause of his violent death. Loparev after this error remarks, "Possibly he was killed precisely because of his conversion to Christianity." [164] I cannot on the basis of the sources agree with Loparev's supposition, though I admit the possibility of al-Muwayyad's sympathetic attitude to the Christians. In 1921 N. Bonwetsch wrote: "Mavia (of the *Life*) might have been al-Muwayyad; his accessibility to Christian influences seems possible. Because of his antagonism to his brother, relations with the Byzantine court might have been desirable to him." [165] In 1933 Fr. Dvornik wrote: "One finds in the *Life* of Saint Theodore of Edessa the story of the conversion to Christianity — of course, a legendary conversion — of the Caliph Moaviah. The legend refers to our epoch,[166] for the hagiographer seems to confound his hero with the son of Mutawakkil, Moavide." [167] I think this confusion of Μαυΐας of the *Life* with the historical al-Mutawakkil's son, al-Muwayyad, represents in reality the influence al-Muwayyad's death and Christian sympathies exerted upon the Christian population of the Near East under the Arabian power in general, and upon Basil, bishop of Emesa, author of the *Life* of Theodore, in particular. This I think gives a plausible explanation of the "conversion" episode from the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa.

We should not fail to mention that Greek Orthodox tradition honors the memory of the martyr Moaviya. In the *Complete Menologion of the Orient* for May 3 we read, "The assassination of the great and holy martyr Moaviya, in baptism Joannes, a Persian king, the pupil of Theodore of Edessa, with three servants." Under May 4 is another brief note, "Assassination of

[164] Chr. Loparev, "Byzantine Lives," pp. 62–63.

[165] N. Bonwetsch, "Die Vita des Theodor, Erzbischofs von Edessa," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, II (1921), 288.

[166] Dvorník means here the ninth century A.D.

[167] Fr. Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), p. 107.

Joannes, the Persian king."[168] Muawiyah's story is also mentioned in *The Russian Chronograph in the Western Russian Version*, which as we have pointed out above was compiled approximately at the outset of the second half of the sixteenth century. In the *Chronograph* we read, "Under those (i.e. the Emperor Michael and his mother Theodora), Theodore, archbishop of Edessa, baptized Maaviya, the Persian King, and named him in holy baptism Ioan, who suffered martyrdom for the sake of Christ; he was killed by the Persians, and along with him his three servants."[169]

It may not be mere accident that Moawiyah in the *Life* was christened Joannes. It was customary to give a new convert the name of the nearest bishop. If this custom was followed in this case, Moawiyah was converted and baptized under the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Joannes VI (John VI), who probably occupied the patriarchal throne from 847 to 851.[170] Digenis Akritas' father, the famous emir of Tarse, Musur (Μουσούρ) was also named Joannes at his baptism.[171]

IV

The Legend of Saint Michael

I have already emphasized the fact that the legend of Saint Michael the Sabaite has no connection with the *Life* of Theodore and was included merely because of its edifying character. It is a separate legend and as such was known in Old Russian literature. As yet no complete Greek text of Michael's legend has been dis-

[168] Archbishop Sergius, *The Complete Menologion of the Orient* (Sec. ed. Vladimir, 1901), II, 1, pp. 130 and 132, with references to Slavic material, both manuscript and printed (in Russian). In these sources the memory of Moaviya — Joannes — is sometimes mentioned on July 9. As we have seen, according to Arabian sources, al-Muwayyad died on August 8, 866. The July 9 is the date of the death of Theodore of Edessa.

[169] *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*, Vol. XXII, part II (Petrograd, 1914), 152 (The Chronograph in the Western Russian version).

[170] See Loparev, *op. cit.*, *Viz. Vrem.*, XIX (1912–1915), 62. Some writers are dubious about the actual existence of the Patriarch Joannes VI. Arch. Sergius, *op. cit.*, II, 2, 689.

[171] *Les exploits de Digénis Akritas. Epopée byzantine du dixième siècle*, publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique de Trébizonde par C. Sathas et E. Legrand (Paris, 1875), livre IX, vv. 3068–3071 (p. 252; French translation, p. 253). This passage does not occur in the Grotta-Ferrata manuscript, and is a late interpolation.

covered, if indeed one exists in addition to the story told in Theodore's *Life*. But a Georgian version, which I have already mentioned, gives material for a new and stimulating hypothesis advanced by P. Peeters and supported by all his wide knowledge and remarkable perspicacity.

In the summer of 1898 a Russian scholar, N. Marr, along with the famous Russian archaeologist, N. P. Kondakov, undertook a scientific expedition to the monasteries of Mount Athos. Marr devoted most of his time to the study of Georgian manuscripts in the Iberon. Among those containing lives of saints he discovered under date of March 20 "the martyrdom of Saint Michael, who was in the Great Laura of Our Holy Father Sabas." [172] Referring to this note P. Peeters wrote in 1911, "An Iberian version, unfortunately unpublished, has revealed to us the existence of a Saint Michael, monk of Mar Sabas and martyr, about whom Greek texts say nothing." [173] In 1912 S. Vailhé notified P. Peeters that the story of this same Michael was inserted in the biography of Theodore of Edessa published by Pomyalovski. Accordingly it was a settled fact that Saint Michael was known in Greek tradition.[174]

In 1930 P. Peeters published his interesting study "The Passion of S. Michael the Sabaite." [175] At the beginning (pp. 66–77) he gives a Latin translation of the *Life* of S. Michael from the Georgian text edited by M. C. Kekelidze (*Monumenta hagiographica georgica*, pp. 165–173) and remarks that "in all probability the Georgian tradition derives from an Arab version" (p. 65). If we compare the Georgian and Greek versions (the latter as it is given in Theodore's *Life*), there is no doubt whatever

[172] N. Marr, "Hagiographic materials according to the Georgian manuscripts of the Iberon," *Accounts (Zapiski) of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society*, XIII (1901), 63, no. XXXVII; the Georgian title is given under no. 35. See N. Marr, "From a journey to Athos," *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, 1899, March, pp. 1–24, where a preliminary survey of Georgian materials on Athos is given.

[173] P. Peeters, "S. Romain le néo-martyr (+ 1er mai 780), d'après un document géorgien . . . ," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXX (1911), 407.

[174] P. P(eeters), "La version géorgienne de l'autobiographie de Denys l'Aréopagite," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXI (1912), 7. *Idem*, "La Passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte," *ibid.*, XLVIII (1930), 77.

[175] P. Peeters, "La Passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVIII (1930), 65–98.

that both versions tell the same story. The story takes place under the reign of Abd-al-Malik, according to the Georgian version,[176] and Adramelekh, according to Pomyalovski's text. As long ago as 1893 I pointed out that Adramelekh was a distorted form of Abd-al-Malik. The same identification was made by Loparev in 1912–1915.[177] Accordingly the name of Abd-al-Malik in the Georgian version only confirms my old supposition.[178]

P. Peeters observes with perfect correctness that the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa has not yet been thoroughly examined. From his own study he has reached an unexpected and striking conclusion. He compares Theodore's *Life* with that of Theodore Abu Qurra and decides that "Theodore of Edessa is nothing but a double of his celebrated namesake. A great number, perhaps most of the exploits, adventures and miracles that the author attributes to Theodore are purely fabulous. No less fabulous are the supernumeraries and accessories who surround the principal hero, such as the stylite Theodosius of Edessa, who supposedly lived upon a pillar for nearly a century. After all this *fantasmagorie* is eliminated, there remain the lineaments of a figure whose traits are borrowed from the life and historical role of the celebrated bishop of Harran, monk of Mar-Sabas, bishop, controversialist, itinerant doctor, champion of Orthodoxy in an heretical country and at the court of the caliph of Baghdad.[179] And it is very probable that the list of these flagrant inventions would be much longer if the life and legend of Abu Qurra were better known to us" (p. 82).

We know that the biographer of Theodore of Edessa was named Basil. Basil was also the name of the man who supposedly heard the story of Michael from Abu Qurra (p. 82).[180] Through the anachronisms and impossibilities with which his *Life* is filled, it is clearly to be seen that some years before the end of his career Theodore sojourned in Byzantium at the court of Michael III the Drunkard (842–867), before the retirement of the Emperor's

[176] Peeters, *op. cit.*, 67, § 2.

[177] See above.

[178] Cf. Peeters, *op. cit.*, 84.

[179] At Abu Qurra's time the caliph of Baghdad was al-Mamun. See Peeters, *op. cit.*, 95–96. Cf. the Arabian version of the *Life* of S. Theodore of Edessa.

[180] Peeters writes, "Comme lui encore, il était évêque d'Emèse" (p. 82); also p. 80. I was unable to find this information in the Georgian version.

mother, Theodora (856). Accordingly Theodore's nephew and biographer probably wrote about 860, that is to say at the earliest about forty years after the death of Abu Qurra (+ circa 820). This time may be lengthened by some years more if Basil heard the story when the future bishop of Harran was still a monk in Mar-Saba (p. 83). Peeters says that he can spend no more time on "unravelling this patchwork" (*ce centon*). It is clear that the episode of the martyr Michael as told in the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa contains many more inadmissible details than the independent form of the Passion.[181] With the possible exception of discourses and dialogues, where the Georgian translator occasionally omits an essential part of a phrase, the text of the *Passion* indisputably deserves preference. The Greek version differs from the Georgian only by variants and omissions equally unfortunate: Basil of Emesa "seconde façon" wherever he appears spoils the work of Basil of Emesa "première façon."[182] The historical knowledge of the *Passion* is partially replaced by substitute or additional details marked by very poor invention (p. 83). I have already mentioned that the Georgian version gives the correct name Abd-al-Malik for Adramelekh in the Greek text.[183] The Greek text even changes the nationality of the martyr. He no longer originates from Tiberiade[184] but is born in Edessa and belongs to Saint Theodore's family. Basil of Emesa excuses himself for having ventured upon the digression of telling Michael's story. According to Peeters, this formula is almost an avowal of plagiarism, "for one discovers a little too frequently in hagiographers of a later epoch that when they admit they are wandering from their subject they are trespassing on another's property" (p. 84). The *Passion* of Michael the Sabaite is of earlier date than the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa and, not without rather grave alterations, was fraudulently introduced into it. Among

[181] Peeters means here the Georgian version of the *Passion* which he translated.

[182] Basil of Emesa "première façon" is the author of the Georgian version, and Basil "seconde façon" is the author of the Greek version incorporated in the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa.

[183] I regret that for the time being I have no access to the Arabian version, so that I am unable to discover what form of the name is used there.

[184] Georgian version, ch. 13 (Peeters, p. 75): "ut autem hic (*i.e.* the sick brother of the Laura of St. Sabas, Theodore) audivit patris Moysis discipulum Tiberiadenum (*i.e.* Michael) martyrem factum ex urbe allatum esse . . ."; see also ch. 3 (p. 67) and ch. 6 (p. 70).

other things the prologue was shortened. According to Peeters, the biographer of Theodore of Edessa undoubtedly read the prologue of the *Passion* of Michael, and perhaps this prologue suggested to him the idea of including this story in the *Life* he was writing (p. 85).

The most important result of Peeters' study is his thesis that the supposed author of the *Passion* of Saint Michael, Basil of Emesa, in compiling the *Life* of the fictitious Theodore of Edessa repeated the *Life* of the famous bishop of Harran (Karrhae), Abu Qurra, with some changes and additions. But it must be pointed out — and Peeters admits this himself (p. 82) — that the life of Abu Qurra, his activities, and the legends about him have not yet been thoroughly studied.[185] During the last few decades only have scholars begun to devote some attention to his literary work, partially preserved in two languages, Greek and Arabic. The latter was apparently more familiar to him. Theodore Abu Qurra,[186] who has usually been callled Abukara, was born in Edessa *ca.* 740. He spent many years in the Laura of Saint Sabas as a monk, where he probably became acquainted with the works of John of Damascus, which he highly esteemed. From the Laura he was called to be bishop of Harran (Karrhae) in Mesopotamia. In 813 the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Thomas, laid upon him the task of compiling an invitation to monophysite Armenians to accept the Chalcedonian creed. He held disputes with heretics, Jews, Muhammedans, and was always an ardent defender of Orthodoxy. Our sources tell nothing about him after 813. He died probably about 820.

It is true that both Theodore Abu Qurra and Theodore of Edessa were born in Edessa and were for some years monks in the Laura of Saint Sabas. To this extent their lives were identical. But later their careers diverged considerably. Abu Qurra became bishop of Harran, Theodore bishop of Edessa. Edessa as well as the Laura of Saint Sabas produced a great number of eminent representatives of Orthodoxy. Fabulous exploits, adventures and miracles analogous to those introduced into the *Life* of Theodore

[185] See a very useful sketch on the life, writings, and bibliography of Theodore Abu Qurra in O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, V (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1932), pp. 65–66.

[186] His surname *Abu Qurra* means in Arabic *Father of comfort, full of refreshment*; this is a flattering Arabian name.

of Edessa can be discovered in very similar form in many other lives of saints. And in spite of their fabulous and unlikely character all these exploits, particularly the miracles, are often extremely important for our scanty knowledge of customs and manners; they sometimes even furnish new data on social and economic conditions in the mediaeval Christian East. I cannot, therefore, agree with Peeters in thinking that the similarities between Theodore of Edessa and Theodore Abu Qurra prove their identity. Two facts especially which are mentioned in the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa prevent me from identifying him with Theodore Abu Qurra: his ordination as bishop of Edessa by the Patriarch of Antioch in Jerusalem in the presence of the Patriarch of Jerusalem with exact chronological dating (836), and his journey to Constantinople before 856. These two facts give Theodore of Edessa the right to be regarded as an historical personage, absolutely independent of Theodore Abu Qurra.[187] Basil of Emesa, author of the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa, was very probably acquainted with the life and deeds of Theodore Abu Qurra. According to the Georgian version of the *Passion* of Saint Michael, Theodore Abu Qurra narrated to Basil the story of this martyr [188] which Basil later introduced into the *Life* of his uncle, Theodore of Edessa.

A work of urgent necessity now presents itself, a thorough and as far as possible complete study of the life, works, and deeds of the bishop of Harran, Theodore Abu Qurra.

Saint Michael the Sabaite is included in the *Menologion of the Orient* where we read under May 23, "(Memory) of the Holy Martyr, Michael, a monk in the ninth century, disciple and kinsman of Saint Theodore of Edessa." [189] As we have already noted,

[187] See a brief note on Peeters' study by A. E(hrhard), *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXIII (1933), 432–433; in this note the reviewer does not even mention Peeters' hypothesis of the identification of Theodore of Edessa with Abu Qurra.

[188] Peeters, "La Passion de S. Michel," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVIII (1930), 66, § 1: "Haec narravit nobis pater Basilius presbyter S. Sabae"; p. 67, § 2: Tunc Abucura haec nobis narravit.

[189] Arch. Sergius, *The Complete Menologion of the Orient*. Sec. ed. (Vladimir, 1901), II, 1, p. 154 (under May 23); II, 2, p. 193 (in Russian). The Georgian version of St. Michael's *Passion* translated by Peeters gives March 20 as the day of his martyrdom. Peeters, *op. cit.*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVIII (1930), 66; cf. p. 78: no synaxarium or Greek calendar has preserved the memory of Michael the Sabaïte.

at the beginning of the twelfth century, the first Russian pilgrim, Daniel, on his visit to the Laura of Saint Sabas, saw there the relics of Theodore of Edessa and his kinsman Michael.[190]

V

Letter of the Three Oriental Orthodox (Melkite) Patriarchs to the Emperor Theophilus

We have noted above that the *Letter* of the three Oriental Orthodox (Melkite) Patriarchs is exactly dated in April, 836. The history of this document is very peculiar. In the seventeenth century Combefis published the text of the *Letter to the Emperor Theophilus concerning Holy and Venerable Images* in his *Manipulus rerum Constantinopolitanarum, ex Regio cod.* 2503. In 1712 the celebrated scholar Le Quien in his excellent edition of the works of John of Damascus printed this letter among the works of that famous writer (II, 629–647). Le Quien, however, realized clearly that a letter addressed to the Emperor Theophilus, who was reigning in the ninth century, could not be written by the famous writer of the eighth century. Le Quien's text of the *Letter* was reproduced, also among the works of John of Damascus, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XCV, 345–385. This text of the *Letter* has been used by most historians down to our own day, although I shall show a little later that it has long been proved spurious and apocryphal.[191]

The original and authentic text of the *Letter* of the three Oriental Orthodox (Melkite) Patriarchs to the Emperor Theophilus was printed over seventy-five years ago, though, strange to say, it has been overlooked by most historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In 1864 a young Greek scholar, librarian of the Monastery of Patmos and director of the Greek school in that island, I. Sakkelion, published the text of the *Letter*, first in several issues of a Greek magazine, Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Κῆρυξ, and then in the same year, 1864, as a separate pamphlet. Sakkelion's edition was based on two manuscripts, both belonging to the famous monastery of

[190] For reference see above, n. 102.

[191] See L. Duchesne, *Revue critique* (1875, 1), 326 ("cette épitre apocryphe"). V. Grumel, "Recherches récentes sur l'iconoclasme," *Echos d'Orient*, XXIX (1930), 99 ("le document postiche").

St. John in Patmos. These two editions remained entirely unknown to scholars. The first who tried to call general attention to this interesting publication, years after Sakkelion's edition, was L. Duchesne. In his review of the text he emphasized the importance of the document for the iconoclastic epoch and the history of Byzantine archaeology. He ended his review with the following words: "Both ecclesiastical history and general history will find there new and interesting data." His review, however, although printed in the very well known and widely circulated French *Revue critique* remained almost entirely unnoticed. We should remark that in this review, probably by misprint, Sakkelion's edition was erroneously dated 1874 instead of the correct year 1864.[192] From Duchesne this error found its way into Ch. Bayet's book,[193] and from the latter to Vincent and Abel's,[194] and later into Grumel's article *Images*.[195]

Finally, thirty-seven years after he published his review of Sakkelion's edition, Duchesne in 1912–1913 in order to make the text more accessible than it was in rare Greek editions, reproduced Sakkelion's Greek text, accompanied it with an Italian translation, and wrote an interesting introduction telling once more the story of the first edition and pointing out again the historical and archaeological significance of the document.[196] And still, in spite of this new edition and the Italian translation, historians have continued to refer to the early spurious text and ignore Duchesne's reproduction, even after V. Grumel emphatically pointed out in 1930 the amazing neglect by scholars of such an important document.[197]

I give here some examples from studies on iconoclasm which

[192] L. Duchesne, *Revue critique* (1875, 1), 325–327. He made the same misprint later in 1912–1913 in *Roma e l'Oriente*. Anno III, vol. V, 222.

[193] Ch. Bayet, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la peinture et de la sculpture chrétiennes en Orient avant la querelle des iconoclastes* (Paris, 1879), p. 77. Bayet was the first to refer to Sakkelion's edition in his book, and he gave a French translation of the passage on the mosaic of Bethlehem. Bayet did not see the edition itself but borrowed his data from Duchesne's review.

[194] H. Vincent et F.-M. Abel, *Bethléem. Le sanctuaire de la Nativité* (Paris, 1914), p. 128, n. 1.

[195] V. Grumel, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, VII, 1 (1922), col. 769.

[196] L. Duchesne, "L'iconographie byzantine dans un document grec du IXe siècle," *Roma e l'Oriente*, Anno III, vol. V, November, 1912–April, 1913, 222–239; 273–285; 349–366.

[197] V. Grumel, *loc. cit.*, p. 99.

appeared after Sakkelion's edition of 1864, in order to show that practically all writers on the iconoclastic epoch were familiar with neither Sakkelion's editions nor Duchesne's reproduction.

In his very well known *History of the Councils* in 1879 Hefele refers to the spurious text published by Le Quien among the works of John of Damascus and ascribes the *Letter* to the opening years of Theophilus' reign, i.e., soon after 829.[198] In 1882 the French Abbot Bauzon in his new edition of *General History of Sacred and Ecclesiastical Authors* by Ceillier also refers to the text published by Le Quien.[199] In 1897 Ehrhard–Krumbacher mentions the *Letter* appearing among the writings of John of Damascus and refers to Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*.[200] In 1899 Dobschütz attributes the *Letter* c. 836 or before 836 and refers to the apocryphal text.[201] In 1912–1915 Chr. Loparev without giving any reference correctly dates the *Letter* as of April 836, if I am not mistaken for the first time in literature.[202] Loparev was very familiar with modern Greek literature and might have known Sakkelion's edition; chronologically he might also have known Duchesne's edition, which appeared in 1912–1913. In 1922 Emereau in his article on iconoclasm refers to Migne and dates the *Letter* 845,[203] i.e., after Theophilus' death. In 1926 Leclercq in his article on images, referring to Combefis and Mansi, writes that the *Letter* was presented to Theophilus shortly after his accession to the throne (cf. Hefele).[204] In 1929 Ostrogorsky in his very valuable book on iconoclasm knows only the spurious document published by Le Quien and reproduced by Migne.[205] The same document is quoted by Martin in 1930 in his general history of the iconoclastic con-

[198] C. J. von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, IV, sec. ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1879), p. 104. There is no mention of Sakkelion's edition in the French enlarged edition of this book, where many additions and corrections were made.

[199] Dom Remy Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*. New ed. by M. l'Abbé Bauzon, vol. XI (Paris, 1882), p. 84.

[200] K. Krumbacher, *Byz. Lit.*, p. 166, 3 (Ehrhard).

[201] Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 122 and 200.

[202] Chr. Loparev, "Byzantine Lives," p. 47.

[203] Vacant-Amann, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, VII, 1 (1922), col. 594.

[204] *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, VII, 1 (Paris, 1926), col. 284. In Mansi, *Conciliorum collectio*, XIV, 114–120, is reproduced only a portion of the *Letter*. See Hefele, *op. cit.*, IV, 104, n. 2.

[205] G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites* (Breslau, 1929), p. 33, n. 3.

troversy and he dates it *circa* 847,[206] i.e., five years after Theophilus' death. In the same year, 1930, appeared Grumel's article mentioned above, where once more the author called the attention of the scholarly world to Sakkelion's edition and Duchesne's reproduction. But Grumel's article has not produced its due effect, and even after 1930 historians have continued to refer to the apocryphal document reproduced by Migne, ignoring Sakkelion and Duchesne's editions. In 1931 Runciman refers to Migne.[207] In 1932 Bardenhewer gives the same reference but mentions the correct date of the *Letter* (April, 836).[208] In 1936 at last Ch. Diehl quotes Grumel's article and refers to Duchesne's text in *Roma e l'Oriente*.[209] In 1940, G. Ostrogorsky, in his *History of the Byzantine State*, also refers to Duchesne's publication.[209a]

The spurious letter gives a brief sketch of the development of iconoclasm; it gives neither its dates nor the names of the Patriarchs who addressed the letter to Theophilus. Before Sakkelion's edition became known, the names of the Patriarchs who compiled the letter were found in the so-called *Narration on the image of Edessa*,[210] a work probably not written by the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus himself but doubtless composed during his reign and at his instigation, that is in the tenth century.[211] In the *Narration* we read, "Jointly the three Patriarchs, Job of Alexandria, Christopher of Antioch, and Basil of Jerusalem wrote down (the document) and decided to write to the Emperor Theophilus who insulted holy icons." [212] This text both in older edi-

[206] E. J. Martin, *History of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, London (1930), p. 14; see also his bibliography, p. IX. Cf. Ostrogorsky's *Review* of Martin's book, *Byz. Zeitsch.*, XXXI (1931), 383. Here Ostrogorsky writes that the *Letter* was compiled not in 847, five years after Theophilus' death, but shortly after his accession to the throne. Cf. above, Leclercq.

[207] See Runciman, "Some remarks on the image of Edessa," *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, III (1931), 247; there in n. 26 he gives an erroneous reference to Migne, XCIV, for Migne, XCV.

[208] O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, V (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1932), p. 56.

[209] Ch. Diehl, *Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081* (Paris, 1936), p. 303 and n. 59.

[209a] G. Ostrogorsky, *Gesch. des byz. Staates* (Munich, 1940), p. 99, n. 1.

[210] *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Narratio de imagine Edessena*. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, CXIII, 441. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, II (Leipzig, 1899), p. 69[xx].

[211] A. Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle. Constantin Porphyrogénète* (Paris, 1870), pp. 105; 111. Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, II, 95[xx]–96[xx].

[212] *τρεῖς ὁμοῦ πατριάρχαι, Ἰὼβ Ἀλεξανδρείας, Χριστοφόρος Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ Βασίλειος Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνέγραψαν, καὶ οὕτως ἔχειν ταῦτα ἐγνώρισαν, Θεοφίλῳ*

tions and in a more recent and better edition by Dobschütz contains an error: Job was Patriarch of Antioch not of Alexandria, and Christopher Patriarch of Alexandria not of Antioch.

The three Oriental Orthodox (Melkite) Patriarchates were under the Arabian sovereignty. During the eighth century the Melkite hierarchy was reconstituted in the three Oriental patriarchates, in Jerusalem in 706, in Antioch in 740, in Alexandria in 744. From those dates regular elections took place to fill each vacancy, and patriarchs succeeded one another in an uninterrupted line, though not without difficulties as they were sometimes obliged to seek for support at the court of the caliphs, often using Christian doctors as intermediaries. They occasionally succeeded in holding some modest synods. They did not cease to perform their ecclesiastical functions. They continued to correspond with Rome and they prevented iconoclastic doctrines from becoming established among their flocks. Under the influence of John of Damascus, the Oriental Patriarchs became one of the principal centers of opposition to iconoclasm. Many of John's disciples, following his example, ardently defended the cause of images. A most vigorous and active defender of icons was Theodore Abu Qurra, of Edessa, a Melkite bishop of Harran in Mesopotamia, whose name has many times been mentioned in this study.[213]

One such synod was held at Jerusalem in April 836. This date is given in the title of the document published by Sakkelion in 1864 and reproduced by Duchesne in 1912–1913. In this study I use the latter edition. The title reads as follows: "The Letter of the most holy Patriarchs, Christopher of Alexandria, Job of Antioch, Basil of Jerusalem, to Theophilus, the Emperor of Constantinople, written in the Holy City of Jerusalem, in the Church of the Resurrection, concerning holy, honored, and venerated icons, and having at the beginning a holy picture of the All Holy

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γράψαντες τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς ἱερὰς εἰκόνας ἐξυβρικότι. Migne, *P.G.*, CXIII, 441; Dobschütz, II, 69[xx].

[213] See A. Fliche et V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours. 5. Grégoire le Grand, les états barbares et la conquête arabe (590–757)* par L. Bréhier et R. Aigrain (Paris, 1938), pp. 483–484 (L. Bréhier). It is much to be regretted that the first volume of C. Charon's *Histoire des Patriarcats Melkites (Alexandrie, Antioche, Jérusalem)*, which was to deal with the Middle Ages, has never appeared; the three volumes that have appeared (Rome, 1909) deal with modern times. The province of Edessa (ar-Ruha) now contains eleven bishoprics (Charon, III, 228).

Mother of God, Mary (Maria), holding on Her lap the Saviour, when (the Patriarchs) assembled in the Holy City, with a great synod of 185 bishops, 17 igumens (abbots), 1153 monks, in the month of April, indiction 14th, year 6344." [214] The year 6344 and the fourteenth indiction give the year 836; the synod at which the Letter to Theophilus was compiled was thus held in April, 836. The approximate chronology of the Patriarchs mentioned in the title of the *Letter* follows. Christopher of Alexandria occupied the patriarchal throne from 805 till his death in 836.[215] Job of Antioch was patriarch from 813 to 843.[216] The dates of Basil of Jerusalem are very uncertain: according to Eutychius of Alexandria he occupied the patriarchal throne twenty-five years, from 820 to 845; according to Archbishop Sergius from 836 to about 842 or 847;[217] according to the list of the patriarchs of Jerusalem from the sixth Ecumenical Council to the year 1810, which was published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, from 832 to 857.[218] We

[214] L. Duchesne, "L'iconographie byzantine," p. 225.

[215] See *Eutychii Alexandrini Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho, pars posterior (Beirut, 1909), p. 52, 11–18 (*Corpus script. christ. orientalium. Scr. arabici.* S. tertia, VII). Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CXI, col. 1128. Arch. Sergius, *The Complete Menologion of the Orient.* Sec. ed., vol. II, 2 (Vladimir, 1901), p. 685 (mostly following Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*). P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Ratisbonae, 1873), p. 460. A. Palmieri, *Christophe, patriarche d'Alexandrie*, article in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, II, part 2 (1923), col. 2418: Christopher's dates are 805–838, from the chronicle of Eutychius of Alexandria (?); *Letter* to Theophilus is dated 830; reference to the text published in Migne, vol. XCV.

[216] *Eutychii Alexandrini Annales*: In the first year of the caliphate of al-Mamun (813) Job was constituted as Patriarch of Antioch; he occupied the throne thirty-one years (ed. Cheikho, II, p. 57, 11–12; Migne, *P. Gr.*, CXI, col. 1132). Sergius, *op. cit.*, II, 2, p. 687: 813–843. Cf. Gams, *op. cit.*, 433: Jobus, 818–30? Gams' dating is incorrect both as to the beginning and end of his patriarchate; he puts an interrogation mark after the date of Job's death. In his German article *Christophorus Patriarch v. Alexandrien*, V. Grumel mentioning the *Letter* to Theophilus, erroneously uses *Jakob* (James) *v. Antiochien* for *Job. Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*. Zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage, II (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931), coll. 936–937.

[217] *Eutychii Annales*: After the death of the Patriarch Thomas, Basilah, his disciple was appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem, in the seventh year of the caliphate of al-Mamun (820); he occupied the see twenty-five years (ed. Cheikho, II, p. 57, 8–11; Migne, *P. Gr.*, CXI, col. 1132). Sergius, *op. cit.*, II, 2, p. 689 (according to Le Quien and the *History of Jerusalem* by Gregorios Palamas, published in 1864). Gams, *op. cit.*, 452: died about 842.

[218] Papadopoulos-Kerameus. *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, III (St. Petersburg, 1897), 7: 25 years; p. 9: Basil died in the 15th year of the reign of Michael III, *i.e.* in the year 857; the years of his patriarchate accordingly should be 832–857. But cf. another list of the patriarchs of Jerusalem, *ibidem*, 129: Basil was

can be certain that all three Patriarchs were occupying their sees in 836 when the *Letter* to Theophilus was compiled. Christopher of Alexandria died this same year, but apparently had time enough to sign the *Letter*.

The author of the *Life* of Theodore, as we have seen above, mentions only two patriarchs who came to Jerusalem to worship at the Holy Sepulchre as well as to arrange "some ecclesiastical matters." No doubt one of these ecclesiastical matters was the compilation of the *Letter* to the Emperor Theophilus. Here the chronological indications given by the *Life* and the *Letter* perfectly agree. The *Life* says that the two Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem met in Jerusalem during the Passion Week and spent Easter together. The names of the Patriarchs are not mentioned. From the *Letter* itself published by Sakkelion and reproduced by Duchesne we know that the synod at which the *Letter* was written was held in April, 836. In this year Easter fell on the ninth of April.

At first glimpse some contradiction exists between the *Life* and the *Letter*. The *Life* mentions without giving names only two patriarchs, those of Antioch and Jerusalem, who met in Jerusalem "to arrange some ecclesiastical matters." The title of the *Letter* gives the names of the three Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, who compiled and signed the document. But Christopher, Patriarch of Alexandria, was unable personally to attend the synod; he had been stricken with paralysis several years previously, and since then, unable to move, had been carried "by the hands of men" from place to place. Peter, a bishop, was appointed to fill the patriarchal throne and ordain bishops in Christopher's place.[219] As we have noted above, Christopher died in 836, the same year that the *Letter* was composed. He lived long enough, however, to send his signature to Jerusalem.

The scholars who first called attention to the *Letter* regard it as a very interesting and important source. Duchesne writes that

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patriarch ten years, or, according to other, fifteen. See a brief article by R. Janin, *Basile, évêque de Jérusalem*, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, VI (1932), col. 1141: Basil's dates are 820–838; Janin refers to the *Letter* published in Migne, vol. XCV.

[219] *Eutychii Alexandrini Annales*, ed. Cheikho, II, p. 52, 11–19; Migne, *P. Gr.*, CXI, 1128. Cf. A. Palmieri, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, II, part 2 (1923), col. 2418.

both ecclesiastical and general history as well as archaeology and art will find in it new and precious data.[220] Grumel's opinion is that this *Letter* deserves careful study because of the information it gives as to the final state of iconoclasm, which was nearing its end at the time of the *Letter*.[221]

I do not intend to give here a detailed study of this interesting and undeservedly neglected document. But I wish to call attention to some rather puzzling points. The first is the enormous number of members of the Synod of 836. According to the title of the *Letter*, 185 bishops, 17 igumens (abbots), and 1153 monks assembled ot attend this "great Synod" (*μεγάλης Συνόδου*), which was held in the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem.[222] We must not forget that this large assembly took place not in the territory of the Byzantine Empire but in a city belonging to the Caliph. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Basil, who probably presided over the Synod, and Job, Patriarch of Antioch, were so-called Melkites, and the Melkites often tended politically to support the Byzantine emperors. Next there is an apparent contradiction in attitude. The *Letter* is addressed to the iconoclastic Emperor Theophilus but is full of highest praise and eulogy for him; his empire is called pious and supported by God. The following lines are not short of amazing: "Though we may be separated from you in the territory of a tyrannical empire, we are not severed from the divine power. We, under the power of barbarous enemies, exhausted, sorrowful, and grieving, we nonetheless pass all our time supported by divine hope, anticipating the return to our former happiness under the imperial power and to our peaceful life." [223] Such outspokenness seems unbelievable unless the *Letter* was to be kept completely secret, which is very improbable. Duchesne rightly says that if this document had come to the knowledge of the Muslim authorities, its authors would not have long kept their heads on their shoulders.[224] I cannot agree with Duchesne's thesis that it was a Byzantine custom not to blame an

[220] Duchesne, *Revue critique* (1875, 1), 327; *Roma e l'Oriente*, anno III, vol. V (1912–1913), 224.

[221] V. Grumel, "Recherches récentes sur l'iconoclasme," *Echos d'Orient*, XXIX (1930), 99–100.

[222] Duchesne, "L'iconographie byzantine," 225.

[223] Duchesne, *op. cit.*, 225–226; 231; 232; 233; 236; 366.

[224] *Ibidem*, 223–224.

emperor for his religious error. The emperor is supposed, writes Duchesne, to be the adversary of the error which is being fought. "When emperors permit themselves some enterprise against the doctrinal tradition of the church, the bishops always found means of assigning this fault to a less exalted person, upon whom their anathemas fall. The emperor was always supposed to be Orthodox and the defender of Orthodoxy." [225] But there were more than a few ecclesiastical writers who openly accused emperors of, and warned them against, religious errors.

Particularly under Theophilus would such a letter have been dangerous. Political relations between the Empire and Caliphate at that period were exceedingly tense. Almost uninterrupted war was raging in Asia Minor, and in 838 the Phrygian fortress of Amorion, the native city of the Emperor himself, was besieged and taken by the Arabs.

According to some sources, the political sympathies of Job, Patriarch of Antioch, would make it impossible for him to sign a letter that practically expressed the desire and hope of the Patriarchs to secede from the Caliphate. Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, writes that Job at the request of al-Mamun about 820 crowned the rebel Thomas, who had revolted against the Emperor, and in 838 accompanied the Caliph al-Mutasim on his expedition to Asia Minor and there addressed the people of the local cities in Greek, urging them to surrender to the Arabs and pay them taxes.[226]

In his introduction to the text of the *Letter* Duchesne remarks casually that the Patriarchs, if they met at all, perhaps met in Jerusalem for a feast.[227] The *Life* gives positive confirmation to this supposition: the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem met in Jerusalem to spend Passion Week and Easter together (ch. XLI, p. 35).

There is no doubt that the *Letter* deserves special study, particularly in connection with the iconoclastic period. The description of the mosaic of Bethlehem, the miracles at Lydda and in

[225] *Ibidem*, 224

[226] *Eutychii Alexandrini Annales*, ed. Cheikho, II, p. 60, 8–10; Migne, *P. Gr.*, CXI, 1134. Mednikov, *Palestine from its conquest by the Arabs to the Crusades. Supplements*, II, 1 (St. Petersburg, 1897), p. 285 (Russian translation).

[227] Duchesne, *op. cit.*, 224.

Cyprus, and the image of St. Andrew in Lemnos, the passage on the Image of Edessa, and many details as to the iconoclastic movement in general give fresh and interesting material. The most important question of all perhaps is whether or not the *Letter* is an authentic document in the form that has come down to us.

MADISON, WISCONSIN

THE GOSPELS OF BERT'AY: AN OLD-GEORGIAN MS. OF THE TENTH CENTURY

By R. P. Blake and Sirarpie Der Nersessian

Those of us in the scholarly profession who are engaged in the study of manuscripts have been haunted by the unhappy feeling that war has once more cut off access to the repositories of documents with which we deal, and that many important lines of investigation have been closed to us for an indefinite period. Fortune, however, sometimes smiles upon the depressed scholar even under the most adverse circumstances, and the substance of the present article, we venture to think, will prove to be a most striking instance of the truth of this asseveration.

In October 1940 Blake received a letter from Reverend Richard D. Pierce, Associate Librarian and Curator of the Museum of the Andover-Newton Theological School, cordially inviting him to come out to Newton to inspect a Georgian Gospel which had recently been deposited there, and which, according to a note in the codex, was said to be of the 12th century.[1] Dr. William W. Rockwell had suggested Blake's name to Mr. Pierce. A few days later Blake paid a visit to the library of the School, and to his complete amazement was shown a magnificent MS. written in capitals, which could not be later than the 10th century, both from the script and the miniatures which it contained. The colophon was incomplete, nor was the part of it which remained easily legible: the surviving section contained no specific ქრონიკონი *k'oronikoni* or date by the paschal cycle, but various dignitaries were mentioned, whose names, it appeared, would enable us to fix the period within which the MS. was written. Mr. Pierce kindly consented to have the codex loaned for a time to the Harvard College Library, whither it was transported a day or two after the necessary official steps had been taken. Permission was also obtained subsequently from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to whom the MS. belongs, through the kind

[1] In his letter of October 21, 1940. We take this opportunity of jointly expressing our heartiest thanks to Mr. Pierce, to Dr. Enoch F. Bell, to Dr. K. D. Metcalf and to the staff of the Harvard College Library for aid freely and generously given in furthering our researches.

offices of Dr. Enoch F. Bell, the Editorial Secretary, to have the necessary photographs made and to deliver a preliminary communication, which was read at the meeting of the Society for Biblical Literature and Archaeology in New York on December 27, 1940. This in revised and expanded form underlies the present paper.

Mr. Pierce summarized the circumstances which led to the discovery of the codex and also those under which it had been obtained abroad. In 1939 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent out on deposit a chest of drawers to the Andover-Newton Theological School; the key to this had been lost. When Mr. Pierce had this opened, he discovered a number of Oriental MSS.,[2] some diaries of missionaries and certain other records. The majority of the MSS. were Nestorian Syriac, but among the others were these Gospels which had been obtained by the American missionaries Smith and Dwight during a visit to Kars in 1830.[3] Mr. Pierce kindly called our attention to the book which they published later on about their travels,[4] but there is no mention of the MS. in the account of their stay at Kars; the codex must, however, have been obtained at that time.

[2] The total number of MSS. was about thirty. Of these eight were Syriac. A photograph of one of these, a New Testament of 1195 A.D., will figure in Professor W. H. P. Hatch's forthcoming *Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts*, now in course of publication by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Plate 168). The other MSS. were three Armenian, nine Arabic, one Slavic, and also some in Malay, Chinese, Hawaiian, Sanskrit, and Tamil.

[3] This information comes from a note on fol. 2v which runs as follows: "This Georgian Manuscript of the Four Gospels was found by Messrs. Smith and Dwight, American Missionaries, in the Armenian Church of Cars, June 28, 1830. It was brought thither from Gouriel, and is supposed to be of about the 12th century."

[4] Eli Smith and H. G. O. Dwight were sent out by the Board of Commissioners on a reconnaissance trip to Armenia in the years 1829–30. They published an account of their expedition under the title: *Researches of Eli Smith and H. G. O. Dwight in Armenia; including a Journey through Asia Minor and into Georgia and Persia with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians at Oormiah*, Boston 1833, 2 vols. in 12°. An account of their stay at Kars is given on p. 166 ff., but no mention is made there of having obtained this MS. Some cursory investigations made with the object of discovering the original diaries of the travellers have so far met with no success.

Description of the Codex [5]

The manuscript contains the four Gospels written on parchment in *asomt'avruli* (capital) characters,[6] preceded by miniatures of the four evangelists and three folia with canon arches.[7] Dimensions of the pages 262 x 218 mm. The trim is somewhat irregular on the lower margin, curving up towards the edge of the sheet, but is even on all the pages. Space occupied by the script 190 x 150 mm. Written in two columns, each 190 x 68 mm. (measuring from the guide lines), with a space of 18 mm. between them: 20 lines to each column. Ruling done lightly with a sharp point and on the hair side with prickings in the margin. Single vertical guide lines for each column: horizontal lines go straight across the page. Peculiar in this connection are the five or six closely ruled lines (ca. 2.5 mm. apart) for the Ammonian index at the foot of each column.[8]

The parchment is of medium good quality, rather stout and of Caucasian make, cream-colored; for the most part it is somewhat yellowed and shiny on the margins. In some cases the ink has

[5] The original communication bore the title (cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature LX* (1941), pt. I, p. iii): "A Georgian Gospel Manuscript in the Andover-Newton Theological Seminary Museum." It has been customary, however, in discussing Georgian MSS., to name them either after the monastery where they were written (if they are localized) or else after the place where they were later kept; in accordance with this it has seemed proper to denominate it by the appellation employed in the present title.

[6] The Georgians employed three alphabets:

(a) ასომთავრული *asomt'avruli* (from ასოჲ *asoy* "member," "limb," "letter," and მთავარი *mt'avari* "chief"). This was in general use until the end of the tenth century and sporadically thereafter in MSS. It was used until a much later time in inscriptions.

(b) ხუცური *khuc'uri* (from ხუცესი *khuc'esi* "priest"). This is a minuscule form of the preceding, is found in the colophon of the Sinai MS. of 862 (now No. 32 + 57 + 33 = *Tsagareli 83*), and is regularly used in theological MSS. from the 11th to the 19th century. It is sometimes called ნუსხური *nuskhuri* (from the Arabic نسخي).

(c) მხედრული *mkhedruli* "warrior" or "knightly hand" (from მხედარი *mkhedari* "horseman, knight"). This is the ancestor of the modern Georgian alphabet. The oldest dated MS. is of 1245 A.D., but there are sporadic adscriptions and documents of an earlier date.

[7] კამარაჲ *kamaray* from the Greek καμάρα "vault."

[8] We have never seen any rulings of this type in any Oriental MSS., nor could Professor E. K. Rand adduce any parallels in western codices.

flaked or worn off on the skin side, leaving merely furrows. 257 folia, not numbered.

The quaternions consist of 8 folia (with the exceptions noted below), marked with capital letters as signatures with two triangles of points to the right and to the left of the character, and with a sign of contraction (τίτλος) above, in the centres of the upper margin of fol. 1^a and of the lower margin of fol. 8^v in the customary Georgian manner. Quaternions ა$^{\omega}$- ლ$^{\omega}$ბ = 1–32 are preserved.

Contents of the MS.

Fols. 1–5 appear not to have formed part of the original codex, as they are excluded from the quaternion count. They will be discussed in detail below (p. 258ff.); here we need only to note that they contain miniatures of the four evangelists (fols. 1^v–2^r), canon tables (fols. 3^r–5^v) and some later adscriptions (fols. 1^r, 2^v).

Fol. 6^r inc. Gospel of Matthew, and also quaternion ა$^{\omega}$ = 1, which now consists of 7 leaves: the text, however, shows no lacuna, so a guard leaf at the beginning has probably been lost: the stub is still visible. Des. Matthew fol. 86^{r_2}: the text tapers off in a tail, as do the other gospels, which is the usual thing in Old Georgian gospel (and other) MSS.[9] Fol. 86^{r_2} and ^{v} are blank.

Fol. 87^{r_1} inc. Gospel of Mark: des. (with Mark 16,9) fol. 130^{r_2}; fol. 130^v is blank.

Fol. 131^{r_1} inc. Gospel of Luke: des. fol. 203^{r_1}. At end adscription in the hand of the scribe in scarlet *nuskhuri*.[10] Fol. 203^{r_2} and ^{v} are blank.

Fol. 204^{r_1} inc. Gospel of John: des. fol. 257^{r_1}: fol. 257^{r_2} blank.

Fol. $257^{v_{1-2}}$ Colophon (defective at the end and in part barely legible). Written by another hand in *nuskhuri* closely akin to those in the Athos Old Testament (a.978 at Oška)[11] and to that of the *mravalt'avi* of Iškhan (MS. No. 95 of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum — s.X), but somewhat more angular than either of these codices in its ductus. Quaternion ლ$^{\omega}$ბ = 32 is now a trinion,

[9] See the endings of the Gospels in the phototypic facsimile of the Adysh Gospels (*Materialy po arkheologii Kavkaza*, XIV, Moscow, 1916), plates 100b, 156b, 198a.

[10] This adscription will be discussed below (p. 232).

[11] See *Harvard Theological Review*, XXII (1929), 39–40 and plate opposite to p. 33.

and has no signature preserved at the end; two folia have been lost there; this must have taken place at a fairly early date; the surviving stubs are badly discolored.

The MS. is written, as we noted above, in capitals (*asomt'-avruli*). In Matthew the script is large and bold, not unlike in its ductus to the inscription of the abbot Sophron of Šatberd in the Adysh Gospels,[12] but in John it is smaller and rounder. Measurements with a caliper gauge showed an oscillation in the height of the letter ე *e*, which was taken as a norm, from 5.5 mm. to 3.8 mm. It is notoriously difficult to distinguish different scribes in a capital MS., where letters are drawn rather than written,[13] but our impression is that three scribes have worked on the codex.[14] To distinguish their work and to indicate the precise breaks is almost impossible, as the hands seem to blend into each other imperceptibly. Plate VIII shows the only clear case we found of a definite, abrupt change.

The letters are imposed upon the line. ბ,ჟ,ჳ,ყ,შ b, ž, ü, q, š do not have closed heads (თავ◡შეკრული *t'av-šekruli*) such as we find in the most ancient MSS. and inscriptions, where a hair-line joins the top of the loop to the hasta.[15] The heads of ყ *q*, and ბ *b* are not infrequently found nearly closed, but without any hair-line leading to the hasta. *j* ჯ has almost no head at all, and ხ *kh* and ჴ *ḳh* have the horizontal hair-lines inclined somewhat downwards. The dots which function as serifs tend to be large — squarish or ovoid in shape. The letters are of rectangular design, not square, which leads in some cases to a flattening of the heads, thus ყ *q* and ჳ *ü* are often squarish, while ž ჟ also so appears.[16]

[12] See *Materialy po arkheologii Kavkaza*, XIV, plates 199–200.

[13] We adhere to this point despite the interesting observations of S. Fairbanks and F. P. Magoun, Jr. *On Writing and Printing Gothic* (*Speculum* XV, [1940], 313–330). The isolation of the characters and the lack of any cursive connection between them made the formation of letters a slower and more leisurely process than was the case with Greek minuscules, though we admit the cogency of their observations (pp. 316–317) that the scribe in many instances made a fairly complex stroke without raising his pen from the parchment.

[14] Professor E. K. Rand also thought he could discern three hands in the MS.

[15] The historical and paleographic implications of these closed letters have been discussed in detail elsewhere; see *Harvard Theological Review*, XXI (1928), 370–371.

[16] The flattening of heads is observable in other MSS. written in this district;

Paragraphs and περικοπαὶ are marked by large plain capitals in the margin: in the case of large-bellied letters they are not infrequently inscribed tangentially between the guide lines, especially in the second column. The letter ⲱ *d* has often almost the shape of an amphora.

The ink varies in color from dark brown to light sepia. Some initials, the Ammonian περικοπαὶ at the sides of the text, the sigla of the Gospels in the apparatus at the foot of the column, and a couple of words (in a few instances) at important breaks in the text where a colored initial precedes are written in cinnabar, as are also the Gospel headings, which are set off from the text with lines of asterisks,[17] of which the cross-bars are in red and the dots in black.

The codex is bound in brown leather over rather thin boards; the binding is not very old, and adorned with linear and strap designs, the latter repeating a conventional motif. It has been repaired at the back more recently with lighter brown leather, and bears an English title in gold capitals (star above) *Georgian MS./Four Gospels/12th Century*. On the inside of the front cover is a tag of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Both in the back and in the front cover are pasted pages from a Latin theological book (Italian 17th c. ?), with Hebrew words here and there in the text, and numerous references to the Old Testament (St. Jerome?). There are no traces of clasps.

Apart from the colophon there is but one contemporary adscription in the MS. This is in the hand of the scribe (?), and is found at the end of Luke (fol. 203^{r_1}). It is written in cinnabar in angular nuskhuri of the Athonite [18] type in four lines, preceded by a row of ten asterisks:

---

cf. *MS. Athos Iviron 9* (written at Oška in 977 A.D.: *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XXVIII [1932], 130–140), and the plate reproduced from it in N. Marr, *Iosif Arimafeiskii: Skazanie o postroenii pervoi cerkvi v gorode Lidde* (Teksty i Razyskanija po armjanogruzinskoi filologii, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1900), plates 1 and 2 (after p. 24).

[17] This is a characteristic phenomenon in Tao Klardjet'ian MSS. See R. P. Blake, *Epiphanius de Gemmis* (Studies and Documents II, London 1933) Introduction p. liii, note 2.

[18] By Athonite is meant an angular *nuskhuri* with accentuation of the slope in either direction (l. or r.) of the different parts of the character. It is often affected for colophons, especially in Athos MSS., but was undoubtedly practised elsewhere.

ქჱ (sic)[19] შეიწყ^{ო}ლჱ
მომგებელი [20] ჰმის წ^{ო}ისა
სახარებისაჲ გაბრიელი
და ყ^{ო}ნი კრებულნი მალნი (sic)[21]

"Christ, have mercy upon the *κτήτωρ* of this sacred Gospel, Gabriel and all their (*sic*) congregations!"

On fol. 1^{r} at the back of the folium with the miniatures of the evangelists, is a long adscription in 30 lines, written in a squarish, slightly rounded and inclined *nuskhuri*.

In the original but little can be deciphered, as all the right-hand (outer) ends of the lines are heavily stained. The quality of the ink also leaves much to be desired. This type of hand is very difficult to date. The twelfth century seemed possible when it was first examined, but it could also be placed with some probability anywhere between that date and the 16th century. The orthography appears to favor the later period, as also do a number of the words employed.

The task of deciphering it was attended with considerable difficulty and has not been crowned with complete success. In overcoming the obstacles we were greatly assisted by the help and counsel of Mr. W. A. Jackson, Assistant Librarian of the Harvard College Library and Director of the Houghton Library. Some additional words could be made out from photographs taken on slow commercial and on panchromatic film, but the most successful procedure proved to be the combination of an ultraviolet ray machine together with a 6″ double condenser lens, mounted in bull's-eye fashion. With these aids a good many lines could be deciphered in their entirety, and some coherent sense made out of the text. All of this progress was achieved subsequent to the presentation of the original communication, but even then it had been possible to recognize a number of place names, which indicated that we had to do with a brief synaxarial or hagiographical

[19] შეიწყალჱ (imperative 2 pers. sing.) should not be written with a final ჱ *ey* = *η*.

[20] მომგებელი *momgebeli* is a difficult expression to translate without circumlocution. It denotes a person who has something done for himself and is in form (a present participle) and meaning the exact equivalent of the Armenian *Ստացաւղ stacawγ*. The Byzantine *κτήτωρ* approximates it in meaning.

[21] მალნი *malni*, a *vox nihili*, is clearly a scribal error for მათნი *mat'ni* "their."

text rather than with an ordinary memorial. We adduce the text so far as it can be deciphered and a translation which in many places is perforce provisional:

ქს სახელითა ღᵔთისჲთა და შეწევნითა წᵔისა . შისითა მე
წადიერ ვიყავ

ესე იაჲ მცირესა რას მე სიტყᵔსჲ მოიგოს . . . ბოდეს
უწ . . . . ნ . . . დღ .

და წამოსრჯლჲ ჩᵔმისა გჯᵔრის კაცი იორდანისა პირთასა
რᵔლ არს

იცᵔლმს კერძოჲთ გან სადა ნაოელს იღო ქᵔენ ღᵔნ ჩᵔნმᵔნ
და მოსრულა

ბიზანტიას რᵔლ არს კოსტანტინე პავლე და შჯდსა წელსა
რᵔჟს მს

ახურებია კათოლიკე საყდრისა გან და წᵔისა გᵔის გან და
მერმე უნაზ

ავს ნიშნი რᵔლსა შᵔა ბერსა იᵔეს ვᵔდ მე ვარ მოწამე
ქᵔსი რლი . . ვᵔჩ

უწნები ვარ საყრარსა ამას მარᵔჯნით კერძოჲ აღდეგ ბერჳ

და ნუ გეშინინ და აღმესჯნე და აღიტანენ ორნი ძმანი
შ ნნი ან

ღრია და ილჲრიონ და აღიმასჯნეთ და წარემართენით
ჩრდილოე

თეთ კერძო და მიიწიენით ვᵔეცა მენებოს ხᵔ მოწეჯლ
. . ე . ე

ს მᵔთ ჟᵔთა შᵔა იგᵔნი სალჲჯჯარს და მჯნ ენებჲ დასჯნებჲ

წელსა მერმე. მიმგირო ქმნილ იყო ჟᵔი ბჲრბაროზთა
გან მაშინ ეჩ

უნა ნიშნი ბერსა მას ვᵔდ აღდეგით და წამᵔსუნეთ
თუხართა

რ̃ლ არს ჭოროხის პირსა; ხ̃ აღდგჲ ბერი იგი და ძმანი მისნი

და წასჯნეს ვ̃ა უბრძანა მათ ქ̃ეს მოწამემან და ჩაასჯნა თუხართა

აჲ მეფობასა ვახტანგ გორგასენისსა და მოვიდა ვახტა

ნგ გორგასენი ხილვად წ̃ისა ქ̃ეს მოწამისა და იხილა და

ადიდებდა ღ̃ა და მოწამესა ქ̃ესსა და თქუა ვახტანგ გო

რგასენმან ამას ეწოდოს თუხართა მთავარ მოწამე

და გამოაჩინა ც̃ცხლმ̃ნ სხ̃აჲ კლდე რ̃ლსა ჰრქუიან ტანი

გჲრა თუნ ინებჲ დასჯენებაჲ თუხართა მთავარ მოწამე

მან მ̃ს ვე მეფობასა ვახტანგ გორგასენისასა და განუჩინა

მ̃მლთა მ̃თ ჩ̃ნთა გურის კაცთა და უთხრა ვ̃ღ იყვენით და

. მსჯრეთ ქ̃ეს მოწამესა და კ̃ხლ იყვენით უკ̃ეთუ შევედით

და სუკნეთ გარდაცვალებჯლთა ჩ̃ნისა გურის კ . . . . ული

სამოც და ერთი ღ̃თ შე . . . . . . და წ̃ჲ გ̃ი . . . . და

შავებულ და არცადა ვიყო . . . და ვინცა

სხჯ̃ნი და̃სრლნეთ თქ̃ნცა გაფრთხლად ით[

. . . რენით: . : .

In the name of God and by the aid of St . . . . š.[22] I, ——— the ascete Esaia (Isaiah)[23] some brief word shall answer . . . .

[22] l.1 The end of the line is badly stained. It is not clear what the name of the second supernal instance is: at the end of the line it is possible that we should read მე წადიერ ვიყავ "I became desirous."

[23] l.2 ესე იაჲ "this Iay" is almost certainly an error for ესაიაჲ *Esaiay* "Isaiah." A St. Ia figures in the Greek martyrologies (B. H. G.[2] 761: August 6), but would not fit in here because she was a lady (m. ca. 360 A.D. in Persia: last edition of her acta by H. Delehaye in *Patrologia Orientalis*, II (1905), 453–473).

and the coming up of our χωρίτης [24] from the banks of the Jordan, which is by Jerusalem, in that place where Christ our Lord was baptized, and having come . . . to Bizantia,[25] that [26] is Constantinople,[27] and seven years he served [28] the patriarchal throne and St. George. Then he beheld signs <in which he saw> [29] the ancient John *the Baptist* [30] who said that I am the witness of Christ, who have appeared to you in a vision (?) at this throne on the right hand. Arise, O ancient, and fear not, and set forth and take thy two brethren, Andria and Ilarion, and proceed to the north, and come whither I shall desire, but . . . . at that time they had arrived (?) at Salajuari,[31] and there they desired to repose. In . . . . year then the time was disturbed [32] by the barbarians: then he showed signs to the ancient [that] Arise and proceed to T'ukhart'a, which is on the bank of the Čorokh. The ancient, however, arose and his brethren and proceeded whither the martyr of Christ commanded them, and came down to T'ukhart'a in the reign (*or* kingdom) of Vakhtang Gorgosen,[33] and Vakhtang Gorgosen came to see the holy martyr of Christ, and beheld *him* and praised God and the martyr of Christ. And Vakhtang Gorgosen said: "This

[24] l.3 გჯარის კაცი: *guaris kac'i* would be the usual orthography. The *guari* in the mediaeval Georgian social structure was the second territorial unit in size, comprising several villages; cf. on this W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932), 222–224.

[25] l.5 ბიზანტიას *Bizantias*: I do not remember having come across this form in Georgian sources.

[26] *Lit.* which.

[27] For პავლეს *pavles* read პოლეს *poles*.

[28] At the end of the line we should probably read ჰმსახურებია "he has served."

[29] l.7 Something like this has fallen out of the text.

[30] l.6 John the Baptist] We assume that it was he rather than St. John the Divine who is meant, as the latter was taken up to heaven when alive. In this connection it is important to note that the monastery of Oška was dedicated to St. John the Baptist and that of Iškhan to St. John the Baptist and to the Blessed Virgin. So, too, was Opiza (Vakhušt Geogr. p. 110) where the gullet of St. John was preserved.

[31] l.12 სალაჯჯარს *Salajüars*] We cannot locate this place; ჯუარი *juari* "cross" is frequently compounded in place-names.

[32] l.13 მიმგირე *mimgiro*] Not in the lexicons and translated by guess. The reading is clear, so the word may be corrupt.

[33] l.16 გორგასენისსა *Gorgasenissa*] The form of Vakhtang's appellation varies very considerably in the tradition. გორგასალ *Gorgasal* and გორგასლან *Gorgaslan* are also found.

one shall be called the archmartyr of T'ukhart'a;" and fire pointed out another cliff which they called Tanigara.[34] There the archmartyr desired repose at T'ukh[a]rt'a ..... and in the same reign of Vakhtang Gorgosen. And he assigned estates of our χωρῖται, and told *them* that Be ye here and serve the martyr of Christ and be blessed if ye shall enter for aye to the departed of our χωρῖται ..... seventy and one ..... and St. George ..... blackened [35] nor ..... and whosoever else shall do other things, do ye too with due exactitude.[36] .....
.....

We have in this description a tale which is obviously related to the saga of Vakhtang Gorgaslan. This royal personage, though a historical figure (450–510 A.D.), is surrounded in the Georgian Chronicle by a haze of legend.[37] He is portrayed as one of the Titans (*bumberazi, nart'i*) akin to those which figure in the epic tales derived from Persian sources, such as the Amiran-Darejaniani.[38] The youthful king overcomes his antagonists, who are of superhuman stature and of demoniacal strength. He crushes the Ossetes, he undertakes a victorious struggle against the king of Persia, and later goes far afield to help the latter in their campaigns against the inhabitants of India and Ethiopia (*Habashi*). Into this legend complex are woven as well elements from hagiographic literature, such as the coming of the Syrian pilgrims, and it is with this latter strand that our tale seems to be connected.

Let us see what can be extracted from the story. A monk whose name is probably Esaia (reading ესაია *Esaiay* for ესე აია *ese iay* of the MS.) came from Palestine to Constantinople where he served for seven years in connection with one of the metropolitan churches. We deduce that he brought with him some relics of St. John the Baptist and also that he was a native of the Caucasian district to which he ultimately returned. After seven years stay in

[34] l.21/22 ტანიგარა *Tanigyra*] The first four letters are uncertain.

[35] l.27/l.28 [და]შავებული.

[36] l.29 Probably l. გაფრთხილად.

[37] The story of Vakhtang is given in great detail in the Georgian Chronicle, ed. Brosset (Text 87–126 = Translation 148–200).

[38] On the Amiran-Darejaniani see K. Kekelidze, *Kart'uli literaturis istoria* II (Tiflis, 1924), 44–63 and *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, XV (1933), 32.

"Bizantia" he received a command in a vision from the saint to return to the Caucasus. Here he and his two brethren, Andria and Ilarion, stopped at Salajuari where after the lapse of (more than one) year, a barbarian invasion disturbed them, and the saint commanded him to proceed to T'ukharisi, on the bank of the Čorokh. They arrived here during the reign of Vakhtang Gorgaslan. He viewed the relics and commanded that a church be built called that of the archmartyr of T'ukharisi. The miraculous appearance of fire pointed out another crag called Tanigara as the place where the archmartyr desired repose. The remainder of the adscription is too fragmentary to yield much connected sense.

Such seems to be the meaning of the confused and carelessly written text. No parallel could be traced in any available printed sources, but it seems obvious that we have here a *Stiftungslegende* of a church at T'ukharisi, which seems to be connected with one of the local monasteries.

Further confirmation of this is afforded by the *mkhedruli* adscription on f. 92v which we adduce below (p. 247). Though it does not yield any connected sense, it does mention the "archmartyr of T'ukharisi," and this in turn appears to imply that the MS. remained at this place until a relatively late date.

This locality is mentioned several times in the Georgian Chronicle. The form there used is თუხარისი *T'ukharisi.* The ending *-isi* or *-esi* is a frequent one in Georgian town names, e.g., Tp'ilisi, K'ut'aisi, Nekresi, Manglisi, etc., and is clearly a formation from the genitive singular declined as a nominative, while Bert'ay is based on the genitive plural. The form თუხართა *T'ukhart'a* (genitive or dative plural) which is found in our text would imply a nominative *T'ukharni*, but Georgian town names are generally not employed in the plural. I should take it therefore as applying to the district, for which use Armenian affords cogent parallels. It appears to have been a mountain on which a castle had been built, and this undoubtedly had a settlement of some sort clustering around it. In the Georgian Chronicle [39] T'ukharisi is men-

[39] Ed. Brosset, p. 20: "This Odzraḳhos constructed two castle-cities, Odzraḳhé and T'ukharisi"; p. 102: "And he (Mirdat — fourth century) constructed churches in the castle of T'ukharisi, since in the valley of Klardjet'ia there was no church, and in it he appointed priests as primates of the Klardjians"; p. 132: 'And when (Vakhtang Gorgaslan) came to T'ukharisi, he beheld and was enamoured of the

tioned as a frontier point at which a castle was built by Odzraḳhos, one of the sons of Mc'khet'os, the eponymic heroes of Odzraḳhé and Mc'khet' respectively. A church was built there by Mirdat, the 26th king of Georgia, with primacy over Klardjet'ia, while Vakhtang constructed a castle there. The locality was also known through the Chronicles to Vakhušt in the 18th century, who describes it briefly in his *Description of Georgia*.[40]

T'ukharisi is also mentioned in a document cited in full by D. Z. Bak'radze, *Arkheologičeskoye Putešestviye po Gurii i Adčare* (Sankt-Peterburg 1878), pp. 79 ff. This document is entitled: კათალიკოზის სამწყსო სამცხე-საათაბეგოს: The editor had at his disposal two complete and one partial copies. The title can be translated: 'The pastorate of the kat'alikozi in *the district of* Samc'khe-Saat'abego.' It contains a (partial) list of the noble clans of the district, its episcopal sees and other divisions. Vakhušt obviously had had access to a kindred document. At the end (p. 80) we read: თუხარელნი სასოფლოთა (leg. სასაფლ-) მონასტრითა და კარის ეკკლესიითა 'They of T'ukharisi with a cemetery, a monastery and a church of the court' (Bak'radze translates: *s pridvornoyu tserkov'yu*). The date of the document is uncertain, but we should note that, at least when it was compiled, T'ukharisi was not an episcopal see.

The exact geographical location of T'ukharisi is a matter of considerable dispute. Armenian sources, such as the Geography of ps. Moses of Khorene,[41] place this locality in Tayk' (Geor. Taoy) and on the Čorokh, as do the Armenian historians Łevond [42] and Step'anos Asołik.[43] Vakhušt puts it on a side affluent of the Čorokh, the Sat'le, and on the north bank, opposite to Tbet' which must therefore be on the south bank.[44] Our text clearly belongs

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castle and said: 'Verily art thou a castle.' This atrocious popular etymology is based on the words თუ ხარ *t'u khar* "that thou art"!

[40] p. 132: "Over against Tbet' on the north side across the river is the castle of T'ukharisi, which was first built by Odzraḳhos the son of Mc'khet'os; later King Mirdat built a church in the castle; then after being destroyed by (Marwan the) Deaf, the bishop of Tbet' rebuilt it, but it got its name from the strength of its fastness; 'thou art a castle and naught else.' "

[41] ed. Soukry p. 35.

[42] P. 26.

[43] P. 124.

[44] See above, note 40.

to that branch of the tradition represented by our Armenian sources, as it locates the place on the bank of the Čorokh. We must therefore assume with Hübschmann [45] that either there are two distinct places, or else infer that Vakhušt made an error in his placing of the locality.[46] The name seems to have gone out of use, and I have been unable to locate it on any modern map.

The language of the adscription differs considerably from the ordinary ecclesiastical phraseology, and closely resembles that of the Georgian Chronicle.

Apart from those discussed above, the adscriptions in the manuscript are relatively late in date. The majority of them are massed near the beginning of Matthew, but scattered ones are met with throughout the text. They fall into three distinct groups:

(1) A series written in 'Gothic' (angular, slightly sloping) nuskhuri, mostly in black ink and in hands quite similar to each other. They contain a long list of names with considerable repetition, followed in almost every case by the formula შ(ეუნდვე)ს ღ(მერთმა)ნ "May God forgive him! (*or*, them)." The names are written with orthographical errors, and seem to the writer to have a west-Georgian cast, which lends support to the statement of Smith and Dwight that the MS. had been brought to Kars from Guria. I am inclined to attribute the hands to the 17th century. Three or four notices which contain other formulae appear also on palaeographical grounds to be somewhat earlier in date.

(2) A series of illiterate scrawls in the script known as მთიული *mt'iuli* or 'mountain' hand. The writer has never mastered this script, and though possible names appear in some cases, the reading is never certain.

(3) There are several *mkhedruli* adscriptions which appear to belong to the 16–17th centuries. None of these afford any historical data or mention any names of persons who played a rôle, however minor, in Georgian history.

After some hesitation we decided that it was worth while to adduce in the order of their occurrence the entire group of names which occur in these later adscriptions. The orthography is

[45] H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen* (Leipzig 1904), pp. 356–7 and 360.

[46] This seems the likelier alternative, as Vakhušt's description of Samc'khe in general is very confused.

peculiar in numerous instances, and in several cases the names seem to be repeated. The appellations are partly masculine, partly feminine. In a number of cases the words are simply juxtaposed without the intercalation of the copula *da* 'and' or by the omission of the invocation შეუნდვეს ღმერთმან. We infer that there are family connections by marriage or by parentage in these instances. The feminine name apparently precedes in some places.

We obviously have to do with a body of the local inhabitants. A strong Mohammedan strain appears in the nomenclature. Persian or Turkish equivalents can be identified only with difficulty, in view of the unstable orthography. In adscriptions written by the later hand patronymics are almost wholly absent. The list resembles greatly that published by Marr from the Gospels of Art'vin,[47] but the names vary considerably. The possibility is by no means excluded that this MS., like the one just mentioned, may have acquired miraculous potency in the popular mind. In the translation of these adscriptions we do not repeat the formula შეუნდვეს ღმერთმან "May God forgive!" every time it occurs. This particular Georgian verbal form demands an object in the dative case; in older Georgian this ends in -სა *-sa* in nouns, but in proper names, especially those ending in a vowel, it usually terminates in -ს *-s*. As the names are all in the dative case, it is uncertain whether the regular Georgian nominative form in consonantal stems, which ends in -ი *-i*, should be employed here. We therefore merely adduce the names recorded, unless the formula varies, when we translate in full. Where the name is written under contraction, the vocalization, if certain, is indicated by italics, but if not, the word is transcribed without expanding. Fragments of names not clearly identifiable are omitted in the translation.

Fol. 2r Adscription at top in ornate mkhedruli: *two lines of which the first is illegible through staining while the second reads:*

ს დღესა მ"ს აღდგომისასა და ელ . . . . . ლ

. . . the day of the Resurrection and El . . . . . .

Fol. 2v Remains of nine adscriptions in various hands.

(1) in *nuskhuri*: ბესიკს შ"ეს ღ"ნ After Besiki faint traces

[47] Cf. the work of N. Marr cited below (note 60), *Dnevnik*, pp. 189–201.

of a coarse *mt'iuli* inscription (three words) can be made out in the photograph.

(2) in *nuskhuri*;

იარაზიზას შვილისაჲ აძნადარს შ"ნს ღ"ნ:- მელიქს
შ"ნს ღ"ნ

მამასას . . . . ანდუხ"ს გორგის(sic)შ"ნს ღ"ნ

Iarazizasšvili Adznadar, Melik', Gorgi(sic)

(3) Two lines of quasi *mt'iuli*:

ფილიპ . . შეუნდნეს ღ"ნ ა"(sic)

. . . . . შეუნდნეს ღ"ნ ა"(sic)

P'ilipe

(4) Bold *nuskhuri* and very black ink:

ქ ჯოჯიკისძესა მარცუალს:შ":ღ"ნ:-
Marc'ual Jojikisdze

(5) Four lines in faded and stained sloping *nuskhuri*:

დ"ბაჲ ღ"სა დ"ბაჲ წ"ასა გიორგის იშვნეს მო.მახ..რ.ა
და წ"ასა

. . . . დნი და მოძღ"რი ი..რ.. და ი.. ი...ნ .ხუაპ..

რცა თავები ყოფილა სამოცი.თა ..ი გამოხა...ლებს

წ"ო ღ"ო მ"თ გაზრ.. დოლაძე პიწიგროს შეიცუალე.. ა

Doladze Picigro(?)

(6) Two lines in much worn *mt'iuli*:

ანანიას შვ.ლ დვთისი

შეუნდნეს ღ"ნ ა -

Anania the son of Davit'

(7) On same level as No. 6: *nuskhuri* much like that of No. 5 in six short lines:

ვრ...მდეს ესე

დ"ბაჲ შე . . . . . .

ი.რე ი.ღნია გ

ნჳიხა . შა:. და

. . . . ბი აზედვა

. . . .

After this follows (8), the English inscription cited above (note 3).

(9) At foot of page in small *nuskhuri*:

ისმაიფარს შ῀ნს ღ῀ნ:.

. . . რიისაჲ

Ismaip'ar

Fol. 3ᵛ In outer margin five lines in mt'iuli partly trimmed off:

ს

სალ?ე

თლეს

.ამზეს

ქ῀ე ღ῀ჲ

Fol. 6ᵛ Five lines of nuskhuri *in lower margin: black ink:*

ნარინ დ῀თ ელისაბედს შ῀ნს ღ῀ნ:.

ყედ῀ნს იათამზეს შ῀ნს ღ῀ნ ნ῀ნას მუშკლნ ბერს შ῀ნს ღ῀ნ:

.სლს აზმიაფარს შ῀ს ღ῀ნ ა῀ნ სალუყზ῀ნ ანუშხ῀თნს
შ῀ნს ღ῀ნ

მ . . . ნი გლქ῀ნს შ῀ნს ღ῀ნ ახლ῀ბდს გ῀ლდამს შ῀ნს ღ῀ნ

გურჯი შნ. ღ῀ნ (trimmed off) ს.῀მს . . რანშრს შ῀ნს
ღ῀ნ

Narin, Davit', Elisabed, Qed῀n Iat'am <d> ze, N῀na Mušk῀ln the monk, Azmaip'ar, Saluqz*a*n, Anuškh*a*t'*u*n, G*u*lk'an, Akh῀lb῀d, G*u*ldam, Gurji.

Fol. 7^r *Five lines of* nuskhuri *in lower margin: black ink:*

ელიას ბედკს შჼნს ღჼნ გჼგის მჼრინეს შჼნს ღჼნ
ნარიმას კეკლუცას ელისეს შჼნს

რაბიდას დესპინახთნს შჼნს ღჼნ მხჼრბლს ელნეს შჼნს
ღჼნ . . . ნთღბ . . . .

იშს შჼნს ღჼნ:გჼგლს (მ crossed out)თმარს შჼს ღჼნ
გღგიჩას დილავარნი შჼნს ღჼნ

ქანიდავლეს თეთიას შჼნს ღჼნ მხჼრებლს შამანდხს შჼნს
ღჼნ

მხრბჼლს . . ნათღბს ზურაბ მზექალს შჼნს ღჼნ

Elia Bek(ms. bedks), Giorgi Marine, Narima Kekluc'a, Elise, Rabida, Despinakh*a*t'*u*n, M*a*kh*a*r*e*bel*i*, El*e*ne,]nat'obi, Gr*igol*, T'*a*mar, Gogič'a Dilavarni, K'anidavle T'et'ia, M*a*kh*a*r*e*bel*i*, Šamand*u*kh*t*, M*a*kh*a*r*e*bel*i*,]nat'obi, Zurab, Mzek'ali.

Fol. 7^v *Six lines of* nuskhuri *in lower margin: black ink; trimmed off at bottom:*

იღსფს იათამზეს შჼნს ღჼნ ცრღუთს ასმნაჯავრს შჼნს
გბჼრლს ბდუჼჩს შჼნ ღჼნ ესნათღბს შჼნს ღჼნ

სლაიმანჼს და ულუმპიას შჼნს ღჼნ ყაზარღს მჼრინეს შჼნს
ღჼნ ინდღლს ელისაბედს შჼს ღჼნ

გჼგის სალჼმეს იჼსბს გჼლიანდარს მისთა ცცჼხლთა
მიცვლბლთა შჼნს ღჼნ

ნღშჼრვნს გლნათღს შჼნს ღჼნ რღმჼნგის შ[ჼნ]ს ღჼნ
წამთს ნარუპნს ელიას აზპიაფარს შჼნს

აბიათარს შჼნს ღჼნ ინდღს ელენეს შჼნს ღჼნ მრჼკზს
ბაბნისლ . . . ნ ღღნიას

(one fourth of line trimmed off) . . . . ნღს შჼნს ღჼნ
ქანიდჼვლე იახჼთნს სჼლუყაზანს შჼნს . . . . .

Iosep' Iat'am(d)ze, Orghut', Asmnajavri, Gabriel B*a*duč'i, Esnatobi, S*u*laiman and Ulumpia, Qazaro, M*a*rine, Indol, Elisabed, Giorgi Sal*a*dze, Ioseb, G*u*liandar with his living and deceased, Noš*i*rv*a*n Gulnat'o, Rom^{ᲛᲜ}ngi, Camt' Narubn, Elia, Azmiap'ar, Abiat'ar, Indo, Elene, M*a*rkoz, Babnis, Ghonia, K'anidavle Iakh*a*t'*u*n, S*a*luqazan.

Fol. 8^{r} Five lines of nuskhuri *in lower margin: black ink; end of last line trimmed off:*

ᲫᲛᲐᲗᲐ ᲒᲝᲚᲡ ᲔᲡᲜᲐᲗᲝᲑᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ: ᲮᲐᲮᲣᲢᲐᲡ ᲛᲖᲘᲡ . .
ᲗᲐᲜᲓᲐᲠᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ

ᲚᲖᲠᲔᲡ ᲔᲚᲒᲜᲓᲘᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲛᲒᲚᲬᲮᲠᲡ ᲚᲐᲚᲘᲗᲐᲠᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ
ᲦᲝᲜ ᲤᲘᲗᲧᲣᲚᲐᲐᲡ . . ᲨᲝᲜᲡ . .

ᲘᲜᲔᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲞᲝᲕᲚᲔᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲛᲮᲠᲝᲑᲚᲡ ᲓᲘᲚᲐᲕᲠᲓᲘᲡ
ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲙᲝᲙᲐᲡ ᲚᲐᲚᲘ. ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ

ᲓᲝᲗᲡ ᲓᲐ ᲘᲠᲘᲜᲔᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲯᲝᲑᲘᲜᲐᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲛᲮᲠᲝᲑᲚᲡ
ᲐᲝᲜᲡ ᲨᲐᲥᲐᲠᲐᲡ ᲛᲠᲜᲔᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ [ᲦᲝᲜ]

ᲓᲕᲝᲗᲡ ᲔᲚᲘᲡᲐᲑᲔᲓᲡ ᲓᲐ ᲔᲚᲠᲓᲒᲝᲚᲐᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲒᲘᲠᲒᲘᲡ ᲛᲘᲡ

. . . . ᲠᲣᲥᲡ ᲓᲐ ᲛᲖᲘᲡᲗᲐᲜᲓᲐᲠᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲘᲐᲡᲝᲜᲡ ᲐᲖᲛᲐᲓ....[

The brothers Gul Esnat'ob, Khakhuta Mzist'andar, L*a*zare El-g*u*ndi, Mgl^{ᲛᲜ}ckhar, Lalit'ar, P'it'qula, I*oa*ne, P*a*vle, M*a*kh*a*r*e*b*e*l*i*, Dilav*a*rdi, K^{ᲛᲜ}ka Lali, Davit' and Irine, Jobina, M*a*kh*a*r*e*b*e*l*i*, A^{ᲛᲜ}n, Šak'ara, M*a*rine, Davit' Elisabed and Elr^{ᲛᲜ}dg^{ᲛᲜ}la, Girgi, Mzist'andar, Ias*o*n, Azmad.

Fol. 8^{v} At top mt'iuli *adscription — not decipherable. At foot* nuskhuri *adscription: six lines in black ink; the last line is almost wholly trimmed off:*

ᲡᲒᲐ ᲠᲘᲡᲛᲔᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲝᲥᲡᲒᲡ ᲩᲐᲥᲠᲐᲝᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲛᲥᲔᲚᲡ
ᲒᲝᲚᲘᲐᲜᲓᲐᲠᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲡᲒᲐᲡ ᲒᲝᲚᲘᲝᲜᲬᲠᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ

ᲒᲝᲒᲘᲡ ᲐᲜᲣᲡᲘᲐᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲧᲐᲬᲝᲜᲐᲡ ᲬᲣᲠᲐᲒᲐᲝᲡ ᲓᲐᲠᲩᲘᲐᲡ
ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲓᲝᲕᲚᲗᲘᲐᲠᲡ ᲘᲐᲮᲐᲝᲗ.Ს ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ

ᲔᲚᲘᲐᲡ ᲗᲛᲚᲘᲥᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ ᲒᲝᲒᲘᲡ ᲛᲠᲘᲜᲔᲡ ᲨᲝᲜᲡ ᲦᲝᲜ:

Then in another hand in gray ink, earlier than the first part of the line.

ს^ოლსა გ^ოლფანიოთეს შ^ონს ღ^ონ ა^ონ:

გერმნოზს მარინეს შ^ონს ღ^ონ ელიას ელენეს შ^ონს ღ^ონ:

Then in gray ink.

სლაიმანს მრნეს ვრძულს შ^ონს ღ^ონ

იოსებ და შამანდუხს გ^ოლფანიოზს ღ^ონ(sic) აბრამ
რუშხა ინგ^ოლს შ^ონს ღ^ონ

]რს რამადანს ან[

S*a*b*a*y Risme, Ioseb Zak'^ora, M*i*k'el, G*u*liandar, S*a*b*a*y G*u*liazar, Giorgi, Anusia, Qaz*a*na Zuraba Darč'ia, Dovl*e*t'iar Iakh*a*t'*un*, Elia T'mlik', Giorgi, Marine, Gulp'aniot'e, Germ*a*noz, Marine, Elia, Elene, S*u*laiman Marine V*a*rdzul, Ioseb and Šamand*u*kh*t* G*u*lp'anioz, Abram, Ruškha, Ingol, ... Ramadan.

Fol. 9r Five lines of nuskhuri *in lower margin: black ink: the last line is trimmed off at the end:*

ელიას მულქიჯანს შ^ონს ღ^ონ: ი^ონეს გ^ოლფაიკს შ^ონს ღ^ონ

გოჩას გლმაის შ^ონს ღ^ონ ლშ^ოქრს მრნეს გ^ოიგის შ^ონს ღ^ონ

თევდოსე რაოდენს შ^ონს ღ^ონ იმრინდოს რ^ოვზას ს^ოლთა
მამას შ^ონს ღ^ონ ელენეს შ^ონს ღ^ონ

აზ^ორიას აზმფრს შ^ონს ღ^ონ ირინეს შ^ონს ღ^ონ

იაველს ულუმპიას შ^ონს ღ^ონ თურანს მრნდოს[

Elia Mulk'ijan, *Ioa*ne G*u*lp'aik, Goč'a G*u*lmais, Lašk'ar Marine, Giorgi, T'evdose (several), Imrindo R^ovza Sultan Mama, Elene, Az*a*ria, Azm^op'*a*r, Irine, Iavel, Ulumpia, T'uran, Mr^ondo (?).

Fol. 9v Three lines in nuskhuri *in lower margin: black ink; last line trimmed at beginning. In line 1 coarse hand and gray ink:*

გრ^ოგლს რომ^ონგის შ^ონს ღ^ონ ირინეს შ^ოს ღ^ონ ყაზ^ონფრს
შ^ონს ღ^ონ

მᵒხრბლს გᵒლიზრს თᵒეს გᵒლმას შიოს შᵒნა ღᵒნ
მᵒხრბლს გლმჲის თემიროზ და

. . . . ღს შაქარას მᵒრნ;;ს შᵒნს ღᵒნ ლშქრის გრᵒგლს
შᵒნს ღᵒნ

Grigol Rom*a*ngi, Irine, Qaz*a*np'*a*r, M*a*kh*a*r*e*beli, G*u*li*a*z*a*r, T'ev-dore, Gulmais, Šio, M*a*kh*a*r*e*beli, G*u*lma*i*s, T'emiroz, Šak'ara, Marine, L*a*šk'ar, Gr*i*g*o*l.

Fol. 10ʳ Three lines of nuskhuri *in lower margin: ends of lines stained:*

ირდნეს გᵒგის ღამშᵒრს შᵒნს ღᵒნ გᵒლბის მᵒრინეს
ყოფილისაჲ ირინეს შᵒნს ღᵒნ

კაკუჩას გᵒლქანს შᵒს ღᵒნ აღდგომიას გᵒლფაიკს შᵒნს ღᵒნ

საბჲს (four ll. erased)ნდო შᵒნს ღᵒნ ყანდურალის იაღაშა
(three ll. erased) შᵒნს ღᵒნ

Irine(ms. IrDnes), Giorgi Ghamš*a*r, G*u*lbis who was Marine, Irine, Kakuč'a, G*u*lk'an, Aghdgomia, G*u*lp'aik, Sab*a*y, Qandurali Iaghaša.

Fol. 10ᵛ Four lines of nuskhuri *in the lower margin: the last two are trimmed off at the beginning.*

ასალარს იამინდოს შᵒნს ღᵒნ სორზან შვრმაზს შᵒნს
ღᵒნ ახᵒლბედს თომაიდანს შᵒნს ღᵒნ

მირზას გᵒლქნს შᵒნს ღᵒნ მინასეს გᵒლიანდარს
ფარუას იათარ ყრს შᵒნს ღᵒნ

ელიაზრ(stain) შᵒნს ღᵒნ ბადუჩის გᵒლბის ერიქს
გᵒლანდრს შნს ღᵒნ

In the last line only შᵒნს ღᵒნ at the end can be clearly made out. Asalar Iamindo, Sorzan, Šᵒvrmaz, Akh*a*lbed, T'omaidan, Mirza G*u*lk'*a*n, Minase, G*u*liandar, P'arua, Iat'ar qᵒrs, Eliaz*a*r, Baduč'i G*u*lbis, Erik', G*u*liand*a*r.

Fol. 11r Two lines of nuskhuri *in the lower margin: the last two are trimmed off at the beginning:*

დემეტრეს შ^ონ ღ^ონ სუთიკს დისა და დედამამათა შ^ონ
ღ^ონ კირკოზს შ^ონს ღ^ონ

Demetre, Sut'ik his sister and parents, Kir*a*koz. To the left two semi-illegible words.

Fol. 11v One line of nuskhuri *in lower margin:*

იოსბს თაჯარხ^ონს შ^ონს ღ^ონ როსტომს ელენეს შ^ონს
ხ^ონსლთანს შ^ონს ღ^ონ

Ios*e*b Tajarkh*a*n, Rostom, Elene, Kh*a*n S*u*lt'an.
Below mt'iuli inscription in two lines, mentioning გორგი Gorgi.

Fol. 12r Another mt'iuli *inscription.*

Fol. 12v Mt'iuli *inscription in one line in the upper margin, and another in two lines in the lower margin mentioning*

პეტრიკო ისაკ ევგენ

Petriko, Isak, Evgen.
A series of *mt'iuli* inscriptions now follows: ff. 13r/v, 14v, 15r/v, 16r/v, 17v, 18r/v, 23v, 29v together with some scrawls.

Fol. 84v In nuskhuri *in the lower margin:*

ს^ოლსა გ^ოგის რ^ოჲოდენს შ^ონს ღ^ონ

O God, forgive the soul*s* of sundry Giorgi's.

Fol. 86r At the end of Matthew in the free space is a five line mt'iuli *inscription.*

Fol. 92r In lower margin adscription of four lines in scrawly mḳhedruli (s.16) *It starts with an uncertain character; then:*

სახელითა:· ღმრთისათა:· მამისა:· ძისა:· და სულისათა

და . . . . . და რამა . . და გუარმან კაცთამან თუხართა

მთავარ მოწმესა მამულბი მე უმალნეს და ანუ

გუყოს კრულია უკნისამდე

In the name of God, of the Father, of the Son and of the Spirit

and . . . . . the race of men at the archmartyr of T'ukharisi (T'ukhart'a in ms.) shall conceal the properties and or (*sic*) he shall be for us a captive unto eternity.

Fol. 100ᵛ Mt'iuli *adscription in five lines.*

Fol. 102ʳ In small nuskhuri *upside down in lower margin: black ink:*

ოჳ ღჳ შჳ რომანოზ აჳნ O Lord God, have mercy on Romanoz. Amen. Here also the drawing of a cross upside down.

Fol. 118ᵛ Two words in mt'iuli.

Fol. 125ᵛ Five lines in mt'iuli.

Fol. 130ᵛ On blank page facing incipit of Luke three lines of sloping Gothic nuskhuri (s. 16/17): *black ink:*

ქჳ ღჳ შეიწყალე ბათინიძე ლავრენტი და თჳა მეცხედრე

მისი ორსა ვე ცხორებჲსა შჳა აჳნ ძეთა მათთა შჳნს

ღჳნ აჳნ ვინცა შენჳბულ ყოთ თქჳნცა შჳნ ღჳნ აჳნ

O Christ God, have mercy on Lavrenti Bat'inidze and his consort in both lives. Amen. May God forgive their children. Amen. Ye whosoever shall give (*lit.* make) forgiveness, may God forgive you also. Amen.

In the same hand after a gap of four lines:

დევარძესა ეფთჯმე წინამძღჳრსა შჳნ ღჳნ აჳნ

May God forgive the higumen [48] Ep't'üme Devardze. Amen.

Fol. 134ᵛ In small ornate mkhedruli *in lower margin: black ink:*

მამასა ჭემსა (sic) სულთამბარს შეუნდვეს ღჳნ აჳნ

May God forgive my father Sult'ambars. Amen.

Fol. 145ᵛ Partial nuskhuri *alphabet (Gothic) in lower margin.*

Fol. 185ᵛ Coarse drawing of a human figure in the margin, tagged მათე *Matthew.*

[48] Fol. 130ᵛ. The expression *cinamdzghuari* is literally "preceder," equivalent to the Greek *προστάτης*, or the Russian предводитель. It is used both of clerical and secular dignitaries, but the clerical seems more likely here.

Fol. 203r At end of Luke adscription of scribe discussed above (p. 232). In the other column a coarse drawing of a cross on a stand of plaited work. Below in angular nuskhuri:

რომნოს და დედამამათა შ^ონს ღ^ონ ა^ონ

დთს და დედამამათა მისთა შ^ონს ღ^ონ ა^ონ

May God forgive Rom*a*nos and *his* parents. Amen. May God forgive Davit' and his parents. Amen. *Under this are a mt'iuli scrawl and some crosses.*

Fol. 203v On the blank page facing the incipit of John are the remains of several adscriptions: the surface of the parchment has been somewhat scarified:

(1) In highly ligatured *mkhedruli*:

ქ.ელდნელ . . . . ლ . . . . დ . . ს ჭუნ.დ . . . . თინ

(2) In *nuskhuri*:

ცოდვილსა იოსრმანეს შ^ონს ღ^ონ

The sinful Iosrmane(?).

(3) In *nuskhuri*:

წ.ს^ოლსა ისბს მანგურს .მათეს და მისი . . . . . .ღ^ონ

The soul of I*o*s*e*b Mangur . . . Mat'e and his . . . .

(4) In coarse *nuskhuri*:

ღ^ოო შ^ოე ს^ოლი ელჲზრასი

O God, have mercy on the soul of Elaz^ოra.

(5) Ten *mt'iuli* characters. At foot coarse drawing of a cross.

Fol. 226v Very angular nuskhuri *and black ink in upper margin:*

ფილსუნ შ^ონ ღ^ონ და მის მეუღლეს მანიშაკას შ^ონ ღ^ონ

გაბრელ შ^ონ ღ^ონ ა^ონ ელჲზრ შ^ონ ღ^ონ ა^ონ

P'ilsun, his consort Manišaka, Gabr*i*el, Ela^ოzar.

Fol. 236v Angular slightly rounded nuskhuri: *greenish-black ink: in the lower margin of pages en regard:*

იორდანეს შ^ონს ო^ონ ღ^ონ მონაო ქ^ოესო შეიწყალე და

მოითხოვე ქ^ოესგ^ონ შენდობაჲ ცოდვათაჲ და დიდი
წყალობაჲ სულთა ჩ^ონთა თჳს:-

On the opposite page (fol. 237r):

მართლად იტყჳს მცქლი შიში შეიქს სიყ^ოჳრლისაჲ

ცოდვილსაჲ ვის მე იორდანეს შ^ო ღ^ონ:-

May God forgive Iordane. O servant of Christ, have mercy and obtain for me forgiveness of sins and great compassion for our souls. Justly saith the apostle: "Fear createth love" — for a certain sinful Iordane.

Fol. 250v Irregular rounded nuskhuri: *black ink; in lower margin:*

ენოს(sic) ჲ·ღგრძლებით შამანდუტს

შ^ონს ღ^ონ მხრეულსა ელგნდის შ^ონს ღ^ონ

. . . . with length of days May God forgive Šamandu*kh*t. May God forgive Mkh*ia*ruli [49] Elg*u*ndi.

Fol. 253r Rough cross in outer margin.

Fol. 253v Several drawings of crosses in outer and lower margin.

The implication to be drawn from these adscriptions appears to be that the MS. in the 16/17th century had been in some relatively accessible place, perhaps in a village church. The majority of the monasteries of Tao-Klarjet'ia had been abandoned by this period, as is shown by the history of sundry MSS., which had been written there, and are now elsewhere in the Caucasus. The evidence also preponderates to localize this second habitat somewhere in Guria.

We now turn to the colophon. Though this important document is incomplete, lacking as it does the date, which was almost cer-

[49] Fol. 250v. *Mkhiaruli* means joyful, glad, and may be used here in the sense of the Greek *μακάριος*, German *selig*, in speaking of the departed. If so, it is a very uncommon expression; we have never seen it used as a name.

tainly added at the end, and despite the fact that the script has suffered defacement and rubbing, what is preserved is still legible. Colophons in Georgian MSS., like those of their Armenian congeners, frequently tend to be extremely lengthy. They often start off, as in this case, with a series of invocations — 'by the aid of,' etc. The first column is rather illegible, but the various powers and personages mentioned can be ascertained.

წყალობითა მამისაჲთა და შე

წევნითა ძისაჲთა და მადლითა

სულისა წ͠ისაჲთა ამის

წ͠ისა სამებისა თაყვანის სა

ცემელისა მომადლებითა და

მადლითა წ͠ისა და ყ͠ლდ დი

დებულისა ღ͠თის მშობელისა

მ͠ს ქ͠ლწულისა მარიამისითა და

ძლიერებითა ცხოველს მყო

ფელისა პატიოსნისა ჯ͠ჲთა

და წ͠ისა მთავარ ანგელოზისაჲ

თა: და წ͠ისა იოანე ნა

თლის მცემელისაჲთა და წ͠თა

მცქლთაჲთა და წ͠თა წინა

წყლთაჲთა და წ͠თა მოწამე

თაჲთა და წ͠თა მღდელთ მო

ძღუართაჲთა და ყ͠თა მა

მათაჲთა და წ͠ისა მამისა ჩ͠ნისა

საბაჲსითა და ყ͠ლთა წ͠თა

და ნების მყოფელთა მისთა

მეოხებითა

მე გლახაკი გაბრიელ და მე

უღლე ჩემი ღირს ვიქმენით

დაწერად წმიდისა ამის სა
ხარებისა ლავრასა შინა
დიდსა ბერთას საყოფელსა
წ᾿დისა ღ᾿თის მშობელისასა
სალოცველად მეფეთა ჩ᾿ნთა
სუმბატ ერისთავთა ერის
თავისა თჳს და შვილთა მ᾿თ
თა თჳს დავითის თჳს და
ბაგრატის თჳს და სალოცვე
ლად თავისა ჩ᾿ნისა თჳს და
შვილთა ჩ᾿ნთა თჳს მიქაელ
ის თჳს და მარიამის თჳს
თაგუნაჲს თჳს და შუშან
ის თჳს: და სალოცველად
სულსა მშობელთა ჩ᾿ნთასა დ[ა]
შვილთა ჩ᾿ნთასა:
როსტომის თჳს და გეორგის თჳს
მირდატის თჳს და ყ᾿თა მიცვა|

The first column of the colophon reads: "By the mercy of the Father and the aid of the Son and the grace of the Holy Ghost, of this venerable Trinity and the grace of the saintly and wholly glorious Mother of God, the ever Virgin Mariam, and by the power of the life-giving *and* venerable Cross, and of the holy archangel, and of St. John the Baptist, and of the holy apostles, and of the holy prophets, and of the holy martyrs, and of the holy arch-prelates, and of all the fathers, and of our holy father Sabay, and of all the saintly ones and of those doing his will through intercession"; here the second column begins. This is all legible. We translate this also:

"I, the lowly Gabriel and my consort,[50] we have become worthy

[50] მეუღლე = *σύζυγος*, hence she is certainly his lawful consort.

Fig. 1. Bert'ay Gospels, fol. 1v: Portraits of Matthew and Mark

Fig. 2. Bert'ay Gospels, fol. 2r: Portraits of Luke and John

FIG. 3. Adysh Gospels, fol. 1: Portraits of Luke and John

FIG. 4. Venice, San Lazzaro no. 887, fol. 7r: Portraits of Luke and John

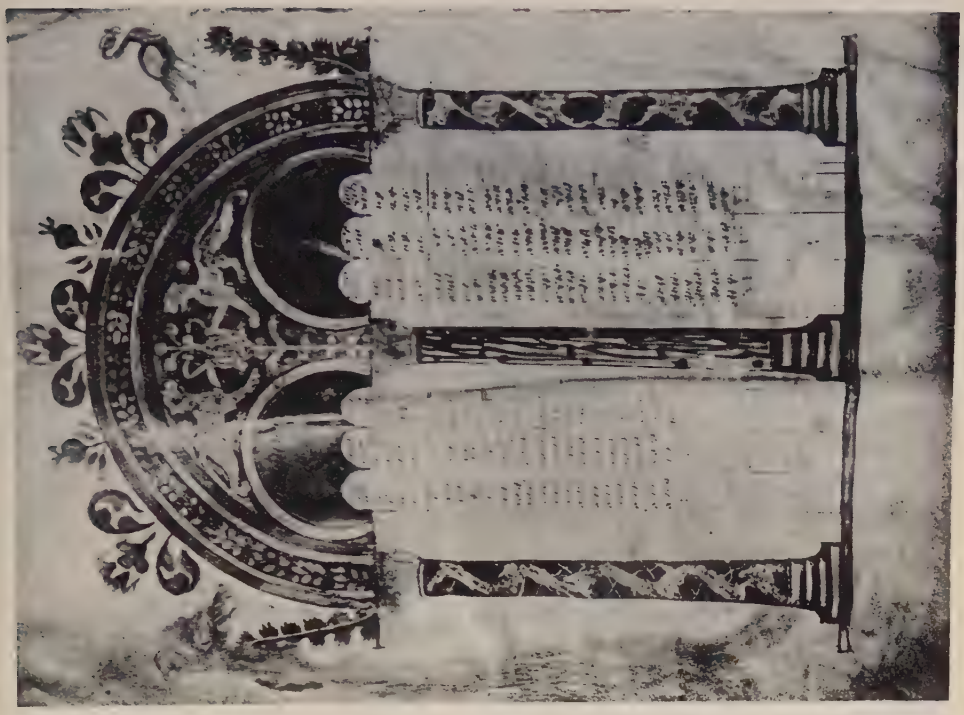

Fig. 6. Mlk'e Gospels (Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1144), fol. 3v: Canons III and IV

Fig. 5. Bert'ay Gospels, fol. 3r: Canon I

Fig. 7. Bert'ay Gospels, fol. 3v: Canon I

Fig. 8. Etchmiadzin Gospels (Etchmiadzin, no. 229), fol. 1v: Letter of Eusebius

Fig. 9. Bert'ay Gospels, fol. 4r: Canon II

Fig. 10. Bert'ay Gospels, fol. 4v: Canons III and IV

Fig. 11. Bert'ay Gospels, fol. 5r: Canons V and VI

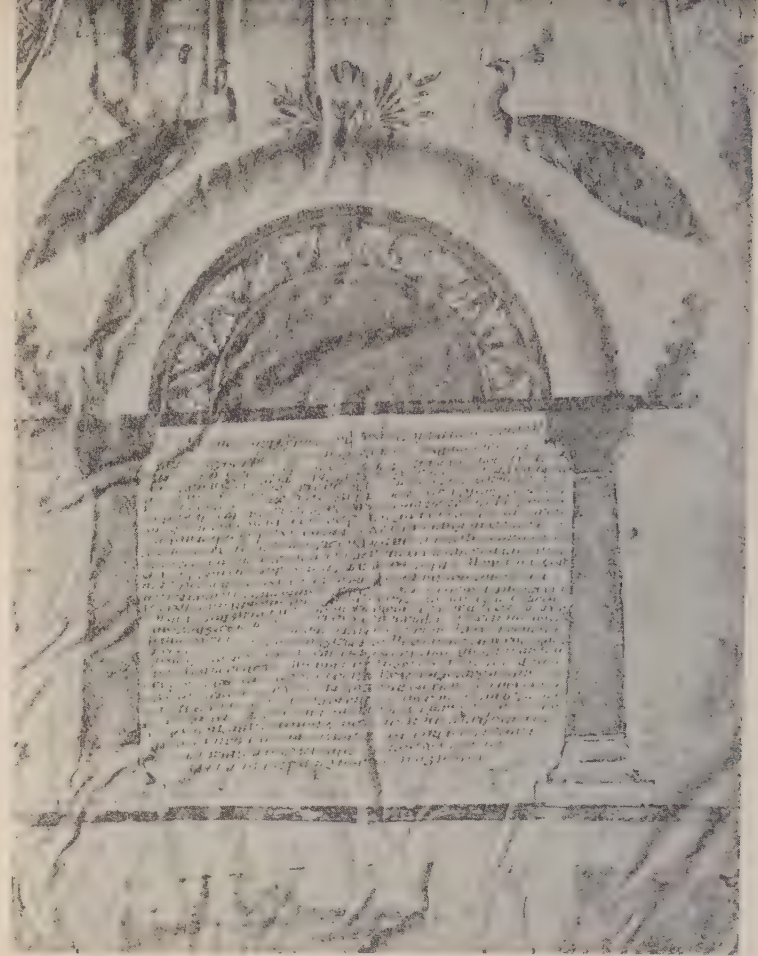

Fig. 12. Etchmiadzin Gospels (Etchmiadzin no. 229), fol. 1r: Letter of Eusebius

Fig. 13. Bert'ay Gospels, fol. 5v: Canons VII to X

Fig. 14. Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate no. 2555, fol. 7r: Temple

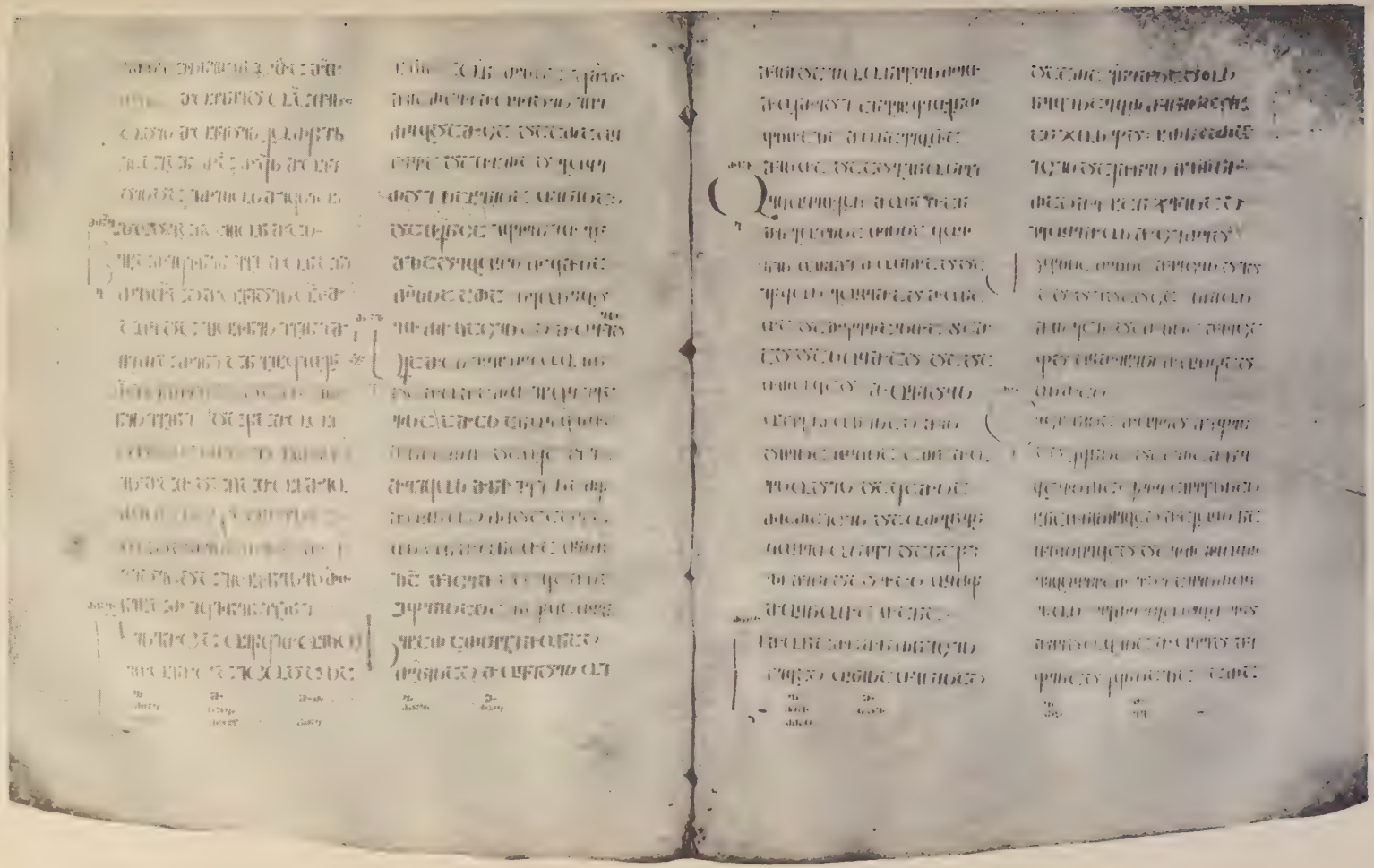

Fig. 15. Bert'ay Gospels, f. 172v/173r: Luke 12, 36-45

of having this sacred Gospel written in the great lavra *of* Bert'ay, the abode of the Holy Mother of God, so as to pray for our kings,[51] Sumbat, Prince of Princes, and for his sons, for Davit' and for Bagrat (and) as a prayer for ourselves and for our sons [52] Mik'ael and Mariam and for T'agunay [53] and for Šušani, for the soul*s* of our parents (and)[54] for our sons Rostom and Georgi, for Mirdat [55] and for all the depar/ted . . ." Two pages are missing from the MS.

The closest parallel which we have found to this text from the point of view of form is the colophon of the Gospels of Djruč, which were written at Šatberd in the year 936. Of this unfortunately we have only available the text as published by Brosset (*Voyage archéologique au Caucase*, 12e livraison (St. Petersburg, 1851), pp. 83–5. It is now in the library of the Georgian Society for History and Ethnography (no. 1667 according to Baltrusaitis; see below, note 151). The MS. was brought to Tiflis by E. T'aqaišvili in 1920, when Blake made a fleeting examination of it. The text reads, discounting some obvious neologisms:

ღირს ვიქმენ მე გრიგოლ დაწერად
წმიდაჲ ესე სახარება(ჲ) კელითა
გაბრიელ მღდელთა ნარჩევისა(ჲ)თა
თავად მეფესა ჩემსა სუმბატს
სალოცველად და შემღგომად მშო
ბელთა მირმაცის თჳს თაგუნალის

(I)[56], Gregory have become worthy of writing this holy gospel through the hand of Gabriel the lowest of priests first as a prayer to my king Sumbat [57] and afterwards for my parents Mirmac' [58] and

[51] Queer, for Sumbat was never king, and is here called by his proper title "prince of princes." There seems to be no და "and" in the MS.

[52] To be taken here in the sense of "children."

[53] Peculiar name: possible we should read *Ragunay* (t' for r), feminine of Raguen, a name which occurs among the Bagratids at this epoch. T'agunay should mean a little mouse (from თაგჳ *t'agü*), yet the colophon of the Djruč Gospels gives us the name T'agunal — also feminine.

[54] Apparently traces in the MS.; this should be supplied, as the children are dead.

[55] Armenian *Միհրդատ Mihrdat* — Mithridates.

[56] მე is added by D. Bak'radze, *Sak'art'velos istoria*, Tiflis 1889, p. 233. It is not quite clear if he recollated the text.

[57] სუმბატს is in capitals.

[58] მირმაცის seems most suspicious: I am inclined to think we have here a mistake or a misreading for მირდატის *Mirdat*; ტ and ც are easily confused in nuskhuri.

და ძმათა და დათა ჩემთა ცოდვა
თა და თანაცხოვრებულისა ჩემის
ათა საკსრად და მკუდართა სა
კსენებელად ილარიონის თჳს და
დაშელის თჳს . . .
დაიწერა წმიდაჲ ესე სახარებაჲ
შატბერ(დ)ს კელითა უცბად
მჩხრეკელისა გაბრიელისა თანა
შეწევნითა და მოდუაწებითა
გაბრიელისა(ჲ)თა და გეორგისითა
რამეთუ დიდი გულს მოდგინება(ჲ)
მაჩუენეს წმიდასა ამის სახარ
ებისა დაწერასა . . .
დასაბამიდგან წელნი იყვნეს ხფმ
ქორონიკონი იყო რნვ

T'agunali[59] and for my brothers and sisters and for my life's companion[60] as an expiation of sins and in memory of the deceased Ilarion and Dašel.
This holy Gospel was written at Šatberd by the hand of the ignorant scribbler Gabriel and with the aid and efforts of Gabriel and Georgi, for great zeal did they manifest me in the writing of this Holy Gospel.
The years from the creation were 6540; the paschal cycle was 156.

What do we learn from the colophon of our MS.? In summarizing the facts, we shall endeavor to comment on and to explain them.

(1) The *κτήτωρ* of the MS. does not mention his family name: he is married and has children. Whatever were his rank or class,

[59] თაგუნალის; see above, note 53. One might think that the holy father Sabay in the Bert'ay colophon might possibly be the Sabay, abbot of Iškhan, who is mentioned in the life of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a (Peeters, *Histoires monastiques géorgiennes*, AB XXXVI–XXXVII, 237, 238, 250). Saba is to be dated at Iškhan around 833; it is there that St. Gregory hears of the death of King Ašot (833). This conjecture has some support through the fact that the *ktetor* of the Bert'ay gospels has a daughter T'agunay, while the mother of the scribe of the Djruč Gospels is called T'agunali. If the Bert'ay codex belongs to the ninth century, these persons might be identical. This is indeed possible, for *-ali* is used in Lazo-Mingrelian as a feminine ending, but the identification runs into other difficulties which are set forth above in the text. It seems more natural to assume that Sabay is the abbot of Bert'ay. At the same time it appears highly probable that some family connection exists between the groups of persons mentioned in the two colophons.

[60] თანაცხოვრებულისა ჩემისათა] Brosset's rendering of this is clearly wrong. He translates it: "pour les miens propres," making it refer to sins. The word can only mean "who has lived together with," and necessarily implies a wife or a concubine. Compare the consort in our MS. The construction is somewhat awkward, which is not uncommon in colophons.

he holds sway over a considerable area, and over groups of persons who are termed "gatherings" (კრებულნი). The fact that he is married does not exclude the possibility of his having been an ecclesiastic, as *chorepiscopi* at this period in the Caucasus frequently had families, and in one instance at least, the son succeeded his father in the see.[61] Documents are scarce for this period, charters are non-existent, and our chief source of information is a hagiographical text, the life of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a, written ca. 951.[62] A careful perusal of this document does indeed reveal two persons named Gabriel,[63] but not enough data are given on either of them to enable us to identify him with our *κτήτωρ*. His wife is not mentioned by name, and three of their children appear to be deceased. The *ὀνομασία* shows a distinct Armenian tinge, which is to be expected for the place and period.

(2) This MS. was written during the lifetime of "our kings (*mep'et'a*) Sumbat, prince of princes (*erist'avt'a erist'avi*)[64] and his sons Davit' and Bagrat." The complicated genealogy of the Georgian Bagratids at this period has been studied by Marquart and by Javakhišvili.[65] Though not all the stemma is certain, we stand, it would seem, on reasonably secure ground in the case of the two Sumbats who alone come into the picture.[66] Both of them

[61] See the Georgian Chronicle ed. Brosset (Text p. 197–Translation 278) for the mention of Kviriké and P'adla.

[62] Edited by N. Marr, *Žitie sv. Grigorija Chandzt'iskago* (Texty i Razyskanija po armjano-gruzinskoi filologii, VII, St. Petersburg, 1911) from the unique MS. (Cod. 2) at Jerusalem. Latin translation by P. Peeters in *Histoires monastiques géorgiennes* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXXVI–XXXVII), Brussels, 1923, 207 ff.

[63] Gabriel Dananč'ul, pp. 92–95; Gabriel the teacher (*modzghuari*), p. 150.

[64] ერისთავი *erist'avi*, *lit.* "head of the people." On this term see I. Džavakhov, *Gosudarstvennyi stroi drevnei Gruzii i drevnei Armenii* (Texty i Razyskaniya, VIII, St. Petersburg, 1905), 67–70; W. E. D. Allen, l. c., 237 ff.

[65] J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig 1903), pp. 431 ff.; I. Javakhišvili, *K'art'vel eris istoria*, II (Tiflis, 1913), 708.

[66] A succinct but clear discussion of the sources of the Georgian Chronicle (*K'art'lis C'khovreba* — Life of Kart'li) is given by C. Toumanoff, "On the Relationship between the founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Thamar," *Speculum*, XV (1940), 299–312, especially pp. 311–312. The earlier section was pieced together in the 18th century from two documents: (1) a chronicle written in the 11th century by Leonti Mroveli, which dealt with the earlier section of Georgian history and (2) the chronicle of Sumbat Bagratuni, the son of Davit', which treats of the history of the Bagratid dynasty. The discovery of the so-called MS. of Queen Mariam, where the texts are still undivided, has enabled us to separate out the component elements. The information which we derive from the chronicle of Sumbat on the history of Tao-Klardjet'ia in the 10th century is

had sons of these names, and both were princes of Artanuj. The elder died in the year 889 A.D., while the younger (his grandson) passed away in the year 988 A.D. We incline to the younger of the two in view of the following considerations:

(a) The younger Sumbat's sons were, in order of age, Davit' (d. 1012) and Bagrat (d. 988, a few months after his father); in his grandfather's case, the order is reversed.[67]

(b) The younger Sumbat, we know, became prince of Artanuj after the death of his distant cousin Gurgen, the lord of Quel (941), and then assumed the title of prince of princes.[68] His father Davit' had borne the title of მამფალი mamp'ali = Տանուտէր [69] tanutēr.

(c) We have no evidence for the existence of the cloister of Bert'ay where the MS. was written, in the days of the earlier Sumbat (see below).

(d) The character of the script and of the parchment points to the 10th century rather than the 9th (see above).

(3) The MS. was written "as a prayer for . . . Sumbat . . . , Davit' and Bagrat." The Georgian form სალოცველად *saloc'velad* is termed by the native grammarians the supine, and implies, as it were, an act of prayer. The use of this expression reinforces the suspicion that the *κτήτωρ* was an ecclesiastic.

(4) The monastery of Bert'ay (*lit.* *γερόντων* — a genitive plural declined as a nominative in the Georgian style) is a well-known cloister: its ruins have been visited and described by N. Marr.[70] The cloister is mentioned in the life of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a as among those lying near Khandzt'a. It lies on the other side of the Imerḳhevi NW by N from Artanuj. The only

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exceedingly scanty, being hardly more than a dry epitome of genealogical facts. Most of our information comes from the life of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a (cf. supra note 30), and the rest from Armenian and Byzantine sources.

[67] See the chronicle of Sumbat as edited by E. T'aqaišvili, სამი ქართული ხრონიკა (Tiflis, 1890), pp. 62–64 = Queen Mariam MS. ed. Taqaišvili Tiflis 1906, 348 = ed. Brosset, 192–3 and 200.

[68] Cf. the stemmata in Marquart and Javakhišvili, ll. cc.

[69] The term მამფალი *mamp'ali* appears to be an older equivalent for მამასახლისი *mamasakhlisi*, 'the head of the clan,' and the counterpart of the Armenian Տանուտէր *tanuter*; see Djavakhov, *Gosudarstvennyi stroi*, 100–106.

[70] N. Marr, *Dnevnik putešestvija po Šavšet'iju i po Tao-Klardžet'iju*, in the *Life of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a*, pp. 168–71 and plate 56. The expression ბერი *beri* is frequently used in Georgian for monk: cf. *Bert'ubani* "the street of the ancients," a cloister in the area east of Tiflis.

other MS. which we know of as having been written there are the Gospels described by Kondakov and Bak'radze in 1890 and which at that time was in the monastery of Gelat'i (*Opis' pamyatnikov* etc., pp. 44–7). This MS. is relatively late in date, to judge by the description of the miniatures.

The textual importance of the MS. is considerable, but less than we had hoped. Its relations with the other contemporary MSS. are likewise less simple than they had appeared at the time of the first communication.[71]

The Gospels of Bert'ay, which we here denote by C, is not akin to the Adysh Gospels (a. 897 at Šatberd), but represents a stage intermediate between the Gospels of Opiza (a. 913) — A and those of Tbet' (a. 995) — B. The textual affiliations in the individual Gospels, however, are not identical, and it is possible that a complete collation will uncover further variation, so that any statements made here must definitely be considered as provisional in their nature.

In Matthew, Luke and John the text of C is much closer to B. The majority of the larger variants in B are represented in C, but in a number of small points C agrees with A. In the Gospel of Mark the situation is exactly the reverse: here the major variants go with A, but there are a number of minor agreements with B. The numerical proportion is about the same in both categories to judge by some partial checks. The simplest hypothesis to explain this state of affairs appears to be to assume that we have two different MSS. as the archetype of C. In Matthew, Luke and John it was an A type MS. revised by a B type, while in Mark it was the other way round. A itself was not the direct archetype, as none of its errors appear in C, and B's date excludes it also, as it is certainly later than C. C, moreover, exhibits a number of singular readings, which appear to me for the most part to be stylistic and verbal in their nature rather than textual. A full discussion of these points, however, must be deferred to another time and place.

[71] At that time the deductions had been made on a considerable section of the text of Mark, but a study subsequently made of sections of the other Gospels materially modified these tentative conclusions.

The Miniatures

Fols. 1v–2r *Portraits of Evangelists.* (Pl. I, fig. 1–2) The miniatures are framed by a plain band, painted purplish red on folio 1v and indian red on 2r.[72] The evangelists stand in pairs on a dull green ground, turned slightly towards one another, holding the closed book of the gospels in their left hands. Matthew rests his right hand on the book; Mark, Luke and John are blessing. The upper part of the background, as far down as the shoulders of the evangelists, is ultramarine, and on it may be seen the names of the evangelists, painted in white capital letters which show some of the characteristic forms used by one of the scribes of the manuscript. These names are written again on the gold nimbuses in a minuscule of later date. From the shoulders of the evangelists down to the hem of their garments, the background is in a heavier layer of indigo blue. Matthew is clad in a dark brown chiton and a lighter brown himation; Mark has an indigo blue chiton and an olive green himation; Luke's chiton is of the same brown as that of Matthew and his himation of the same shade of green as that of Mark; John's chiton is also olive green and his himation is red-violet. The nimbuses are gold, with an indian red border on folio 1v and a vermilion border on folio 2r.

There are obvious evidences of repainting. The indigo blue background covers part of the original ultramarine; although the bare parchment appears wherever the paint has flaked off, brush strokes of indigo blue overlap the ultramarine where the two colors meet. At the time of repainting the background was probably extended, leaving only a narrow strip of green below, since in other manuscripts the foreground usually occupies about one-fifth of the total height of the picture; in the Adysh Gospel, of the year 897, it takes up almost half the height of the miniature.[73] (Pl. II, fig. 3.)

Folio 1v (Pl. I, fig. 1) has suffered more at the hand of the restorer than folio 2r. The heads of Matthew and Mark differ in shape from those of Luke and John; they are narrow and long and fit awkwardly on to the thin neck. The cheeks and the hair are barely modeled, the features are stylized: dark shadows form a

[72] Folio 1v measures 16.8 x 21.5 cm.; folio 2, 17 x 21.3 cm.
[73] *Materialy*, XIV, pl. I–II.

decorative pattern around the eyes and a sharp triangle above the bridge of the nose; heavy red and black lines prolong the eyelids and give a strange appearance to the faces. The narrowness of Matthew's head is partly due to the flaking off of the paint above the right ear and partly to repainting; to the left of the present outline of the head one can detect traces of the earlier painting and the gold leaf of the nimbus has cut off the left cheek and forehead. The proportions of the body have also been slightly modified. The indigo blue background overlaps on Matthew's right arm, from the shoulder to the elbow; it covers up part of Mark's left shoulder and the outer edge of his chiton, along the right leg, thus reducing the width of the figures. The main lines of the folds and their general direction have not been changed, but the numerous high lights and small shadow lines were probably added by the restorer. Mark's draperies have been entirely repainted.

The portraits on folio 2[r] (Pl. I, fig. 2) give a better idea of the original appearance. Luke's head, rounder in shape, rests firmly on his shoulders; the neck is correctly drawn with a curved outline instead of the straight diagonal line which seems to cut into the jaw in Matthew's portrait. The face is more carefully modeled; the eyelids are less sharply drawn and they are not prolonged in the exaggerated manner of the preceding examples; the shadows are not as deep and sharp nor do they form a conventional pattern. The gold nimbus is circular and not slightly oblate; it is bordered with the vermilion used in the canon tables instead of the muddy red of the opposite page. The body, with its broad shoulders and easy pose, gives an impression of stability lacking in the portraits of Matthew and Mark. The figure of Luke seems to have been retouched rather than repainted. High lights and shadows are added once again to the draperies; but the earlier painting appears without any alterations in some parts, for instance, in the left foot. The portrait of John, although less well preserved, best retains the original form. The head is round and solid, with a broad forehead. The contour line of the face, on which we see the green underpainting, curves down to the chin instead of being a straight line as in the portraits of Matthew and Mark; the neck is correctly drawn and the whole figure gives the same impression of stability as that of Luke. The hands, particularly the left one,

are well drawn; the broad solid shape is in marked contrast with the long boneless fingers of Matthew's right hand. The chiton has been repainted but the himation appears to be virtually untouched; the paint is thinner and most of the high lights differ from the heavy white lines on the other portraits.

Wherever the original painting seems to have survived, the colors are similar to those used in the canon tables: for instance the ultramarine of the upper part of the background; the red-violet of John's himation; the vermilion border of the nimbuses of Luke and John. This would indicate that the portraits were painted at the same time as the canon tables. The style, so far as it can be detected under the repainting, resembles that of tenth century paintings. The figures are slightly more elongated than those of the ninth-century Adysh Gospel but not as much as those of eleventh-century Byzantine and Georgian manuscripts. They may be compared to the evangelists in Paris *Gr. 70* or Vienna, *Cod. Theol. gr. 240*,[74] though they lack the elegance of these Constantinopolitan works. The round head-shape of John has its closest parallel in the portraits of the younger prophets in the Turin Manuscript, *Univ. Libr. Cod. B I.2*.[75] It is impossible to assign a date to the repainting, which may have been done any time after the fourteenth century.

The iconography also points to the tenth century. The standing evangelist virtually disappears from Byzantine manuscripts after this date but it is retained in a few Armenian examples: Venice *San Lazzaro No. 887* of the year 1007 (Pl. II, fig. 4);[76] Etchmiadzin *no. 362* of the year 1057.[77] The seated evangelist is the usual eleventh-century type in both countries.[78] In Georgia, the Adysh

[74] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1929), pl. 79; H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei* (Vienna, 1926), pl. IX. Also some of the prophets in *Chigi R. VIII*, 54: A. M. Friend, Jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies*, V (1927), fig. 41–43.

[75] K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), fig. 210.

[76] K. Weitzmann, *Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts* (Istambuler Forschungen IV. Bamberg, 1933), pl. IX, 31–32. The standing type appears even in a late twelfth century manuscript, Venice S. Lazzaro no. 961, dated 1181.

[77] F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes. Vie du Christ, Peintures ornementales Xe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1913), pl. XIV, 27.

[78] For the Armenian examples see A. M. Friend, Jr., "The Portraits of the

Gospel shows the mixed type: Mark seated, Luke and John standing.[79] (Pl. II, fig. 3.) The only tenth-century manuscript with evangelist portraits is the Djruč Gospel written in 936 at Šatberd, a neighboring monastery to Bert'ay; unfortunately no description or reproductions of these miniatures are available.[80] In all eleventh-century Georgian Gospels we find the seated portrait type.[81]

The Bert'ay evangelists, standing in pairs and turned slightly towards one another, repeat the attitudes of Luke and John in the Adysh Gospel. In the ninth and tenth-century Byzantine manuscripts the evangelists are always represented separately, standing full face or in profile, each one opposite the first page of his Gospel.[82] The evangelist portraits of Armenian Gospels of the tenth and early eleventh centuries are closer to the Georgian

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Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," Part II, *Art Studies*, VII (1929), 24–26. Most of the manuscripts mentioned are of the twelfth century, or later, but the change began in the eleventh century, as evidenced by Venice, *S. Lazzaro no. 1400* (Weitzman, *Die arm. Buchmalerei*, XI, 39, XII) and other manuscripts hitherto unpublished.

[79] *Materialy*, XIV, pl. I–III. This type, with two evangelists seated almost in front view, has been identified by Friend as the Antiochene (*Art Studies*, VII [1929], pp. 4–9). In addition to these portraits in the Adysh Gospel, there is a quatrefoil with the busts of the evangelists between the lobes (*Materialy*, XIV, pl. III).

[80] M. Brosset, *Rapport sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie exécuté en 1847–1848* (St. Petersburg, 1850–1851) 12e rapport, pp. 83–84. He does not speak of the evangelists but they are mentioned by Kondakov and Bak'radze, *Opis' pamjatnikov drevnosti v nekotorich khramach i monastyrjach Gruzii* (St. Petersburg, 1890), pp. 153–154.

[81] Mestia Gospel, written at the monastery of Oška in 1033 (*Materialy*, X, 149–150); Lafskhali Gospel (*Ibid.*, p. 150–153, fig. 84–86; for the correct dating see Appendix, p. 16); Alaverd Gospel written in 1054 at the monastery of Kalipos in Bithynia (Th. D. Žordania, *Opisanie gruzinskich rukopisej Tiflisskago Cerkovkago Museja Kartalino-Kakhetinskago Duchovenstva*, II [Tiflis, 1902], 46–51; *Materialy*, VII, 10–20); Pizounda Gospel (W. Stassoff, *L'ornement slave et oriental d'après les manuscrits anciens et modernes* [St. Petersburg, 1887], pl. CXLIX, fig. 25); A. A. Tsagareli, *Svedienija o pamiatnikakh gruzinskoi' pismennosti*, I, 22–23); Gelat'i Gospel (N. Pokrovski, "Opisanie miniatjur gelatskago evangelija," *Zapiski otd. russk. i slav. arch. Imp. russk. arch. obščestva*, t. IV, pp. 255–311). One may mention also the miniatures added to the Tbet' Gospel of the year 995 even though these were imported from Constantinople (R. P. Blake's photographs).

[82] Friend has pointed out that the evangelist standing in profile is probably derived from the "Presentation type," in which he was shown advancing towards Christ and offering Him the book of the Gospels. The only surviving Greek example of this type is the eleventh-century manuscript of the Vatican, *Gr. 756* (Friend, *Art Studies*, V [1927], 133 and fig. 84–85).

types. They are painted at the beginning of the manuscript, usually two on one page,[83] occasionally all four together.[84] The full face pose of these tenth-century examples may be due to the fact that the figures usually stand under an arcade and are separated from one another by a column; in the Gospel formerly in the Sevadjian collection, *no. 5* [85] and in *Etchmiadzin no. 362*,[86] where all four evangelists are represented on the same page, they are turned slightly towards one another. Such works as the sixth century ivory panels of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the Rabbula Gospel of the year 586, the seventh-century painted book covers of the Freer Gallery in Washington,[87] show that this manner of grouping the evangelists in pairs goes back to an early date. Armenian and Georgian painting, being very conservative, has retained this primitive type which disappears from Byzantine Gospels, though it still survives in an eleventh-century manuscript of the Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse (*Vat. gr. 1208*), where the authors are grouped in twos and are sometimes turned slightly towards one another.[88]

Another conservative trait of the Bert'ay Gospel appears in the portrayal of John as a young, beardless man. This iconographic type, known by the Syriac Gospel of Rabbula,[89] is never used for the evangelist portrait by Byzantine artists, although in New Testament illustrations, for instance in the Crucifixion, the Last Supper and other scenes, John continues to be represented as beardless. In Georgia, the youthful evangelist occurs in the Adysh

[83] *Etchmiadzin 229* of the year 989; Baltimore, *Walters 537* of the year 966; *Jerusalem 2555*; New York, *Morgan 789*; Venice, *S. Lazzaro 887* of the year 1007.

[84] Vienna, *Mekhitharist Libr. 697*. The page is divided by a horizontal line; two evangelists stand above, two below (Macler, *Min. arm.*, pl. VIII, 16); Sevadjian 5 (Macler, *Documents d'art arménien. De arte illustrandi. Collections diverses* [Paris 1924], pl. VI; *Jerusalem 1924:* the four evangelists are represented twice, on fol. 6r and fol. 7v; Etchmiadzin 362 of the year 1057 (Macler, *Min. arm.*, pl. XIV, 27).

[85] See note 84. The evangelists stand under arches but, in spite of the difference in the setting, one may recognize a type similar to that of the Bert'ay Gospel: Matthew rests his right hand on the book of the Gospels; Mark and Luke are blessing; John differs, he is shown holding out his book to Luke. The Mlk'e Gospel can be included in this general group even though each evangelist is represented on a separate page, for when the manuscript is open they appear in pairs, turned towards one another. Weitzmann, *Die arm. Buchmalerei*, pl. III.

[86] Macler, *Min. arm.*, pl. XIV 27.

[87] Friend, *Art Studies*, V (1927), fig. 21–24; Ibid., VII (1929), fig. 1–2.

[88] Friend, *Art Studies*, V (1927), fig. 92–94.

[89] Friend, *Art Studies*, VII (1929), fig. 1.

Gospel[90] but not in any of the eleventh century manuscripts. Armenian works of the tenth century have the Byzantine, elderly figure; however the eleventh-century Gospel of Etchmiadzin, *no. 362*,[91] shows that the beardless type was known in this region until a fairly late date, even though it was not generally used.

Thus, the Bert'ay evangelists are similar to tenth-century examples both in style and iconography and must be contemporary with the manuscript. The place which has been assigned to them, the grouping in pairs, bring them closer to Armenian works than to the Byzantine. Georgians and Armenians were familiar with two traditions of evangelist portraits: the mixed Antiochene type of the Rabbula Gospel followed in Georgia in the Adysh Gospel and in Armenia in the Mlk'e Gospel; the standing Alexandrian type used in the Bert'ay Gospel and in the majority of Armenian manuscripts of the tenth and early eleventh centuries.[92]

Folios 3^{r}–5^{v}. (Pl. III–VII.) *The canon tables* are inscribed under decorative arcades formed by a large semicircular arch supported by two columns.[93] The number of each canon, the initials of the evangelist and the first pericope are written in red ink; the other pericopes are in a light sepia ink similar to that used for the text of the Gospels. Vertical red lines, often carelessly drawn, separate the rows of pericope numbers from one another, but the titles in red ink are the only means of marking the passage from one canon to the next, when more than one is written in the same column.

The distribution of the tables is as follows: folio 3^{r-v}, canon I; folio 4^{r}, canon II from pericope 216 to the end; folio 4^{v}, canons III and IV; folio 5^{r}, canons V and VI; folio 5^{v}, canons VII to X (Matthew and Mark). Three folios are assuredly missing: A, between folios 2 and 3, which must have had the letter of Eusebius written on the recto and verso; B, between folios 3 and 4, with the

[90] *Materialy*, XIV, pl. I–II.

[91] Macler, *Min. arm.*, pl. XIV, 27.

[92] Friend, *Art Studies*, VII (1929), 22–24; see also above notes 83 and 84.

[93] The arcades are not exactly uniform in size. The following measurements indicate the width from the outer edge of one column to that of the other, and the height from the crown of the arch to the bottom of the base: fol. 3^{r}, 12.5 x 20.2 cm.; fol. 3^{v}, 12.5 x 20.3 cm.; fol. 4^{r}, 12.5 x 20.5 cm.; fol. 4^{v}, 12.5 x 18.5 cm.; fol. 5^{r}, 12.7 x 19.5 cm.; fol. 5^{v}, 12.5 x 18.3 cm. There are variations also in the height of the arch itself: fol. 3^{r} and 3^{v}, 6.5 cm.; fol. 4^{r}, 8 cm.; fol. 4^{v}, 6.2 cm.; fol. 5^{r}, 6 cm.; fol. 5^{v}, 6.1 cm.

beginning of canon II; C after folio 5, with the second half of canon X on the recto, that is, the pericopes from Luke and John.

Folios 1 and 2, 4 and 5 form each a conjugate; the stub of a leaf is visible on the recto of folio 3, so that the folios must have been grouped in a most unusual manner.

I shall attempt to explain this grouping after I have described the decoration.

Folio 3^{r}. (Pl. III, fig. 5.) The arch, slightly flattened from the semicircular, is decorated with two meanders of twisted ribbon painted blue and red-violet, which, meeting at regular intervals, form a succession of curvilinear lozenges; long leaves with upturned tips and small dots are painted in the intervals against the blue background. Narrow gold and vermilion bands, separated by thick black lines, border the arch on both sides; similar bands constitute the architrave. The lunette is decorated with a gold cross, inscribed in a circular vermilion band, which is flanked by two birds, now half effaced; the background is ultramarine. The arch is crowned with a basket of fruit, framed by half-acanthus leaves and confronted birds. Large tulip-like flowers spring from the outer rim of the arch; an acanthus leaf, with a bird perched on it, forms the acroterion motif on each side. The heavy ultramarine columns, with a cushioned base, rest on a narrow vermilion band drawn across the width of the page; the Corinthian capitals are light red-violet and have a golden abacus.

Folio 3^{v} (Pl. IV, fig. 7) is similar in its general design to the preceding page, differing only in some of the ornamental detail. The arch is decorated with red-violet, blue, green beads and vermilion dots; the narrow bands which frame it and those which form the architrave are yellow and vermilion. The background of the lunette is vermilion with dark red dots; the birds at the sides of the blue medallion with inscribed gold cross appear to have been repainted. The columns are red-violet, the capitals gold with blue abacus.

Folio 4^{r}. (Pl. V, fig. 9.) The arch, wider than the previous ones, is filled with a row of upright acanthus leaves whose tips bend to

the left. Proceeding from left to right, these acanthus leaves are painted in a regular sequence of ultramarine, red-violet and green against an ultramarine background. The arch is crowned with a bunch of flowers in a small vase and large red dots are painted at haphazard around it. From its outer rim, two formal palm trees project diagonally; the usual acanthus leaves and birds form the acroteria. Instead of an architrave, we see five small arches, separated from the rest of the lunette by a light blue line drawn between two darker ones. The indigo blue of the lunette, as well as the red and black lines which border the small arches and give them a horseshoe shape, seem to be the work of the repainter. There may have been only three arches originally; the narrow misshapen ones at each end are probably due to the repainter who has brought down the curved lines instead of letting them lean against the large arch, as they do on the verso of this same folio. The repainting of the narrow bands may also be responsible for the horseshoe silhouette of the inner rim of the large arch, for the original red band, visible on the right side, follows the semicircular contour of the outer rim. The columns are vermilion, the capitals appear to be repainted; they are indigo blue with white dots. The abacus is gold.

Folio 4^{v}. (Pl. V, fig. 10.) The arch, slightly flattened from the semicircular, is set in and overhangs the supporting columns; it is decorated with a pomegranate rinceau and bordered with yellow and vermilion bands. The crowning motif is composed of a stylized leaf framed by half palmettes with birds perched on them. Green cones, with olive green lines drawn diagonally across them, project from the outer rim of the arch. Birds and three-lobed leaves, which rest on bases imitating those of chalices, touch the tips of these cones. The usual acroterion motives of the acanthus and bird project from the extended base of the arch. Instead of the architrave we see once again small arches opening into the lunette which, in this case, has the shape of a golden half-dome with traces of red radiating lines. The columns were ultramarine; the capitals red-violet with gold abacus.

Folio 5^{r}. (Pl. VI, fig. 11.) The wide arch, slightly flattened from the semicircular, is set in from the supporting columns and rests partly on the architrave. It is bordered with gold and vermilion bands, and decorated with a half effaced geometric design formed

of alternating swastikas in ultramarine and red-violet, and ultramarine triangles. The golden cross of the lunette, unlike the preceding ones, has arms of unequal length and is inscribed in an almond-shaped medallion; three long leaves are painted symmetrically on each side against a dark red background. Small half-acanthus leaves project from the outer rim of the arch which is crowned by a circular construction flanked by two large peacocks. This small building has red-violet pillars, a gold architrave and a conical double roof the lower part of which is green, the upper part ultramarine. The birds on the acanthus leaves projecting from the base of the arch are larger than usual. The columns are ochre; the capitals have a diaper of light green lines painted on a dark bluish-green background. The abacus is gold.

Folio 5^{v}. (Pl. VII, fig. 13.) The general composition follows that of folio 4^{v}. The arch is decorated with a series of five long leaves grouped in a fan shape; the colors are alternately: blue, green, red-violet, blue, green; and green, blue, red-violet, green, blue. The small building, identical in shape with that on the recto, has gold pillars, a vermilion architrave, a red-violet lower roof and green upper roof. It is flanked by two small cocks. Around the arch are birds and tulip-like flowers which rest on conical motives like those of folio 4^{v}. The columns are green; the capitals gold with ultramarine abacus.

As may be seen from this brief description, and from the illustrations, the arcades may be divided into two groups: some have an architrave, some small arches opening into the lunette. In the former, the rectangular space limited by the supporting columns, the architrave and the base band may be divided into as many pericope-columns as needed. In the latter, the number of pericope-columns is governed by the number of small arches: three on folios 4^{v} and 5^{v} and the same number on folio 4^{r}, if we are right in thinking that the small arches on the sides are later additions. These pages would consequently be suited only to canons II, III, IV in which three Gospels are compared. This is actually the case on folio 4^{r}, with canon II, and on folio 4^{v}, where the shorter canons III and IV are written one under the other. On folio 5^{v}, however, there is a marked discrepancy between the text and the decoration, since this page with its three-column division is devoted to canons in which two Gospels are compared: canons VII, VIII

and the beginning of canon IX fill the first two intercolumniations; the end of canon IX and part of canon X are written in the third intercolumniation and in the space between the last arch and the supporting column on the right, thus disturbing the harmony and logic of the composition. This fact, in addition to the crowded aspect of the last two pages, indicates clearly that the distribution of the canon tables does not follow the plan devised by the person who painted the canon arcades.

The present arrangement is unusual in many ways. First of all the number of pages, which must have been nine when the manuscript was complete, is exceptional. Byzantine and Armenian manuscripts of this period devote either seven or eight pages to the canon tables; a ten-page type appears about the middle of the tenth century and is generally adopted from the eleventh century on.[94] The crowding of the last pages in the Bert'ay Gospel might be explained by the omission, for some unknown reason, of the last arcade of a ten-page type; but the decoration of our canon tables differs fundamentally from that of the ten-page group and follows the general scheme of Byzantine and Armenian manuscripts with seven or eight pages. The crowding is the direct result of the spacious arrangement of canons I and II which spread over five pages, while the remaining eight canons are confined to four pages. Such an uneven distribution does not occur in other manuscripts; not even in the ten-page type, are five pages devoted to the first two canons.[95] The fact that canon II occupies three pages, and not two, may be the reason why there are nine pages in all instead of eight.

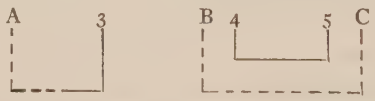
So far as can be judged from the present state of the manuscript, the miniaturist of the Bert'ay Gospel does not seem to have conformed to the general custom of harmonizing the decoration of pages facing one another. We can see this from folios 4^v and 5^r, which are the two opposite pages of a conjugate, but have different types of arcades. Strangely enough the arcades which would harmonize best are drawn on the recto and verso of the same folio: the decoration on folio 3^r and 3^v is almost identical; folio 4^r and 4^v has small inscribed arches and trees or tree-like motives; folio 5^r and 5^v has the small circular building as a

[94] C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiker Kanonentafeln* (Göteborg, 1938), pp. 57–58.
[95] *Ibid.*, vol. I, table A.

crowning motif. It would seem as if the entire series, or at least part of it, had been shifted so that arcades which were meant to face one another are now on two sides of the same folio. This might have happened if, in adding a third page for canon II, the painter had repeated the arcade of the previous page and continued to copy his model from canon III on, placing on the recto and verso of the same folio the arcades which, in the original, were on the verso of one folio and on the recto of the following one. However, this does not seem to be the correct explanation, since the arcade on folio 5^v would still be unsuited to the canon for which it would have to be used.[96]

Another possibility might be considered. The order of the folios may have been disarranged at the time of writing the pericopes under arcades which had been previously painted. If we fold the conjugate folio 4–5 inside out, so that folio 5 precedes folio 4, and if we place folio 3 after it, the stub on its recto would be the remnant of a folio which, passing under the conjugate, came before it. If we now consider the appropriateness of the decoration to the different canons and insert the missing folios as required, we obtain the following ternion:

a more logical disposition then the one actually used:



The double folio 1–2, with the evangelist portraits, remains unchanged. The proposed arrangement of the folios is in keeping with the customary manner of folding parchment leaves: the hair sides face one another and so do the flesh sides. The canon tables could be distributed as follows: folio 5^r, canon I; folio 5^v–4^r, canon II; folio 4^v, canons III, IV; folio C^r, canon V; folio C^v, canons VI, VII; folio 3^r, canons VIII, IX, X (Mt.); folio 3^v, canon X (Mk. Lk. Jn.). Such a distribution may be found in two

[96] Canons III and IV would be written on folio 4^v as they are now; consequently folio 5^v would have a group of canons in which two Gospels are compared.

Armenian manuscripts of the eight-page type: Jerusalem *nos. 2555* and *1924*.[97] It fits with the decoration of the surviving arcades since folios 5^v and 4^{r-v}, which have a three-column arrangement, would be used for canons II, III, and IV, the only ones in which three Gospels are compared, while the rectangular space of the other pages could be divided into the number of columns required by the other canons, or groups of canons. Folios 5^v and 4^r, which face one another in this new arrangement, have the same type of arcade and thus present the customary harmonious composition; the arcade of folio 5^r has the confronted peacocks often used for the first page.[98] (Pl. VI, fig. 11–12.)

Two points remain to be considered: what was represented on folios A and B and how do we now happen to have nine canon pages instead of the eight of our hypothetic arrangement? The canon tables would naturally be preceded by the letter of Eusebius; if three pages, folios A^v, B^{r-v}, had been set aside for it, as is customary in the oldest manuscripts, and had the scribe of the Bert'ay Gospel used only two, he would have had an ornate page available for the canon tables, giving him thus nine pages in all. The recto of folio A may have been blank, to correspond to folio 2^v which faces it; or it may have had a decorative cross such as those in Armenian and Byzantine manuscripts, though none of the surviving Georgian Gospels have a cross before the letter of Eusebius.[99]

In presenting this hypothesis of folios which have been folded and used differently from the way in which they had been originally intended, we are assuming that the initial quire had been previously decorated and the pericopes added later. Judging from

[97] For *Jerusalem 2555* see Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, table A; *Jerusalem 1924* has exactly the same distribution. So did *Sevadjian 5*, judging from the remaining folios. For variants of this type see also Nordenfalk, table A.

[98] Folios 4^r and 5^v do not harmonize so well as far as the sizes are concerned, for folio 4^r is 20.5 cm. high and folio 5^v only 18.3; however, discrepancies in size occur between all the arcades and the arch of folio 4^r being higher than any of the others, the same disproportion would appear in conjunction with any of the remaining folios. Peacocks are used more frequently for the first page of the letter of Eusebius than for the first page of the canon tables, but we have an example of this in Paris *Coislin gr. 20* (Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 11). It is perhaps more significant that the peacocks are never used for any of the later pages of canon arcades.

[99] I am not considering the small temple which occupies an entire page in the Adysh and several Armenian Gospels, since it comes after the canon tables.

the evidence available, canon tables do not seem to have formed an indispensable part of tenth-century Georgian Gospels. They are lacking in the Opiza Gospel written at Opiza in 913,[100] in *Sinai no. 15* written on Mount Sinai in 978, and *Sinai no. 16* written in Jerusalem in 992.[101] They were added at some later date to the Cqarost'avi Gospel [102] and to the Tbet' Gospel of the year 995. For the latter, the information is given by an adscription on folio 2. Samuel, bishop of Tbet', writes that the manuscript "was devoid of pictures and arches. And I became inspired with zeal; at great expense and (*sic*) I obtained these pictures and arches from Greece, from the Imperial city, and inserted them in these sacred Gospels." [103] In the Djruč Gospel of the year 936 the canon arcades were added four years later. The following sentence is written at the end of the canon tables: "The pascal year was 160 (=940). Christ, have pity on Theodoré the scribe of these kamara." [104] Thus in the majority of the surviving tenth-century Georgian Gospels the canon arcades are omitted or inserted later. Those of the Bert'ay Gospel, as well as the evangelist portraits, may have been painted separately, perhaps at some other monastery, and incorporated into the manuscript at the time of the copy. The script of the pericopes of the Bert'ay Gospel is closely akin to that of the running concordances in the lower margin of the text; therefore the canon tables are presumably contemporary with the text of the Gospels. The fact that canon tables were not commonly used in Georgia may also explain the unusual distribution we find in the Bert'ay Gospel as well as in the Adysh Gospel where there are only five pages.[105]

The arcades of the Bert'ay Gospel have a fine monumental aspect. The columns imitating marble or porphyry are of uniform

[100] R. P. Blake, "Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 3e série, IX (XXIX), no. 3–4, pp. 265–267.

[101] Tsagareli, *op. cit.*, II, 56–57.

[102] Žordania, *Opisanie*, II, pp. 116–117.

[103] From the forthcoming publication by R. P. Blake, "The text of the Gospel according to St. John" (*Patrologia Orientalis*). See also R. P. Blake, "The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of Mark," *Patrologia Orientalis*, XX, 3 (1928), p. 443.

[104] M. Brosset, *Voyage archéologique*, 12e rapport, pp. 83–4. The Greek word καμάρα is used also in Armenian to designate the canon arcades.

[105] *Materialy*, XIV, pl. I, IV. See also Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–114.

width, as in the Greek manuscripts, instead of tapering up slightly as they do in Armenian examples. The imitation of works of architecture appears also in the pages with small inscribed arches; the semi-dome, which seems to be resting on a semicircular arcade, recalls the exedrae in churches such as San Vitale. However, the structural logic is not carried through everywhere; there are thin lines instead of columns under the small arches and the large arch does not rest squarely on the capitals. This manner of setting-in the arch, and allowing the decoration around the outer rim to come above the capital, may be seen in other manuscripts of the second half of the tenth century.[106]

In his important work on the decoration of canon tables Nordenfalk suggested that in the earliest examples there was a separate arch for each canon, which resulted in two or three adjoining arches on the same page according to the number of pericope columns required; this is the so-called M type. At some date after the fourth century the separate arches were probably united under a large arch, creating the so-called M–N type; somewhat later still the separate arches were eliminated leaving only the large arch, the N type.[107] Whether this hypothetical scheme of evolution is correct or not, all three types appear in Byzantine and Armenian manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries. In Georgia the Adysh Gospel offers an example of the M type;[108] the N type is followed in the Bert'ay Gospel. The intermediary column which survives in Armenian manuscripts of the N type, even when only one canon is written under the arcade, has here disappeared. In this respect the design is closer to that of several Byzantine manuscripts: *Paris Gr. 70; Paris Coislin 195; Athos Lavra 19; Megaspileon I; Vat. Palat. gr. 220.*[109]

Only the folios with the small arches differ from all other canon arcades. These small arches seem to support the half dome of the lunette and thus the general effect is that of an exedra, like those

[106] Marc. I 8, (Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 8–10). Nordenfalk mentions also the first page of the Etchmiadzin Gospel (*Ibid.*, pp. 96–97 and pl. 15) but the arch with the rainbow motif, instead of being the outer ornament of the smaller arch decorated with acanthus leaves, may very well be considered as the main arch while the smaller arch would be an inner ornament. See pl. VI, fig. 12.

[107] Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, p. 74–83.

[108] *Materialy*, XIV, pl. I, IV; on folio 4^r (pl. IV) we have the single arch.

[109] Weitzmann, *Die byz. Buchmalerei*, figs. 87–88, 57, 252–253, 90, 402.

of the church of San Vitale. This exedra differs from the solid niche covered with a half dome, of which there are numerous examples in late classical art [110] and which is sometimes used in Byzantine illumination as a background for evangelist or other portraits.[111] Even those examples, where the lunette of an arch is decorated with a shell,[112] follow a different architectural type, for the straight architrave joining the columns destroys the illusion of a concave surface which is conveyed by the curved base of the half dome in the Bert'ay Gospel. The closest analogies, outside architecture, are offered by the mosaics of the church of Saint George in Salonica and those of the Great Mosque at Damascus. In the former, the exedrae with small arches supporting a half dome [113] are exact reproductions of the architectural form which is rendered less ably in the Bert'ay Gospel. At Damascus the general design is slightly different: the columns are not joined by arches but by means of an architrave on which rests the shell-niche.[114] In the general evolution of decorative arcades the monumental character gradually diminishes; the imitation of an exedra cannot therefore be considered as an innovation on the part of the tenth-century miniaturist, it is a unique survival of an early type.

Some of the ornamental motives duplicate those used in Byzantine and Armenian manuscripts. The bead and dots on folio 3^{v} may be compared with similar examples in *Etchmiadzin 229*, *Jerusalem 2555*, Vienna *Mekhitharist Libr. 697*.[115] The Mlk'e and Etchmiadzin Gospels (Pl. III, fig. 6; Pl. IV, fig. 8) offer the

[110] Maria Bratschkova (Britschkoff), "Die Muschel in der antiken Kunst," *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare*, II, 1 (1938), pp. 1–131.

[111] Friend, *Art Studies*, V (1927), figs. 111, 150; Weitzmann, *Die byz. Buchmalerei*, fig. 302.

[112] Rabbula Gospel (Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 142), there is no architrave strictly speaking but a thin horizontal line; Milan, *Ambros. E 49–50* (Weitzmann, *Die byz. Buchm.*, figs. 548, 552); *Vat. gr. 354* (A. Grabar, "Miniatures gréco-orientales," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, IV [1931] pl. XIV, 2; XVI, 1); *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (*Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613*) II, Tavole (Turin 1907), passim.

[113] M. van Berchem et E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes du IVe au Xe siècle* (Geneva, 1926), figs. 70–72, 78, 79; Ch. Diehl, M. Le Tourneau et H. Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique* (Paris, 1918), pl. I, II.1.

[114] K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture* (London, 1932), vol. I, pl. 44 c.

[115] Macler, *L'évangile arménien. Edition phototypique du manuscrit no. 229 de la bibliothèque d'Etchmiadzin* (Paris, 1920), fol. 3^{v}, 4^{r}; Macler, *Min. arm.*, pl. II, 3; Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 20, 28, 30, 32a.

closest parallels for the large tulip-like flowers.[116] Among Byzantine manuscripts only the Vatican Gospel, *Pal. gr. 220*, of Anatolian origin, has similar flowers drawn with equal freedom;[117] usually the form is much more stylized.[118] The double meander of twisted ribbons, which meet to form oval shapes, is to be seen in a Greek manuscript of the Pierpont Morgan Library.[119]

Armenian manuscripts may provide us with an explanation for the cones drawn around the arches on folios 4^v and 5^v. In Vienna *Mekhitharist Libr. 697* the flowers and plants projecting from the arch have a small triangular base, as though the stem had been divided into halves;[120] this base is enlarged and stylized in *Jerusalem no. 2555* and decorated with two angular strips, one inside the other. (Pl. VII, fig. 14.) But whereas these motives are absolutely flat, the Georgian artist has drawn high lights diagonally across the triangle and given to it the appearance of a cone.

The geometric design which fills the arch of folio 5^r differs from similar examples of the Christian East in two respects: the swastika alternates with a triangle; both are drawn in perspective. In the Rabbula Gospel and several Armenian manuscripts squares or rectangles appear between the swastikas [121] and these motives are always flat. (Pl. VII, fig. 14.) Simple geometric forms, such as cubes or circular bands, are sometimes represented in perspective by Byzantine miniaturists [122] but never the double fret. The isometric treatment of the interlacing double frets, which form swastikas, occurs in a number of Carolingian Gos-

[116] Macler, *L'évangile arménien*, fol. 2^v, 3^r, 4^v, 5^r, 5^v, 6^v, 7^r; Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, 19, 22–24, 35b; Weitzmann, *Die arm. Buchmalerei*, pl. II, 4. They are a little more stylized in the Rabbula Gospel (Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 144–147) and in Vienna 697 (Macler, *Min. arm.*, pl. II, 4; III, 5; VI, 11).

[117] Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 14 b. They are drawn with even greater freedom in the sixth-century manuscript *London 5111* (*Ibid.*, pl. 4).

[118] *Ibid.*, pl. 9–10.

[119] *Morgan 748*, XIth century: fol. 6^v, canon arcade. Belle da Costa Greene and Meta P. Harrsen, *The Pierpont Morgan Library. Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts held at the New York Public Library. Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (New York, 1933–1934), p. 15.

[120] Macler, *Min. arm.*, pl. II, 4; III, 5; VI, 11; Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 33a–b.

[121] Rabbula Gospel (Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 142); *Jerusalem 2555* (*Ibid.*, pl. 33 b, Weitzmann, *Die arm. Buchmalerei*, pl. VII, 25); *Vienna 697* (Macler, *Min. arm.*, pl. III, 6; IV, 7); *Etchmiadzin 229* (Macler, *L'év. arm.*, fol. 6^v–7^r).

[122] *Vat. gr. 1522* and Paris *Coislin 195* (Weitzmann, *Die byz. Buchmalerei*, fig. 22, 57).

pels,[123] but the resemblance between the Georgian manuscript and these western works is due to a common derivation from late antique examples. The Greek meander and other geometric shapes are shown in perspective on Roman mosaics;[124] in two instances the whole design is very close to the one used in the Bert'ay Gospel. On one of the Antioch mosaics, a fifth-century pavement from a villa at Daphne-Yakto, an octagonal frame is decorated with swastikas alternating with trapezoidal forms.[125] On a mosaic of earlier date discovered at Nîmes, truncated triangles are placed between the swastikas, thus adapting the design to the circular frame,[126] a principle which is followed also in our Georgian manuscript.

To find a close parallel to the acanthus motif on folio 4, we must turn once again to earlier monuments, for those which decorate the arches in Armenian and Byzantine manuscripts [127] are highly conventionalized (Pl. VI, fig. 12). A slightly more naturalistic form appears on consular diptychs of the fifth and sixth centuries,[128] on Byzantine silver work of the sixth century [129] and on the sculptured decoration of Syrian buildings;[130] but the leaves

[123] Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 56, 57b, 71, 80, 84, 89–90, 100, 104a, 106a, 107b, 108, 113. In some of these examples there is a simple meander instead of the double fret, but it is always drawn in perspective.

[124] M. E. Blake, "The Pavements of the Roman Buildings of the Republic and early Empire," *Memoirs of the Academy in Rome*, VIII (1930), 71–73.

[125] *Antioch on the Orontes II. The Excavations 1933–1936* (Princeton, 1938), pl. 28, nos. 37 and 38.

[126] *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule publié sous les auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. vol. I Narbonnaise et Aquitaine* par G. Lafaye (Paris, 1909), no. 310, see plate in fasc. 2.

[127] M. Alison Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament" (*The Art Bulletin*, XVI [1934], 63–64, pl. XV, 5–13; XVIII, 8–11). Some of the examples in *Vat. gr. 1613* are treated with a little more naturalism, but the leaves are always joined at the base and form a running border (*Il Menologio di Basilio II*, pp. 219, 229, 277, 303, 329, 415). For Armenian examples see: *Etchmiadzin 229* (Macler, *L'évangile arm.*, fol. 4^{v}–5^{r}; Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 22–24); *Vienna 697* (Macler, *Min. arm.*, pl. I, 1; II, 4; III, 5–6; IV, 7; Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 31, 32b). Sometimes the half acanthus is disposed in opposite directions and forms a kind of rinceau (Macler, *Min. arm.*, pl. VI, 11; Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 15, 33a; *Il Menologio*, p. 411).

[128] R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), pl. 7, 22, 43, 55, 64. See also the ivory plaque of the Archangel from the British Museum.

[129] L. Matsulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike. Studien auf Grund der Silbergefässe der Ermitage* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), p. 108, fig. 24 and pl. 31.

[130] M. de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale. Architecture civile et religieuse du Ier au VIIe siècle* (Paris, 1865), pl. 31.4, 71, 76, 100, 121, 127.3, 129, 146; H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria* (Princeton, 1929), p. 135, fig. 141; p. 223, fig. 231 A, B.

are always rigid, placed upright or head down. The acanthus of the Bert'ay Gospel, with their bent tips, recall those which are carved on capitals of the fifth and sixth centuries; some are placed almost diagonally, as if wind-swept;[131] others curve slightly and only their tips are bent.[132] Similar forms appear on a Roman sarcophagus, usually dated in the third century.[133]

The small building of folio 5^r and 5^v is unusual both as regards the place which has been assigned to it and its shape. A small ciborium or a basilica is sometimes painted on the ⊓ shaped title head of Byzantine manuscripts[134] but the Mestia Gospel, written in the monastery of Oška in 1033, offers the only other example of a building used as the crowning motif of an arch. In this case we have a domed basilica, with nave and apse extended and resting directly on the columns of the arcade.[135] A circular building occupies the entire page after the canon tables of the Adysh Gospel and some Armenian manuscripts; similar constructions, often of smaller size, are used by Byzantine artists as a frame for the titles.[136] In all these examples, however, the supports are columns instead of pillars[137] and the double roof does not appear, though occasionally the concave sides of the conical roof slope upwards at the base as in the Bert'ay Gospel.[138] In

[131] R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten vom vierten bis ins siebente Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1936), pl. 28, nos. 457, 458, 460.

[132] *Ibid.*, pl. 28, nos. 453, 455, 456.

[133] P. Gusman, *L'art décoratif de Rome* (Paris, 1914), t. III pl. 153. On other monuments of the Roman period the acanthus, standing upright or head down, is used for borders. Gusman, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 39, 40; V. Spinazzola, *Le arte decorative in Pompei e nel Museo nazionale di Napoli* (Milan, 1928), pl. 23; Th. Wiegand, *Palmyra. Ergebnisse der Expeditionen von 1902 und 1917* (Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches. Abteilung Istanbul–Berlin, 1932) pl. 51.

[134] Berlin, *Cod. Philipps 1538*; Athos, *Iviron 27*; Athos, *Lavra 86* (Weitzmann, *Die byz. Buchmalerei*, fig. 104, 100, 320).

[135] *Materialy*, X, p. 150, fig. 79.

[136] *Etchmiadzin 229*, *Vienna 697*, *Jerusalem 2555* (Macler, *L'év. arm.*, fol. 5^v; Id., *Min. arm.*, pl. VI, 11; Strzygowski, *Ein zweites Etsch. Ev.*, pl II, 2; Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pl. 24, 33). Adysh Gospel (*Materialy*, XIV, pl. V; Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, p. 115, fig. 5). *Paris gr. 70*, Venice *Marc. I 8*, Athos *Iviron 27*, Athos *Stavronikita 13*, Athos *Dionysiou 34* (Weitzmann, *Die byz. Buchmalerei*, fig. 79–82, 92–93, 99, 125, 187–190; Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–108).

[137] In a tenth-century manuscript in Leningrad, *Public Libr. gr. 53*, the circular building, painted in the background of John's portrait, has rectangular pillars but the dome is spherical (Weitzmann, *Die byz. Buchmalerei*, fig. 70).

[138] Venice, *Marc. I 8*; Athos, *Stavronikita 13* (Weitzmann, fig. 92, 125).

some Byzantine miniatures, when small houses or churches are represented, the tiles, drawn out of scale and carefully outlined, produce the impression of a double or triple roof.[139] But the only building, which has clearly a double roof with curved sides and upturned base, appears on the mosaics of Damascus.[140]

The pomegranate rinceau (folio 4^{v}) does not seem to have been used in other manuscripts though it occurs in sculpture [141] and in mosaics.[142] The upper border of a Byzantine plaque in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin offers the closest parallel;[143] slightly different forms may be found in Armenia where it appears to have been a favorite motif. Pomegranate branches were carved on the churches of Zwart'notz, Bana and Aštarak;[144] the scroll, sometimes alone, at other times combined with the vine, appears on the Church of the Apostles at Ani and especially at Ałt'amar, both in the paintings and in the sculpture.[145]

The decorative pages of the Bert'ay Gospel have an eclectic character; some motives are highly conventionalized; others, on the contrary, are drawn with greater freedom and naturalism than in most tenth-century manuscripts.[146] Yet these contradictory traits appear side by side on the same page and cannot be attributed to different hands. Many signs point to a model which had retained, in part, the style and form of a late antique example.

[139] Athos, *Esphigmenou 14*, fol. 294, 389^{v}, 390, 412, 414^{v}, 415^{r} and ^{v}, 416; Athos, *Iviron 27*, fol. 413^{v}; Athos, *Lavra A15*, evangelist portraits; *Vatican gr. 752* (Photographs of Professor A. M. Friend, Jr. and Dr. K. Weitzmann).

[140] Creswell, *op. cit.*, pl. 44 b.

[141] G. Duthuit, *La sculpture copte* (Paris, 1931) pl. LIIIc, LIVd; de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, pl. 76.1; Wiegand, *Palmyra*, pl. 78.

[142] *Antioch on the Orontes II*, pl. 74; M. Avi-Yonah, "Mosaic Pavements at El Hammām, Beisān," *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, V (1935), pl. XIV–XV. The branches of a vine trellis form medallions, and pomegranates are represented in some of the interstices between the medallions. At Jerusalem the pomegranates are added to the acanthus scroll, combined in garlands with other fruits, or placed on a leaf: Creswell, *op. cit.*, pl. 21c, 24c, 30a, 31b; see p. 189 n. 2 for the pomegranates on the mosaic pavement of the Russian convent on the Mount of Olives at Jerusalem.

[143] L. Bréhier, *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins* (Paris, 1936), pl. VIII 2.

[144] J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (Vienna, 1918), I, fig. 113, 115, 128, 328, 462.

[145] *Ibid.*, I, p. 107; I, fig. 334; II, fig. 574, 580.

[146] I have found no other examples, either in later classical or medieval art, of the long leaves tied like a ribbon bow of folio 5^{v} and the three lobed leaves with the chalice-like base of folio 4^{v}

It is interesting to observe, however, that the Bert'ay Gospel, or at least those pages which have survived, have none of the characteristic motives, such as the rainbow or the colored discs, which, according to Nordenfalk, go back ultimately to the Eusebian prototype.[147] The Bert'ay Gospel is the copy of an early work, differing somewhat from the model which has survived in the majority of Byzantine and Armenian manuscripts. It is difficult to say whether this early type was followed in Georgia. The simple arcades of the Adysh Gospel, the only other example known so far, resemble those of the Armenian Gospels of the Lazareff Institute in Moscow, a manuscript written in 887 in Vanand, the western part of the province of Ayrarat,[148] that is in a region which is fairly close to the monastery of Šatberd in Tao-Klarjet'ia where the Adysh Gospel was copied.

Despite the presence of motives which occur more frequently in monuments of an earlier date, the painted folios of the Bert'ay Gospel must be assigned to the tenth century, because of the style of the evangelist portraits and the many similarities between the canon arcades and those of tenth-century manuscripts. It is difficult to indicate an exact date; it seems probable that the decoration is contemporary with the copy of the text or only a little earlier than 941–988. The distant prototype was obviously a Greek work, but the immediate model of the Bert'ay Gospel must have been an Armenian manuscript; one could not understand otherwise those features which are closer to Armenian than to Byzantine examples. The conservative character of part of the decoration also militates in favor of an Armenian intermediary, for late antique motives often survived better in this country than in Byzantium, where there was a more continuous evolution of forms. The Alexandrian theme of a crocodile hunt, decorating two of the canon arcades of the Mlk'e Gospel, is a telling witness of the conservatism of Armenian artists.[149]

A few remarks about Georgian tenth-century Gospels may be useful in order to show other similarities with Armenian manuscripts as well as some of the differences. With a few exceptions,

[147] Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–93. See pl. IV, fig. 8; pl. VI, fig. 12.

[148] *Evangile traduit en langue arménienne ancienne et écrit en l'an 887* (Moscow, 1889).

[149] Weitzmann, *Die arm. Buchmalerei*, pl. I, 1–2; pp. 5–6.

the text of the Gospels is unadorned in Georgia as it is in Armenia. Title heads appear only in the Sinai Gospel *no. 16* of the year 992;[150] this may be due to the Byzantine influence, stronger in Jerusalem where this manuscript was written, rather than to a change occurring in the latter part of the tenth century, for there are no title heads in the Tbet' Gospel of 995. Ornate initials have been used in the Djruč Gospel of 936 [151] and in the P'arkhal Gospel of 970.[152] In the latter, decorated bands are placed at the end of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, and small crosses are drawn, in red ink, in the margins of the text.[153] Ornamental crosses of plaited work, painted red and black, appear after the Gospels of Matthew and John in *Sinai 15*; before Matthew and at the end of Luke in *Sinai 16*.[154] The use of decorative crosses in Gospels goes back to the early Christian period, witness the sixth century manuscript of the National Library in Vienna, *no. 847*.[155] Similar crosses, enclosed in an ornate medallion, are drawn before the canon tables, or before the letter of Eusebius, in two Byzantine manuscripts: Athos, *Lavra A 23* and *Vat. Pal. gr. 220*.[156] The same practice is followed in the Armenian manuscripts of Jerusalem, *nos. 2555* and *1924*,[157] but in the tenth-century Mlat'i Gospel and in Venice, *S. Lazzaro no. 887* of the year 1007,[158] the crosses are placed after each Gospel, as in the Georgian manuscripts, and those of Mlat'i are in plaited work, a form reminiscent of the

[150] Tsagareli, *op. cit.*, II, p. 56. Notes of R. P. Blake.

[151] J. Baltrusaitis, *Etudes sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie* (Paris, 1929), p. 27, fig. 38. Id., *Art sumérien, art roman* (Paris, 1934), p. 72 n. 3, MS. no. 1667.

[152] *Materialy*, XII, p. 140, fig. 83. Blake, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, XXI (1928), 290 n. 21b.

[153] *Materialy*, XII, p. 141, fig. 84, 86; p. 142, fig. 88.

[154] Notes of R. P. Blake. The Mestia Gospel of 1033 also has a cross in plaited work (*Materialy*, X, p. 150).

[155] Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, p. 157, fig. 18; p. 159, fig. 19. F. Wickhoff, "Die Ornamente eines altchristlichen Codex der Hofbibliothek" (*Jahrb. Kunstsamml. Wien* XIV, 1893, pp. 196–213).

[156] Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, p. 159, fig. 20–21; Weitzmann, *Die byz. Buchmalerei*, fig. 6; Id., *Die arm. Buchmalerei*, pl. V, 14).

[157] *Jerusalem 2555*, fol. 1^{v}, before the letter of Eusebius, cross in a circular medallion; *Jerusalem 1924*, fol. 8^{r}, before Matthew, cross of plaited work in a rectangular frame.

[158] Photographs of R. P. Blake of Mlat'i Gospels. For *Venice 1007* see Weiztmann, *Die arm. Buchmalerei*, pl. IX, 30. There are crosses also on folios 216^{v} and 280^{v}, that is after Mark, Luke and John.

crosses painted in Coptic codices of the ninth and tenth centuries.

It has already been noted that in Georgia, as in Armenia, the evangelist portraits are on a separate quire, before the text,[159] but the multiple frontispiece of Armenian manuscripts — comprising New Testament scenes and sometimes the Sacrifice of Abraham and representations of Christ and the Virgin [160] — does not seem to have been used in Georgia. New Testament scenes appear only in the Djruč Gospel. Brosset's description reads: "En tête des Evangiles de St. Marc de St. Luc et de St. Jean sont des miniatures représentant le miracle de l'aveugle-né, du possédé et du paralytique et le nom de Jésus-Christ est écrit en capitales géorgiennes, arméniennes et grecques. Derrière un portrait de la Vierge on lit: Sainte Mère de Dieu aie pitié d'Oulatha et sauve-la et réjouis Grigola." [161] If the words "en tête" were interpreted literally we should have to suppose that these scenes form a title-head to each one of the three Gospels, a type of illustration which does not appear in Byzantine manuscripts before the eleventh century. Perhaps Brosset meant "at the beginning," in which case these miniatures might be facing the first page of each Gospel. Kondakov and Bak'radze do not give any information about their place but they list, among the miniatures, the evangelist portraits which are not mentioned by Brosset.[162] The choice of subjects is quite unusual. Miracles are not given special prominence in Byzantine and Armenian painting of this period; the single scenes selected for each Gospel are: the Nativity for Matthew; the Baptism for Mark; the Birth of John the Baptist or the Annunciation for Luke; the Descent into Limbo for John.[163]

A complete change occurs in the eleventh century and Georgian miniatures can hardly be distinguished from the Byzantine. The spread of Constantinopolitan influence throughout the Christian

[159] In Armenian manuscripts, even when the canon tables and the text have been decorated by the same painter, the numbering of the quires begins with the first page of Matthew; thus the initial quire seems to be considered as an independent unit.

[160] *Etchmiadzin 229*, *Vienna 697*, *Jerusalem 2555* and *1924*. The Mlk'e Gospel has only the Ascension but several folios are missing.

[161] Brosset, *Voyage archéologique*, 12e rapport, p. 83–84.

[162] Kondakov and Bak'radze, *op. cit.*, p. 153–154. The miniatures of this manuscript seem to be later additions.

[163] S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles de la Bibliothèque des Pères Mekhitharistes de Venise* (Paris, 1937), p. 80.

East at this time is well known. In Cappadocia Byzantine types replace the earlier Syrian iconography; Armenian manuscripts such as the Gospel of Gagik, the last king of Kars,[164] Venice, *S. Lazzaro 1400* [165] or the Gospel written in Sebastia in 1066,[166] are very close to the Greek models. The Byzantine imprint is even stronger in Georgian works, for the Georgian monasteries on the Black Mountain near Antioch, on Mount Olympus in Bithynia and especially the lavra of Iviron on Mount Athos were important centers of Greek influence. Near Constantinople itself, at Romana, in the valley of Hromani, the monastery of Sokhasteri had been founded at the time of Basil I.[167] Stephané, a monk of Šatberd, had brought to Romana a copy of the original Gospel manuscript of George the Athonite and, though both these codices are lost, we can see from the Gospel of Vani, which in turn copied the manuscript of Stephané, that the illustration was purely Byzantine in style.[168] The same is true for the Alaverd Gospel written in 1054 at the monastery of Kalipos in Bithynia, brought to Constantinople and carried thence to Georgia in 1059 by Ivan Orbeli.[169] The canon tables and evangelist portraits of manuscripts illustrated in Georgia are as Byzantine in style as the work done in Georgian monasteries within the boundaries of the empire; among the important examples should be mentioned the Mestia, Lafskhali and Pizounda Gospels.[170] The richly illustrated Gospel of Gelat'i and the twelfth century codex of Djruč are faithful copies of the well known *Paris gr. 74* or of its prototype.[171]

[164] S. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, p. 84 and passim. For reproductions see A. Tchobanian, *La Roseraie d'Arménie* (vol. III, Paris, 1929).

[165] Weitzmann, *Die arm. Buchmalerei*, pl. XI–XIV; S. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, p. 84 and passim.

[166] S. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, p. 85 and passim; Archbishop G. Hovsephian, *Khałbakians and Prošians* (in Armenian, Vałaršapat, 1928), pp. 176–177, figs. 74 and 75.

[167] Takaichvili, "Antiquités géorgiennes. L'évangile de Vani," *Byzantion*, X (1935), 657. The relics of St. Hilarion the Georgian were brought here in 876 (P. Peeters, "S. Hilarion d'Ibérie," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXII, pp. 241–2).

[168] Takaichvili, *op. cit.*, p. 655–663, pl. XXXVIII–XL.

[169] Žordania, *Opisanie*, II, p. 46–51; *Materialy*, VII, p. 10–20.

[170] *Materialy*, X, p. 149–153; Appendix, p. 11 and 16; Stassoff, *L'ornement slave et oriental*, pl. CXLIX, 25.

[171] N. Pokrovski, *Zapiski Otd. russk. i slav. arch. Imp. russk. arch. Obščestva*, IV, pp. 255–311; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1916); Baumstark, "Eine georgische Miniaturenfolge

Georgian sculpture differs from Georgian illumination both in style and choice of motives. Our information is inadequate for the tenth century; but so far as can be seen from a few reproductions of the monasteries of Iškhan, Tbet', Oška, Dolisquana in Tao-Klardjet'ia,[172] interlaced designs predominate; animal and floral forms are subordinated to geometric patterns and the principles which govern the stylization differ from those followed in manuscript illumination. The rich and beautiful carvings of the eleventh century show a further development of tenth-century forms;[173] there is a continuity here which contrasts with the sharp change of style observed in painting. In Georgia, as in Armenia, the influence of Byzantine models was more strongly felt in manuscript illumination, while the national style developed with greater freedom in monumental works.

Byzantine influence, which came directly to Georgia in the eleventh century, had previously passed in part through Armenian channels. This is in keeping with the literary tradition. During the first period, that is from the fifth to the middle of the eighth century, Georgia was predominantly under oriental influence and the translation of Christian documents was made primarily from Armenian.[174] In spite of the split between the two churches in 607 and the Armenophobe tendency which arose towards the end of the tenth century, there was no overt break until the time of the Georgian Athonite school. Not only is the original translation of the Gospels made from the Armenian but the later version also seems to be dependent on Armenian prototypes. It is with St. Euthymius the Athonite that we have a revision based directly on the Greek text.[175] Writings of the Greek Church fathers were like-

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zum Matthäusevangelium," *Oriens Christianus* (1915), pp. 140–147; Id., Eine georgische Miniaturenfolge zum Markusevangelium (*O. Ch.*, 1916, p. 152–161).

[172] Baltrusaitis, *Etudes sur l'art médieval*, pl. LXVI, LXXIII; p. 44, fig. 68; p. 46, fig. 74. *Materialy*, III, pl. XXXVIII, XLIV–XLVII, p. 72, fig. 44.

[173] Numerous reproductions in Baltrusaitis, *op. cit.*; in *Materialy*, especially vol. III, IV and VII; see also Taqaishvili, "Four Basilican Churches in the Qvirila Valley," *Georgica* I 2–3 (1936), 154–173, pl. I–XXVI; Id., "Antiquities of Georgia," *Georgica*, I 4–5 (1937), pl. V–VII, X.

[174] R. P. Blake, "Georgian Theological Literature," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXVI (1925), pp. 52–53.

[175] R. P. Blake, "The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of St. Mark," *Patrologia Orientalis*, XX 3, pp. 445–447. "The so-called Alaverd Gospels contains the statement that its text is that of St. Euthymius the Athonite. There is no reason to doubt this, but such brief inspection of the text as has been made shows that it is

wise translated from the Armenian: the commentary of the Song of Songs by St. Hippolytus; the discourse of St. Athanasius against the Arians; the commentaries on the Psalms by St. Epiphanius.[176] The latter was translated by a monk living in Tao-Klardjet'ia in the first half of the tenth century.[177] There are Armenian inscriptions in the Djruč Gospel and in a tenth-century Hymnal; the scribe Beray who copied the Šatberd manuscript in 973 signed his name in Armenian.[178] All this indicates continued literary relations between Georgia and Armenia and also that the Armenian language was still known by Georgian monks of the tenth century.

It is natural that Armenian influence should have been particularly strong in Tao-Klardjet'ia, for this border land had passed to and fro from Armenian to Georgian rule. Parts of this region are included in the Armenian provinces of Tayk' and Gougark'; among the "cantons" of Gougark' is Kłarjk' with Artanuj as its chief city,[179] the same Artanuj which had been founded by the Georgian prince Vakhtang Gorgoslan and later became the capital of the Georgian Bagratids, a branch of the Armenian ruling family.[180]

The cities of Ardzen, Erzeroum and Kars, all wealthy and prominent in the tenth century, are fairly near Artanuj and were doubtless in commercial intercourse with it.[181] Kars had become

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almost identical with that of St. George the Athonite. This latter text, probably to be dated between the years 1040 and 1050, became the vulgate of the Georgian church" (Blake, *Harvard Theol. Rev.* [1928], pp. 292–293).

[176] P. Peeters, "Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie orientale," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XL (1922), 278–280.

[177] In a letter addressed to Stephen, first bishop of Tbet', the translator Dači admits that he did not understand the Greek of St. Epiphanius. P. Peeters' comments on this are of particular interest: "Mais on aurait tort de voir dans cet aveu autre chose que le regret intelligent de n'avoir pu atteindre le texte original. A le bien entendre, il prouve plutôt qu'à cette époque il y avait encore des livres arméniens à Šatberd et qu'on les y comprenait" (*A. B.* XL [1922], 280. See also *A. B.*, XXXVI–XXXVII [1917–1919], 210).

[178] P. Peeters, *A. B.*, XL (1922), p. 279.

[179] *Bnaškharhik Bararan* (Venice, 1900), pp. 316–318; J. Marquart, "Eranšāhr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i," *Abhandl. der kön. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse III (1899–1901) p. 116; H. Hubschmann, *Altarmenische Ortsnamen*, p. 356.

[180] Taqaishvili, "Georgian Chronology and the Beginnings of Bagratid Rule in Georgia," *Georgica* I 1, pp. 23–25. Ašot I, the great curopalat established his residence at Artanuj.

[181] The historian Aristakes writes about Ardzen: "This city, by its splendor and magnificence, stood out among all those of the provinces. The merchants built and

the second capital of Armenia at the time of king Abas (929–953) and an independent kingdom during the reign of his successor Ashot III. Both rulers were interested in rebuilding the churches and monasteries which had been destroyed by the Arabs and under Abas of Kars the artistic activity was even greater. From Erzeroum and Kars, as well as from the neighboring monasteries, richly illuminated manuscripts could easily be carried to Artanuj or to the monastic centers of Tao-Klarjet'ia and some had certainly remained from the time of Armenian occupation.

Several of the oldest Georgian manuscripts were copied in monasteries which bear Armenian names and may have been earlier Armenian foundations. Šatberd, for instance, is the Armenian word Շատբերդ;[182] Mitznadzor is Միջնաձոր;[183] Iškhan is Իշխան, the birthplace of the catholicos Nerses III, known as "the Builder" because of his numerous foundations.[184] We read in the life of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a that Nerses had erected the church of Iškhan which St. Gregory found in ruins in the ninth century.[185] It is in fact extremely interesting that this information, which is not given by any of the Armenian historians, should appear in a Georgian text. Oška may also be an Armenian name, slightly deformed, if the identification between Eošk (which is the same place as Oška) and Ašunk can be accepted.[186]

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embellished the churches, they housed and welcomed the monks, they charitably fed the poor and the entire population rivaled in works of piety. Thus its merchants were famous and the kings of nations were the protectors of this city." Cf. Aristagues de Lasdivert, *Histoire d'Arménie* (Paris, 1864) pp. 79–80. According to Matthew of Edessa (*Chronique*, ch. LXXIII) there were eight hundred churches at Ardzen.

[182] The church and monastery of Šatberd were built by St. Gregory of Khandzt'a (P. Peeters, *A. B.*, XXXVI–XXXVII (1917–1919), 248–249).

[183] Mitznadzor is close to the monasteries of Opiza, Bert'ay and Cqarost'avi. Šatberd was a little further removed but maintained close relations with them (*Ibid.*, pp. 301–302).

[184] Only Sebeos says that he was a native of Iškhan (Armenian edition, [Tiflis, 1913], p. 228). Asołik, John Catholicos and Vardan write that he came from the province of Tayk'. The foundations of Nerses mentioned by the Armenian writers are: the chapel of St. Sergius; the chapel on the site of Khor Virap; the church of Zwart'notz; the catholicos' palace next to this church.

[185] P. Peeters, *A. B.*, XXXVI–XXXVII (1917–1919), p. 250: "Deinde curopalates Ischanum adiit, comitantibus viris beatis patre Gregorio et patre Saba. . . . Divino numine Sabas Ischani factus est episcopus in ecclesia catholica (olim) a Narsete catholico aedificata, et in huius sede quae per multos annos viduata fuerat." See also *ibid.*, p. 237.

[186] Brosset, "Inscriptions géorgiennes et autres recueillies par le P. Nerses

Ašunk is mentioned by the historian Vardan in connection with Sahak Mrut, bishop of Tayk', the author of the answer sent by the council of Širakavan to the patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, who was urging the Armenians to adhere to the Chalcedonian doctrine.[187] Sahak Mrut resided at Ašunk and had fled from the Byzantine religious persecutions to eastern Armenia. If the identification of Ašunk-Oška is correct, then Oška, one of the most active centers for the copy of manuscripts,[188] was the seat of the Armenian bishop of Tayk' as late as the middle of the ninth century.

Though connections were maintained, Armenian influence gradually yielded to Georgian in the tenth century because of the dearmenization of Tao-Klarjet'ia. Several factors were responsible for this. The region had suffered greatly from the Arab devastations and we know from the biography of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a that it was very scantily populated in the ninth century.[189] Some of the inhabitants also had left because of the pressure brought upon them to accept the doctrines of the council of Chalcedon; those Armenians who were converted and who remained were gradually hellenized or georgianized, adopting with the religious faith the language of the church. There was, furthermore, an influx of Georgian immigrants who, protected by their rulers, took the place of the Armenians.

As the country became stabilized, prosperity increased. Constantine Porphyrogenetus writes that "the citadel of Ardanutzion (Artanuj) is very strong and has ramparts suitable to the capital of a district; it is the centre of all the business of Trebizond, of Iberia, of Abkhazia, of all Armenia and Syria, and it does an immense commerce with all these countries. The country or 'arzen'

Sargissian," *Memoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 7e série, VIII (1864), fasc. 10, pp. 5–11. For the Armenian text see *Basmavep* (1864), pp. 155–160.

[187] History of Vardan Vardapet (in Armenian, Venice 1862), p. 85.

[188] Several of the manuscripts which John Č'ordvaneli, called T'ornik, ordered for the lavra of Iviron were written at Oška: R. P. Blake, "Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens," *Rev. de l'Orient chrétien*, XXVIII (1931–1932), 291, 301–304, 329–339.

[189] P. Peeters, *A. B.*, XXXVI–XXXVII (1917–19), 227. At the time of the foundation of Khandzt'a, Opiza was the only monastery of the region.

of Ardanutzion is large and fertile; it is the key to Iberia, Abkhazia and Meskhia." [190]

These commercial relations with all the surrounding territories fostered cultural relations as well. Thus the historical circumstances, the evidence of literary connections add weight to the conclusions reached through stylistic and iconographic studies and give us further reason to assume that the model of the Bert'ay Gospel may have been drawn from Armenia.

The illustration of the Bert'ay Gospel not only adds to our knowledge of Georgian painting in the tenth century, but it opens up a new chapter in the history of canon table decorations. It would be rash, at present, to try to assign a date or place of origin to the remote prototype which may be discerned through this manuscript, and which differs from the other canon arcades known so far. We can only call attention to the fact that several of the less common motives point to the eastern provinces, rather than to Byzantium.

[190] W. E. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932), p. 58.

THE STRIFE AMONG THE PALAEOLOGI AND THE OTTOMAN TURKS, 1370–1402

By Peter Charanis

The most important development in the history of the Balkan peninsula in the second half of the fourteenth century was the rise of the Ottoman Turks to a position of world significance. In their rise to power, the Turks owed much to their vigor, to the statesmanship, energy, and genius of their leaders, but they owed as much, if not more, to the demoralization of the peoples of the Balkan peninsula. The civil strife among the Greeks, which they exploited with wonderful skill, proved to them particularly advantageous. It is well known how the wars between John Cantacuzenus and John V Palaeologus enabled them to establish themselves in Europe. And the strife among the Palaeologi during the second half of the fourteenth century was not a minor factor in the expansion of the Turks, but here considerable confusion still reigns. However, new information recently made available makes now possible the removal of some of this confusion.[1]

The rivalry between John V Palaeologus and John Cantacuzenus ended in December, 1354, when the latter definitely renounced the throne. Four years later Matthew Cantacuzenus too abandoned the imperial title and swore allegiance to John V. John V was now sole emperor, but if his personal position had improved, that of the empire had worsened.[2] For the Ottoman Turks, who had taken Gallipoli in 1354, had, by 1364, deprived the empire of virtually all Thrace, including Adrianople and Dedymotichon. Moreover, it had become evident that their advance could not be checked without outside help and it was in

[1] Giuseppe Cammelli (ed.), *Demetrius Cydones: Correspondance* (Paris, 1930); S. Lampros and C. I. Amantos, Βραχέα Χρονικά in Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν. Μνημεῖα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας, Τόμος Α′ (Athens, 1932–33).

[2] There is no special monograph on John V and the reason is not far to seek. During the early years of his reign he was overshadowed by his powerful rival, John Cantacuzenus, while the later years of his career were dominated by his brilliant son, Manuel, and for the period in between there is hardly any information. For a bibliography of the period of the Palaeologi see my article, P. Charanis, "Internal strife in Byzantium during the fourteenth century," *Byzantion*, XV (Boston, 1940–41), 208, n. 1.

order to get this help that John V visited Rome, where he became converted to Catholicism in 1369, after he had failed in his negotiations with the Serbs to whom he had sent the patriarch Callistus at the head of an embassy in 1364, and with the king of Hungary whom he had visited himself in 1366. It was while John V sojourned in Rome and northern Italy trying to find allies for the empire that the first of a series of quarrels broke out between himself and his eldest son, Andronicus, who had been left in charge of the government in Constantinople. These quarrels were skillfully exploited by the Ottoman Turks to weaken the empire beyond the hope of recovery.

The first conspiracy of Andronicus against his father is shrouded in obscurity. It is mentioned by no contemporary source; and of the later Greek historians only Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles make reference to it.[3] According to the account of Phrantzes, Andronicus, who had been left in charge of the government in Constantinople and fervently desired to continue in charge, ignored the pleas of his father, sojourning in Venice, to send him money with which to pay his creditors and to meet the expenses of the voyage home. However, Manuel, the younger son of the emperor, raised the money and went to the assistance of his father in Venice. Chalcocondyles differs from this account only in one respect. He adds that John V was retained by his creditors and was not permitted to leave Venice until he paid his debts. Modern historians, beginning with Gibbon, have repeated this account as the most striking illustration of the abject conditions into which the emperor of the once powerful Byzantine empire had fallen.[4] Recently, however, a distinguished Polish scholar studied the problem in detail in his brilliant book dealing with the voyage of John V to Rome and came to the conclusion that the statements of Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles are not true.[5] He makes the following arguments: (1) that Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles are rarely accurate when dealing with the events of the fourteenth century; (2) that, according to the Venetian sources, John V, far

[3] Phrantzes, *Chronicon* (Bonn, 1838), 52 f.; L. Chalcocondyles, Historiarum Libri decem (Bonn, 1843), 50 f. Darkó's edition of Chalcocondyles and that of Phrantzes by Papadopulos were not available to me.

[4] Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, edited by J. B. Bury (London, 1900), VII, 90.

[5] O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw, 1930), p. 334 ff.

from being humiliated, was received by the Venetians with all due honor and that, when he was about to leave Venice, he was given an outright gift of 4000 ducats and provisions for the trip home; and (3) that Andronicus was actually in Italy with his father and not in Constantinople as Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles assert, and as proof of this he offers the treaty concluded between John V and Venice in Rome in 1370, where an Andronicus Palaeologus is mentioned as one of the witnesses.

Now to examine these arguments. It should be conceded at once that Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles are often inaccurate and confused when dealing with the events of the fourteenth century, but it must be also pointed out that their inaccuracies are chiefly in matters of chronology. While they confuse events of different dates they seldom mention anything that did not actually take place, and unless it can be shown by reference to contemporary and trustworthy sources that they are inaccurate, their testimony cannot be rejected. In this case two such sources are offered: (1) the chronicle of the Venetian John Caroldo, written really toward the end of the fifteenth century, but worthy of serious consideration, for it is based on official documents from the archives of Venice;[6] and (2) the treaty between John V and Venice concluded in 1370.[7]

According to the account of Caroldo, the Venetians received John with courtesy and all honors due to his rank. John informed the authorities that he had important matters to discuss with them and a deputation was designated to confer with him. What John wanted to discuss with them were matters of a financial nature. He had previously borrowed from the Venetians and as security for this loan he had deposited some of the imperial jewels. He now proposed to cede the island of Tenedos to the Venetians if, in turn, they would release the imperial jewels, furnish him with six transports, and, in addition, give him 25,000 ducats, a small portion of which was to be paid in advance in order that he might meet his daily expenses. The Venetians accepted these terms and advanced him 4000 ducats in anticipation of the cession of Tene-

[6] Caroldo's chronicle is still in manuscript form, but the important passage relating to John's stay in Venice has been reproduced by Halecki who is the first scholar to make use of it. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

[7] *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ed. G. M. Thomas (Venice, 1899), no. 89.

dos. John now asked for another loan of 30,000 ducats and offered as security other imperial jewels. Finally, when he was about to depart, the Venetians gave him outright the 4000 ducats, which they had advanced to him as partial payment for Tenedos, and considerable provisions for his journey back home. They also gave 300 ducats to Manuel.

What this document proves is precisely the opposite of what it is intended to prove, for the striking thing about it is not that the Venetians advanced or gave outright 4000 ducats to the emperor, but the extreme misery in which the emperor found himself in Venice, misery which is attested also by a letter of Cydones, cited by F. Dölger in his support of the account of the Greek historians.[8] John was so badly in need of money that he was willing to part with Tenedos in order that, among other things, he might be advanced a few ducats with which to pay his daily expenses. It is indeed difficult to understand the logic of an argument that seeks to show the inaccuracy of one document by citing another that says exactly the same thing, for Caroldo confirms a part while denying nothing of what the Greek historians say. If he does not speak of John's correspondence with Andronicus and the latter's refusal to send him money, that was because he probably knew nothing about it, for he drew his information from official Venetian documents which necessarily dealt only with the negotiations between the emperor and Venice. These negotiations were long and tedious — John stayed ten months in Venice — and there is no reason why John could not have written to Andronicus for money pending the conclusion of his agreement with the Venetians. It would have been unusual indeed if he had not done so.

Then there is Manuel. Admittedly Manuel made the trip to Venice, braving "the violence of the waves and the sea in the winter," as his father puts it, in order to come to him in Venice and help him with his affairs. It is hardly probable that Manuel made the special trip to Venice to help only in his father's negotiations with the Venetians. There must have been a more pressing reason and what else could this reason be than his father's financial embarrassment? Manuel went to Venice in order to bring

[8] F. Dölger, "Johannes VII, Kaiser der Rhomäer, 1390–1408," *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXI (Leipzig, 1931), 22, note 2.

money to his father and once there he doubtless helped him also in his negotiations with the Venetians. But neither the sum brought to him by Manuel nor that of the 4000 ducats advanced by the Venetians was sufficient to enable John to meet his expenses in Venice. This is shown by the fact that when he departed from Venice he left Manuel behind to serve as voucher for the many expenses of his trip, increased, as he says himself, by the meanness of the merchants.[9]

Two of the contentions of the Greek historians, John's want of money and Manuel's voyage to Venice, are confirmed by Caroldo, not to mention the other documents to which reference has been made. Objections may be still raised to the statement of Chalcocondyles that the creditors of John V actually prevented him from sailing from Venice. In denying the truth of this statement, it is contended that Caroldo and other Italian chroniclers not only fail to mention this, but assert on the contrary that John was received by the Venetians with courtesy and all honors due to his rank. But there is nothing either in Caroldo or in Chalcocondyles that makes their statements mutually exclusive. That the Venetians received John with the honors that his rank required can hardly be doubted, for it would have been a flagrant violation of international practice if they had failed to do so, but that afterwards they insisted upon his settling his obligations before they could make him any further financial advances is also possible. The statement of Chalcocondyles is really not hard to understand. Since John was not able to leave Venice on his own resources, any difficulty that he may have had with his Venetian creditors could be interpreted in Constantinople to mean that he had to stay in Venice until he settled his differences with his creditors.

There now remains to examine the objection to the assertion of the Greek historians that Andronicus had remained in Constantinople and refused to send to his father the financial help which he asked.

The treaty of 1370 between John V and Venice, where an An-

[9] K. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, "Prooemien zu Chrysobullen von Demetrius Cydones," *Sitzungsberichte der Koeniglich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1888), 1420; *ἐγγυητὴν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ δαπάνης ἐσόμενον, ἣν ἡμῖν ηὔξησεν ἡ τῶν ἐμπόρων μικρολογία.* Von Lingenthal (*ibid.*, p. 1415) interprets this as confirming the statements of the Greek historians. Halecki (*op. cit.*, 336) considers this passage "l'origine de toute la légende."

dronicus Palaeologus is mentioned as one of the witnesses, is offered as proof that there is no truth in this assertion. Obviously if this personage is the son of the emperor, then Andronicus accompanied his father in Italy and there can be no truth in the statement that he stayed in Constantinople and later disobeyed his father. But this Andronicus was not the son of John V, as Dölger has pointed out,[10] for in the treaty he is described as an uncle, *avunculus*, of the emperor. Moreover, of the four witnesses to the treaty only Andronicus is referred to without a title, and yet the son of the emperor had already been invested with the imperial title. That the son of an emperor, himself already emperor, would be relegated to the third position among the witnesses to an official treaty, called a simple relative, and given no official title is extremely improbable.[11] Therefore, the treaty of 1370 offers no evidence justifying the rejection of the testimony of the Greek historians according to which Andronicus remained in Constantinople while John V sojourned in Italy. Nor is there any evidence at all disproving their contention that he conspired against his father.

In addition to the testimony of Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles, there is now a short chronicle which suggests that all was not well in Constantinople while John V was in Italy.[12] According to this chronicle John V, upon his return from Italy, caused the arrest of several high personages, namely Glabas, John Asan, Manuel Bryene, Zamplaco, and Agalo. Within a year and a half Andronicus himself was a fugitive before his father, but this was for another reason. It is not stated that there was any relation between the arrest of these high personages and the disobedience of Andronicus, but it is not improbable that they had aided and abetted Andronicus in his defiance of his father. Zamplaco had been an important partisan of Cantacuzenus,[13] and John Asan had once urged Matthew Cantacuzenus to proclaim himself emperor against the wishes of his father.[14] Nor is it impossible that the Church had a hand in the disobedience of Andronicus. In his

[10] Dölger, *op. cit.*, p. 22, note 2.

[11] P. Charanis, "An important short chronicle of the fourteenth century," *Byzantion*, XIII (Brussels, 1938), p. 353, note 1.

[12] Lampros-Amantos, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[13] John Cantacuzenus, *Historiae* (Bonn, 1818–32), III, 74, 237.

[14] Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia* (Bonn, 1829–30), 797, 798 f.

reply to his father Andronicus claimed that he was not permitted by the Church to use its treasures and there exists a synodical act, dated c. 1370, prohibiting the alienation of Church property.[15] The Church had no particular enthusiasm for the activities of John V in Italy for it opposed the rapprochement with Rome.

In the meantime, while John V was sojourning in Italy and Andronicus was defying his authority, the Ottoman Turks took another important step in the conquest of the Balkan peninsula. For on September 26, 1371, they inflicted a terrible defeat on the Serbian army under the command of Ugleša and their victory opened the way for the conquest of Macedonia. Scholars have been puzzled why the Greeks, who a few years before had actively sought the help of the Serbs against the Ottomans, had now failed to cooperate with them in this important battle.[16] It has even been asserted that the Greeks, under the leadership of Manuel, actually helped the Ottomans by ceding to them Gallipoli,[17] but this assertion has no foundation as it will be shown below. It is not easy to determine the reason why the Greeks failed to cooperate with the Serbians, but it is not improbable that their failure is related to the internal situation in Constantinople. John V had not returned from Italy yet, while it is quite possible that Andronicus and his faction befriended Murad as one of the means of maintaining themselves in power. In his later revolts against his father Andronicus always relied upon Turkish help. And this may be one of the reasons why John V, upon his return from Italy on October 28, 1371,[18] hastened to come to an agreement with Murad. Despite his conversion to Catholicism, John must have realized that no immediate help could be expected from the west, while the Turks, by their decisive victory over Ugleša, had grown stronger than ever and might endanger his own throne by throwing their

[15] Fr. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, I (Vienna, 1859), 513. The possible relation between Andronicus' refusal to send money to his father on the ground that he was not permitted to use the treasures of the Church and this act was noted by Zachariae von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 1415. But one cannot insist upon this relationship, for the act really bears no date. I have followed von Lingenthal in dating it *ca.* 1370.

[16] See for instance H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman empire* (Oxford, 1916), 123. Gibbons' chronology here is wrong.

[17] Halecki, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

[18] Lampros-Amantos, *op. cit.*, p. 81. See also P. Charanis, "An important short chronicle of the fourteenth century," p. 340.

support to his ambitious and disobedient son. The agreement between John V and Murad was reached probably sometime in 1372, for by the spring of 1373 Byzantine troops were fighting with the army of Murad in conformity with the provisions of the agreement.[19]

In 1373 Andronicus tried again to seize the throne. According to the traditional view the second revolt of Andronicus was prompted by his fervent desire to overthrow his father because, as punishment for his first conspiracy, he had discarded him from the throne in favor of his younger son Manuel whose loyalty and service he had publicly acknowledged in a chrysobull. All the responsibility, therefore, for the political crisis that this change in the order of succession provoked lay originally with Andronicus. A more recent opinion,[20] based on the belief that Andronicus did not conspire against his father in 1370, puts the responsibility on John V who, it is urged, provoked the crisis because of his personal attachment to Manuel. What really happened confirms neither the one nor the other view. It is not known what measures John V took against his disobedient son upon his return from Italy, but it seems improbable that he contemplated an immediate change in the order of succession. This is shown to some extent by the fact that one of his immediate acts upon his arrival to Constantinople was to confirm Manuel as despot of Thessalonica.[21] Moreover, it seems probable, according to Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles, that once again John V entrusted the government of Constantinople in the hands of Andronicus while he accompanied Murad in an expedition in Asia Minor.[22] What really determined John to discard Andronicus from the succession to the throne was the latter's revolt. Andronicus began his open defiance of his father on May 6, 1373 [23] and it was not until he was forced to surrender that Manuel was definitely designated the successor of

[19] Phrantzes, *op. cit.*, p. 49 f.; Chalcocondyles, *op. cit.*, p. 40 f. The date results from the fact that it was during this expedition that the revolt of Andronicus and Saudchi took place.

[20] Halecki, *op. cit.*, p. 302 ff.

[21] Zachariae von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 1409–1422.

[22] Phrantzes, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Chalcocondyles, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[23] Lampros-Amantos, *op. cit.*, p. 81; R. Loenertz, "La première insurrection d'Andronic IV Paléologue (1373)," *Echos d'Orient*, XXXVIII (Bucharest, 1939), 340.

John V, for Manuel was crowned emperor on September 25, 1373.[24]

The revolt of Andronicus is associated with that of Saudchi Čelebi, Murad's eldest son, against his own father. The sources that mention this affair, none of which is really contemporary with it, are confusing. According to Ducas [25] the two princes, both young and ambitious, agreed to cooperate and overthrow their fathers, seize the power themselves, and then conclude an alliance with each other. But Murad discovered the plot before it could be executed, seized and blinded his son and then demanded that the same punishment be inflicted on Andronicus. Mignanelli of Sienna agrees substantially with this account, but Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles give another version.[26] They state that the two princes were left by their fathers in charge of the government, Saudchi in the European possessions of the sultan, Andronicus in Constantinople; that Murad, accompanied by John V, undertook an expedition in Asia Minor against certain rebellious vassals; that the two princes found this the opportune moment to revolt against their fathers; and that Murad crushed the revolt ruthlessly, put his son to death and demanded that Andronicus be blinded. The Turkish historians place the rebellion of Saudchi in Asia Minor and make no mention of Andronicus.[27] To these accounts there must now be added that of a short chronicle, included in the Lampros-Amantos collection,[28] according to which Andronicus fled from Constantinople, a fugitive before his own father, and joined Saudchi, himself also a fugitive before his own father already for over ten months. Angered by this action of Andronicus, John V aided Murad to transport his forces from Asia Minor to Europe and then helped him to crush the revolt. Among these various accounts that of Phrantzes, Chalcocondyles, and the short chronicle agree on a number of things: (1) that during the revolt Murad and his army were in Asia Minor; (2) that Saudchi was in Thrace where the revolt took place; and (3) that during this time Andronicus was in Constantinople from where doubtless he co-

[24] Lampros-Amantos, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Charanis, "An important short chronicle of the fourteenth century," p. 340.

[25] Ducas, *Historia Byzantina* (Bonn, 1834), p. 43 ff.

[26] Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 337; Phrantzes, *op. cit.*, p. 49 ff.; Chalcocondyles, *op. cit.*, p. 40 ff.

[27] Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

[28] Lampros-Amantos, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

operated with Saudchi. What the short chronicle includes which is not found in either Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles, that Andronicus fled from Constantinople and actively joined Saudchi ten months after the latter began his revolt, means simply that instead of submitting to his father after the latter's return from Asia Minor he chose to continue the struggle by actively joining Saudchi. It seems to the writer that the account to follow as most plausible is that of Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles, supplemented by the short chronicle of the Lampros-Amantos collection.[29]

Murad ruthlessly crushed the revolt and cruelly put to death Saudchi and his companions. Andronicus who had surrendered in the meantime was put in prison by his father, together with his wife and his infant son John, known in Byzantine history as John VII. Murad insisted, however, that he should be blinded and John V gave his consent, although not very willingly, but the operation was not completely successful so that Andronicus retained, at least partially, his eyesight. The same treatment and with the same results was given to his infant son, who according to Ducas was scarcely yet able to talk. Moreover, John V now decided to discard Andronicus from the succession to the throne and on September 25, 1373 he crowned Manuel, who now became his colleague and designated successor.

His failure in the revolt of 1373 and his consequent punishment did not end the ambitions of Andronicus. Partially blinded and in prison he still looked for an opportunity to challenge the power of his father. His opportunity came in 1376. In that year John V ceded to the Venetians the island of Tenedos. Tenedos dominates the Dardanelles and the Genoese, whose commercial interests in the Black Sea would be endangered by the Venetian occupation,

[29] R. Loenertz has tried (*op. cit.*, p. 340 ff.) to discredit the Greek historian. His principal argument is based on grounds of topography. He thinks that the Turkish historians who place the struggle in Asia Minor are the more accurate and explains that Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles must have confused the Thracian towns of Didymotichon and Pikridion, where, according to them the struggle took place, with Demetoka and Peges (Spigas) respectively, both of which are located in Phrygia. But the topographical data of the Greek historians are confirmed by the short chronicle of the Lampros-Amantos collection. It is extremely improbable that three persons, or at least two, if it is assumed that Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles used the same source, which is not certain, would make the same mistake. And Hammer, who generally follows the Turkish authorities, has in this case preferred the version of the Greek historians. J. de Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman* (Greek Version) (Athens, 1870), I, 366.

were determined to prevent this island from falling into the hands of their commercial rivals.[30] Since John V was favorably inclined toward the Venetians and could not be expected to reverse his policy to their advantage their first move was to bring about his overthrow. Accordingly they helped Andronicus to escape from prison, treated his eyes for the improvement of his sight and agreed to help him regain the throne if in return he would cede to them the island of Tenedos. But the success of this attempt depended also upon the attitude of Murad and to gain his help Andronicus made important concessions. He promised him his sister in marriage, an annual tribute, and the surrender of Gallipoli. With the support of such allies, the success of Andronicus was assured. He entered Constantinople on August 12, 1376, seized his father and his two brothers, Manuel and Theodore, and shut them in the tower of Anemas, where he himself had been kept a few years before. He also imprisoned a number of Venetian merchants and seized their property.[31] Eleven days later he signed an act ceding Tenedos to the Genoese [32] and early in the next year he surrendered Gallipoli to the Turks.

Gallipoli had been captured by the Turks in 1354, but it had been restored to the Byzantines in 1367 by Amadeo of Savoy who had recovered it from the Turks in the course of his crusade of the previous year. This was a serious blow to the Turks, for with both Constantinople and Gallipoli in the hands of the Greeks it was difficult for them to move their forces from Asia to Europe or vice versa. Quite naturally they were anxious to recover their loss. It has been asserted that just before the battle of Maritza in 1371 they sought and obtained from John V the cession of this important fortress. It has been urged further that the faction in Constantinople favoring the surrender of Gallipoli was headed by the emperor's son, Manuel, while those in the opposition were led by Demetrius Cydones.[33] The facts of the matter are quite different.

[30] Cydones, *Correspondance*, edition Cammelli, p. 59: *τοῖς δὲ Γενουβίσοις οὐκ ἀνεκτόν, τὴν Τένεδον τῶν ἀντιτέχνων ἐχόντων, αὐτοὺς ἡσυχάζειν· οἴονται γὰρ οὕτως τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν ποντικῶν κερδῶν ἐλαθήσεσθαι, ὅ χεῖρον αὐτοῖς τοῦ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκπεσεῖν βιασθέντας.*

[31] There is ample source material concerning this revolt of Andronicus. See Charanis, "An important chronicle of the fourteenth century," p. 353, n. 3, where the principal authorities are listed.

[32] W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant* (Leipzig, 1936), I, 519.

[33] Halecki, *op. cit.*, p. 243 ff.

Gallipoli was not surrendered to the Turks in 1371; Manuel was not in Constantinople to urge its surrender; nor had John V yet returned from Italy.[34] Demetrius Cydones indeed made a speech against the surrender of Gallipoli in which he pointed out the strategic importance of this fortress and urged the acceptance of the Serbian offer for an alliance against the Turks, but this speech was made several years later.[35] It has been supposed that the Serbian embassy which made the offer of alliance must have been sent to Constantinople by Ugleša in anticipation of his war with the Ottomans and it is for this reason that the speech of Cydones has been dated as of 1371. It is true indeed that Ugleša entered into negotiations with Constantinople, but these negotiations were chiefly ecclesiastical in character, although questions of a political nature may have been also discussed.[36] But there is no indication whatsoever that the particular embassy mentioned by Cydones, and by him alone, was sent by Ugleša. Cydones delivered his speech early in 1377, after he had learned of the intentions of Andronicus to surrender Gallipoli to the Turks, for Gallipoli was surrendered early in 1377 and in his speech Cydones implies that he expected it would be surrendered, since, as he says, the majority of the inhabitants and the majority of the council favored giving it up.[37] But the initiative in the matter was taken by Andronicus who had already agreed to surrender Gallipoli in return for the help of the Turks to depose his father. This is clearly stated by Cydones in a letter to his friend Calopheros in which he announces the actual surrender of the fortress.[38] A part of this letter is so descriptive of the deplorable situation in which the empire was reduced that it is worth quoting in full.

"Know then," Cydones writes to his friend, "that personally I feel well, but I suffer in common with the city about which one reports nothing good. For the old

[34] John V returned to Constantinople on October 28, 1371 and for the source of this see note 18. Nor is it probable that Manuel arrived there before his father, for he did not leave Venice till after the departure of his father. See Zachariae von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 1420.

[35] Cydones, *Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli* in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CLIV (Paris, 1866), 1009–1036. For an analysis of this speech see Halecki, *op. cit.*, p. 244 f.

[36] The question involved was that of reestablishing the jurisdiction of the patriarch in the realm of Ugleša. See Miklosich and Müller, *op. cit.*, I, 553, 560–64.

[37] Cydones, *Oratio* . . . , p. 1009: *καὶ τό γε πλεῖστον τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν συμβουλεύειν εἰωθότων, φασὶ δεῖν ἤδη διδόναι.*

[38] Cydones, *Correspondance*, pp. 58–60.

scourge, the Turks, pushed to arrogance by the alliance which they concluded with the new emperor against his father, have become more terrible for us. Although they received Gallipoli as compensation and seized many other things belonging to us, and in addition exacted such an amount of money that no one can count easily, they still claim that they are not sufficiently paid for their aid. They command everything and we must obey or else be imprisoned. To such a point they have risen in power, and we reduced to slavery. To this has been added the differences between the Genoese and the Venetians. For the emperor promised Tenedos to the Genoese while he was among them after he escaped from prison. But the Venetians, anticipating this, seized the island, and now, after securing it and its fortress with walls, provisions, men and everything that makes a fortress impregnable, they have gone home, hoping to return in the spring with many triremes. But the Genoese cannot bear to keep the peace while their rivals hold Tenedos, for they believe that they would thus be deprived of access to the sea and the profits of maritime commerce, a thing which is more terrible to them than if they were driven by force from their own country. Therefore they aim to invest the island with triremes, ships, engines of war and everything that those who go to war invent. And they compel the emperor to cooperate with them, for otherwise, they say, he would connive with the Venetians in their steal and prefer them to the Genoese. The emperor, in order to avoid all suspicion, has agreed to ally himself with them and now, in the midst of so much misery, he is preparing arms, munitions, engines of war and ships, and is forced to hire troops, a thing which for him is more difficult than flying. But what makes one consider these evils light, although they are grave indeed, are the ills of within. For the father and the brothers [of Andronicus] still live shut up in places whence there is no escape. . . . For these reasons men expect in the evening to hear of new things with sunrise, whereas the day makes them fear that night will bring some grave misfortune. So that everyone, as in a tempest, runs the risk of sinking. . . . Against these evils we have had one hope, the alliance of the Church and the Christians [of the west], and this we had to renounce because, it seems, of the malevolence of some divinity or our sins. . . ."

The hostilities between Venetians and Genoese of which Cydones speaks in this letter refer to the Chioggia war which broke out in the spring of 1377, and this definitely fixes the date of the surrender of Gallipoli. For as the letter was written before the spring of that year, Gallipoli must have been surrendered either late in 1376 or early in 1377, but probably in 1377. A short chronicle written in the sixteenth century states definitely that Murad took Gallipoli in 1377.[39] It is interesting to note also that Cydones had abandoned all hope of any assistance from the west-

[39] Lampros-Amantos, *op. cit.*, 77: *ἐπῆρεν ὁ σουλτὰν Μουράτης ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ὀρχάνη τὴν Καλιούπολιν εἰς τὰ ,ατοζ'* (1377). *εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐπῆρεν τὴν Σερβίαν.* Obviously this chronicle is of a later date but there is no reason to doubt its accuracy, for it agrees with the chronological data given by Cydones. Its reference to a Serbian defeat suffered at the hands of the Turks about the same time shows in what dangerous position that nation was and it is not at all improbable that the Serbian embassy referred to in the *Oratio* of Cydones was sent to Constantinople at this time.

ern Christians against the Turks. That the western Christians might help the Greeks against the Turks had always been his hope [40] and the abandonment of that hope explains why he urged an alliance with the Serbs. It is additional evidence for the view that his speech against the surrender of Gallipoli was composed in 1377 and not in 1371, for in 1371 he must have still believed that western Christendom would come to the relief of Constantinople. Did not John V successfully negotiate with the papacy? It is quite evident too that Cydones was hostile to Andronicus. Andronicus indeed tried to win the support and the services of Cydones, but the latter bluntly replied that under no circumstances would he participate in his administration.[41]

The reign of Andronicus was short. He had been placed on the throne with the aid of foreign powers and his position was secure only as long as he kept the support of these powers. He could rely upon the Genoese for their interests were to some extent associated with his, but he could not be sure of the Turks. Meanwhile the Venetians had refused him recognition and were anxious to bring about his downfall. In 1379 they aided John V and his sons to escape from prison, but the old emperor sought the protection of the Turks, for he knew well that without their aid he could not possibly regain his throne. It is said that Murad sent a representative to Constantinople to determine the wishes of the people and on the basis of this investigation decided to support John V. It is not improbable that Murad actually did this in order to justify his defection from the cause of Andronicus, but the wishes of the people of Constantinople were not the decisive factors in his decision. He was influenced by more tangible considerations. For John V offered him a considerable annual tribute and agreed to furnish him a contingent of 12,000 men every spring.[42] In addition Murad asked and obtained the cession of Philadelphia, the

[40] Byzantium was divided on foreign policy. There were those who believed that the salvation of the empire could be achieved only by an understanding with the Latins, and those who sought to unite the orthodox peoples of the Balkan peninsula against the Turkish danger. Demetrius Cydones was one of the leaders of the former. See Cydones, *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, Migne, *Patr. Gr.* CLIV, 961–1008.

[41] Cydones, *Correspondance*, p. 56.

[42] Ducas, *op. cit.*, 45 f.; Phrantzes, *op. cit.*, 55 f.; Chalcocondyles, *op. cit.*, 62 f. For the date, see Charanis, "An important short chronicle of the fourteenth century," 354.

only Greek city in Asia Minor that was still free. Philadelphia, however, was not actually occupied by the Turks till late in the year 1390 when it was taken by Bayazid.[43] Aided by Murad and the Venetians, John V and his son Manuel entered Constantinople on July 1, 1379. Andronicus did not offer any resistance, although his Genoese allies fought desperately. But in the final settlement Andronicus was not completely deprived of his powers. On the insistence of the Genoese and probably also on that of Murad, who hoped doubtless to profit further by future dissension among the Palaeologi, Andronicus and his son John, the future John VII, were recognized the legitimate successors of John V. Manuel was thus discarded. In addition Andronicus was invested with the actual administration of the Thracian towns of Selymbria, Heraclea, Rhaedestus and Panidus. This arrangement was officially sanctioned by the patriarch Nilus in May, 1381,[44] and was included in the treaty which the Genoese signed with John V on November 2, 1382.[45] The Genoese still associated their interests with the imperial fortunes of Andronicus and his rights to inherit the throne was one of the points they insisted upon in their negotiations with John V. But they agreed also to refrain from doing anything that might lead to a rupture between John V and Andronicus, and promised, if necessary, to support him against all his enemies, including Andronicus and his son, but not including Murad with whom they wanted to keep in peace. Andronicus did not live to inherit the throne. He died in 1385, shortly after suffering a defeat at the hands of his father.[46] Meanwhile Manuel returned to Thessalonica to take charge of the administration while Theodore was made despot of the Morea. Theodore took possession of Morea in 1383; but exactly when Manuel arrived in Thessalonica is not known.

The agreement which had settled the quarrel between John V

[43] It is quite possible that Philadelphia was not only occupied by, but was also ceded to the Turks in 1390. For Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles who mention the cession of Philadelphia in connection with the overthrow of Andronicus in 1379 confuse this event with the struggle between John V and Manuel on the one hand and John VII on the other which took place in 1390. The date of the capture of Philadelphia by Bayazid will be justified below.

[44] Miklosich and Müller, *op. cit.*, II, 25; Ducas, *op. cit.*, 46.

[45] Heyd, *op. cit.*, I, 525; Dölger, *op. cit.*, p. 26. The original document was not accessible to me.

[46] Charanis, "An important short chronicle of the fourteenth century," p. 355.

and Andronicus was least satisfactory to Manuel, since it deprived him of the imperial title and succession. Manuel left for Thessalonica in secret and against the wishes of his father, which is sufficient proof that he was openly displeased with it.[47] That father and son had now come to the parting of the ways is also stated by Cydones, whose affection for Manuel never diminished.[48] Manuel must have felt resentment also against Murad who was probably, at least in part, responsible for the reinstatement of Andronicus. Once established in Thessalonica his hostility against Murad broke out in the open. Manuel's aim, it seems, was to recover Macedonia, and he actually occupied important places, including the city of Serres.[49] The results of his policy, however, were disastrous, for it not only widened the breach of the already estranged relations with his father, whose one aim was to keep the peace with Murad, but aroused the ire of the Turkish Sultan. Murad commissioned Haireddin Pasha to carry the war to Manuel. Haireddin not only recovered the territory which Manuel had occupied; he attacked also Thessalonica which finally surrendered in 1387 after a siege of four years.[50]

It is often repeated, following Chalcocondyles and Phrantzes, that Manuel, who had fled from Thessalonica, turned to his father, but the latter, fearing a break with Murad, refused to receive him; that Manuel then turned abjectly to the Turkish Sultan and asked his forgiveness; and that the latter received him with honors, forgave his transgressions and recommended him to his father.[51] This story is not strictly accurate as is shown by the letters of Cydones. John V was indeed furious at the insubordination of his son and the consequent loss of Thessalonica. He called a special council, from which, however, all the friends of Manuel, including Cydones, were excluded, to decide the fate of Manuel and, as the latter was subsequently exiled to Lemnos, it may have been here that this decision was reached.[52] In the meantime Manuel, who had fled to Lesbos, was in a dilemma, not knowing

[47] R. Loenertz, "Manuel Paléologue et Démétrius Cydonès," *Échos d'Orient*, XXVI (Paris, 1937), 475.

[48] Cydones, *Correspondance*, pp. 86, 91.

[49] Phrantzes, *op. cit.*, p. 47 f.; Chalcocondyles, *op. cit.*, p. 46 f.

[50] Charanis, "An important short chronicle of the fourteenth century," p. 359 f.

[51] Phrantzes, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Chalcocondyles, *op. cit.*, p. 46 f.

[52] Cydones, *Correspondance*, p. 83 f.

which way to turn. He thought of going to some foreign land; or he might go to the Morea where his younger brother, Theodore, was in charge. He wrote to Cydones for advice. Cydones replied to him in a tender and affectionate letter. He must not quit his country for some strange land. The road there is long and tedious and the people he will meet indifferent to his lot. For, ignoring his rank, they would treat him as a vagabond or as one in need. Nor must he go to the Peloponnesus; its resources are few and insufficient even for those who already dwell there. There will be war between himself and his brother if he and his companions went there. Indeed the Turks will be greatly pleased if they hear that he has gone to Morea; they will even send him help to fight his brother, for in such an event they will profit themselves. He must rather come home to his father, beg his forgiveness and accept whatever punishment he may intend to impose upon him. But he was sure his father would forgive him.[53] Manuel, however, did not return to Constantinople immediately. He first visited Murad, however, not abjectly as Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles relate, but after he became convinced by an exchange of embassies that the latter would receive him; then, after affecting a reconciliation with the Sultan, he went to Constantinople.[54] But his father refused to forgive him; instead he exiled him to the island of Lemnos.[55] As Thessalonica surrendered to the Turks in April, 1387, Manuel's exile to Lemnos must have begun late in that year or early in 1388.

It is not until the spring of 1390 that Manuel appeared again, actively playing a political role. For the interval between the year of his exile and this year nothing is known about him, but it is not improbable that he remained in Lemnos,[56] for it was from Lemnos

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 84 ff.

[54] Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 119 ff.

[56] Loenertz (*ibid.*, p. 122 ff.) says that Manuel was back in Constantinople by the autumn of 1388. His argument is as follows: On August 27, 1388, the Serbs inflicted a defeat upon Murad's forces and in a letter to Manuel, Cydones mentions a defeat suffered by the Turks and regrets that Manuel was not present, for had he been present the Greeks might have played a part in the victory. Thus Manuel was still in Lemnos on August 27, 1388, for the defeat suffered by the Turks at the hands of the Serbs is identified with that referred to by Cydones. But according to another letter written by Cydones to Manuel (*Correspondance*, No. 35) both

that he returned to Constantinople in response to his father's appeal in the spring of 1390.[57] John V had again lost his throne, this time to his young grandson John,[58] the son of Andronicus, who entered Constantinople on April 14, 1390. This young man, now about twenty years of age, claimed the throne as belonging to him by right. He had been crowned emperor by his father in 1378 and although, together with his father, he had been deposed in the following year, his claims to the throne had been officially recognized by John V and the Church. But John V does not seem to have accepted this settlement as final. This may be the reason why he continued to have trouble with Andronicus until the latter's death in 1385. His real intention was that the throne should pass to Manuel. Cydones makes this plain. Writing to Manuel in 1387 he declared that despite his present difficulties with his father it would be he who would succeed him.[59] But there was still John, the son of Andronicus. Chalcocondyles relates that Manuel sent John to Genoa ostensibly in order to solicit the aid of the Genoese against the Turks, but in reality in order to get rid of him, for he had secretly requested the Genoese to put him in

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Manuel and Cydones are in Constantinople and the former is about to be reconciled with his father. This letter then must have been written after Manuel's return from Lemnos. Now it is possible to establish the date of this letter by a reference to another letter of Cydones to a friend sojourning in Italy (*Correspondance*, No. 3). According to this letter Cydones had promised his friend the previous winter to join him in Italy and a year has passed without carrying out this promise. He offers two reasons for the delay: the plague that raged in Constantinople and the insistence of the emperor that he should not leave the city. The emperor here is identified with Manuel and as there was a plague in Constantinople in the winter of 1389, it is concluded that Manuel must have returned from Lemnos late in 1388 or early in 1389, at which time Cydones wrote letter No. 35. There are two elements of weakness in this argument: (1) the Turkish defeat alluded to by Cydones is not necessarily that suffered by the Turks on August 27, 1388; and (2) the plague referred to in letter No. 3 is not necessarily the plague of 1389. Indeed it seems more probable that letter No. 3 was written in 1374, for in addition to the plague Cydones refers also to a civil war, perhaps a reference to the revolt of Andronicus in 1373 and the plague that broke out in the winter of 1373/74 (Ducas, p. 515).

[57] The exact date of Manuel's return from Lemnos is known, Holy Thursday, March 31, 1390, and the reason for his recall was doubtless the revolt of John VII, which began before Easter. See Ignatius of Smolensk, tr. by Mme B. de Khitrowo in *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, I, 1 (Geneva, 1889), 142 f. See also Charanis, "An important short chronicle of the fourteenth century," p. 356, n. 6.

[58] On the life and activities of John VII see the important work of F. Dölger, "Johannes VII, Kaiser der Rhomäer 1390–1408," cited above n. 80.

[59] Cydones, *Correspondance*, p. 86.

prison, and that the Genoese imprisoned him.[60] The story is plausible. It is indeed probable that Manuel, at the time of the siege of Thessalonica, expecting no help from Constantinople, sent John to Genoa to solicit the aid of the Genoese who themselves had important interests in Thessalonica. Manuel was anxious to find outside help and it is known that he sent an embassy to the pope and another to Venice for that purpose.[61] But after the fall of Thessalonica and his reconciliation with his father he may have contrived to keep John indefinitely in Genoa so that he might inherit the throne without difficulty. That John spent some time in Genoa there is no doubt, for it was from Genoa that he came in the spring of 1390 to overthrow his grandfather.[62] Like his father in 1376, John turned to the Ottomans for help and Bayazid, who followed his father's policy in creating dissension among the Byzantine princes, furnished him with the necessary forces. Although he was able to enter Constantinople, his victory was not complete. John V managed to keep the fort by the Golden gate long enough to enable his son Manuel, who was now recalled from Lemnos, to gather the forces necessary to recover the city. John, now John VII, was finally driven from the city on September 17, 1390. He fled to Bayazid who invested him with the city of Selymbria which he had occupied in the meantime.

Bayazid apparently did not aid John VII after his initial success for otherwise it would be difficult to understand the final success of John V and Manuel. This was doubtless because he was engaged in Asia Minor throughout the summer of 1390 against the various Turkish emirates. But if he reconciled himself to the failure of John VII that was because he felt sure that John V and Manuel would be as amenable to his wishes as John VII. No sooner were John V and Manuel reestablished in Constantinople that they received word from Bayazid, who probably was now back in Brussa, demanding the tribute which they were accustomed to pay and an expeditionary force headed by Manuel himself to participate in the expedition which he was about to undertake against Pamphylia (the emirate of Tekke). John V, hopelessly powerless to resist, acceded to the demands of Bayazid

[60] Chalcocondyles, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
[61] Loenertz, *Échos d'Orient*, XXXVII, 108 f.
[62] Lampros-Amantos, *op. cit.*, No. 15.

and sent his son Manuel and some troops to do his bidding.[63] Doubtless John VII, now in the camp of Bayazid, also participated in the expedition against Tekke. As to the date of this expedition there can be no doubt. It took place between September 17, 1390 and February 16, 1891, the date of the death of John V, when Manuel returned to Constantinople. This is confirmed by Phrantzes who says that Bayazid moved against Tekke in the fall of 1390.[64]

Was it during this expedition that the Byzantine princes helped Bayazid to take Philadelphia? The question is not easy because the chronology of Bayazid's activities in Asia Minor is confused. Both the Turkish and Greek authorities agree that Bayazid, after he had established himself on the throne, undertook to subdue the various Turkish emirates in Asia Minor.[65] Sa'deddin and Phrantzes say that Bayazid first moved into Asia Minor in the spring after the death of his father, i.e., in 1390. This is probably correct; for Bayazid must have needed some time to settle the affairs in Europe and to gather the necessary forces for his expedition in Asia Minor. But there is no agreement as to the order of his conquests. According to Sa'deddin Bayazid made two expeditions in Asia Minor. In the first one he took Philadelphia, Aydin, Sarukan and Menteşe; in the second, he took Gernian and then Tekke. Other Turkish historians leave some doubt, however, whether Gernian, Tekke and Menteşe fell during the first or second expedition. According to Ducas Bayazid first took Gernian, Menteşe and on the way back, Sarukan and Philadelphia. Then came the expedition to Tekke. Phrantzes makes Bayazid first go along the Pontus, then against Sarukan and Menteşe and finally in the fall against Tekke. In the account of Chalcocondyles Bayazid first takes Philadelphia, then strikes along the Pontus and finally moves against Aydin, Sarukan, Menteşe and Tekke. Of this contradictory mass of material only one thing seems certain: that Bayazid made two campaigns in Asia Minor in 1390, one in the spring and summer, and the other in the fall.

[63] Ducas, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Ignatius of Smolensk, p. 142 f.

[64] Phrantzes, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[65] Their testimony has been analyzed in detail by Paul Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche. Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13–15 Jh.* (Istanbul, 1934), p. 78 ff.

Now, if it is true, as Chalcocondyles asserts, that the Byzantine emperors — Manuel and John VII are meant — helped Bayazid to take Philadelphia,[66] then that city was taken in the fall of 1390. For in the summer neither Manuel nor John VII was with Bayazid. John VII was in Constantinople while Manuel was trying to gather sufficient forces — he went as far as Rhodes — with which to dislodge him.[67]

It was then during Bayazid's second expedition in Asia Minor in the fall of 1390 that the Byzantine princes, Manuel and John VII, helped the Turks to take Philadelphia. In the meantime John V, in order to protect the capital against any possible assault, began to restore its fortifications. He strengthened the Golden gate by constructing two towers on either side; in addition he fortified the space between the Golden gate and the sea for a possible final refuge. But when the news concerning these fortifications reached Bayazid he immediately demanded that they be torn down and threatened to blind Manuel if John V failed to accede to this demand. The latter, weighed down by age and disease and solicitous for the welfare of his favorite son, yielded and tore down the new fortification. He did not survive this humiliation long, for on February 16, 1391 he breathed his last.[68] He had reigned, with some interruptions, for fifty years and his was a stormy and tragic career. When he came to the throne in 1341, the empire was still a considerable power; by the time of his death it had lost everything except Constantinople and the despotat of Morea. In 1341 the Ottoman Turks were insignificant; by 1391 it was evident that they would control all the lands once ruled by the empire.

In the meantime Bayazid had returned to Brussa and it was there that Manuel heard the news of the death of his father. He immediately rushed to Constantinople, escaping by night and without the knowledge of Bayazid. He doubtless feared that Bayazid might detain him or even do away with him while he took Constantinople himself or restored it to John VII who must have been in Brussa also. Bayazid, although probably displeased,

[66] Chalcocondyles, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[67] Lampros-Amantos, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 33; Ignatius of Smolensk, p. 142 f.

[68] Ducas, *op. cit.*, p. 47 f.; Ignatius of Smolensk, p. 143. For the date of the death of John V see Charanis, "An important short chronicle of the fourteenth century," p. 357.

acquiesced to the new regime in Constantinople, but doubtless not without the promise of Manuel that he would do nothing to change his father's policy toward the Ottomans. The story that Bayazid laid siege to Constantinople immediately after the accession of Manuel to the throne is without foundation. The siege of Constantinople did not come till several years later.

For three years following his accession to the throne as sole emperor, Manuel's policy toward Bayazid was that of appeasement, not antagonism. During this period Manuel took part in another military campaign conducted by Bayazid in Asia Minor. The exact date of this expedition is not known, but it can be definitely fixed with the help of certain Venetian documents, incidents in the life of Manuel whose chronology is known, and certain references in the letters of the emperor.

According to a Venetian document it was known in Venice on July 14, 1391 [69] that the emperor was about to leave Constantinople in order to participate in an expedition under Bayazid; it was anticipated that this expedition would be long. If Manuel actually left Constantinople, he was back in the city by February 11, 1392, for on that date he and his wife were officially crowned by the patriarch Anthony.[70] Another Venetian document, dated April 26, 1392, speaks of the preparations of a large fleet by Bayazid, who was about to attack Sinope by sea. It says further that Manuel was to participate in this expedition. But according to still another Venetian document, dated July 20, 1392, Manuel did not leave Constantinople.[71] The expedition of Bayazid in which Manuel participated was directed against the Isfendiarides of Qastamuni and Sinope, as Manuel himself says in a letter which he addressed to Cydones during this expedition.[72] And by the fall of 1392 the Ottomans had become masters of Qastamuni.[73] On the basis of this chronological data there can be no other conclusion than that the Ottoman expedition in which Manuel par-

[69] Max Silberschmidt, *Das orientalische Problem zur Zeit der Entstehung des Türkischen Reiches nach Venezianischen Quellen* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 74.

[70] Ignatius of Smolensk, 143; Silberschmidt, *op. cit.*, 75; N. Jorga, "La politique vénitienne dans les eaux de la Mer Noire," *Académie Roumaine*: Bulletin de la section historique, 2e année (Bucharest, 1914), p. 321.

[71] Silberschmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 81; Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 322 f.

[72] See below, note 77.

[73] E. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hanover, 1927), p. 149.

ticipated was that mentioned by the Venetian document, dated July 14, 1391. The expedition was long and doubtless extended to the beginning of winter, 1391, for the weather conditions to which Manuel refers in this letter are those of late fall or early winter. This expedition took place, therefore, between the end of summer and the beginning of winter, 1391.

It is doubtless to this expedition that Cydones refers in his letter to Theodore Palaeologus written after his return from Venice in 1391.[74] Here again Cydones, whose concern for his country had remained undiminished although he had abandoned its religion, gives such a vivid picture of the public demoralization of the Greeks that his letter is worth quoting almost in full.

"The plight in which I found the city upon my return," writes Cydones, "is such that she least needs the science of men; only the aid of God can possibly help her. Everything is upset and it is difficult to find anywhere in the world an example of the chaos that reigns here. The barbarians have seized everything found outside the city and they are responsible for all her misery. The tribute they impose is so large that the entire public revenue will not suffice to pay it. It will be necessary to levy a tax in specie even on the very poor if we are to meet, at least in part, their insatiable demands. But everyone thinks that this is impossible and that their cupidity will never be satisfied. Therefore one looks toward slavery as the only means capable of removing the internal ills. Moreover, the old evil which caused the general ruin still rages. I mean the dissension between the emperors over the shadow of power. For this they are forced to serve the barbarian; it is the only way of being able to breathe. For everybody admits that to whomever of the two the barbarian gives his support that one will prevail in the

[74] Cydones, *Correspondance*, No. 5. The date of this letter is certain. The allusion to the strife between the emperors refers without a doubt to the struggle between John VII and Manuel in 1390, but with the implication that that episode was over, but that the emperors continued to be competitors, each one trying to win the support of Bayazid. The reference to the arrival of Cydones to the city means his return from Venice. It is known definitely that Cydones was in Venice in January 1391, for there exists a Venetian document of that date granting the privileges of Venetian citizenship to Cydones as long as he would stay in Venice (R. Loenertz, "Démétrius Cydonès, citoyen de Venice," *Échos d'Orient*, XXXVII, 25). The expedition of the barbarian referred to in this letter can be no other than that undertaken by Bayazid late in the summer of 1391. Cydones, therefore, returned to Constantinople while this expedition was under way and it was then that he wrote this letter, i.e., autumn of 1391. G. Cammelli, who edited this letter (Cydones, *Correspondance*, p. 9), thinks that the allusion to the strife between the emperors refers to the outbreak of the second civil war between John Cantacuzenus and John V and dates the letter as of 1353. For this reason he makes Manuel Cantacuzenus and not Theodore Palaeologus the recipient, for the letter is addressed simply to the despot of Morea. This view reveals its author appallingly ignorant of the history of the Byzantine empire in the fourteenth century, a serious matter for an editor of the letters of Cydones.

future. Therefore the emperors by necessity become his slaves before the citizens and live according to his injunctions. And today both emperors, each one with what remains of the troops, receive his orders, follow him and help him to seize the cities in Phrygia and the Pontus. Thus the city, deprived of its garrison, lies exposed, a prize, ready for those who may wish to seize it. And within the city the citizens, not only the ordinary, but indeed also those who pass as the most influential in the imperial palace, revolt, quarrel with each other and strive to occupy the highest offices. Each one is eager to devour all by himself, and, if he does not succeed, threatens to desert to the enemy and with him besiege his country and his friends. This is a tragedy greater than any one related by Homer and all the poets."

It was during the expedition of 1391 that Manuel had the discussions with a Muhammedan theologian over the respective merits of Christianity and Islam which he later committed to writing for the benefit of his younger brother Theodore. As Manuel himself remarks in the introduction these discussions took place in the winter in Ancyra while he was with Bayazid during a military expedition in Asia Minor. The only expedition known in which one can possibly fit these facts is that of 1391. The discussions were later written in the form of dialogues and these dialogues are of considerable importance. They show first of all the theological interests of Manuel; secondly, that educated Moslems and Christians exchanged ideas and were tolerant toward each other; and finally they give a vivid picture of the barbarous luxury of the Sultan's court and the misery of the Byzantine emperor. Unfortunately they cannot yet be fully utilized for they have been only partially published.[75]

During this expedition Manuel also wrote a number of letters of great historical value. These letters reveal the delicate nature of their author and the spiritual agony which he experienced for having to serve the barbarian. Manuel was spiritually never reconciled to the servile policy that he was forced to follow toward the Turkish Sultan. He could stand the fatigue and the privations that this policy imposed upon him, but he could not bear the thought that he was contributing to augment the power of the Turks. The fatigue and the privations he wrote "we suffer in common with the rest of the army; but one thing is unbearable for us: we fight with them [the Turks] and for them, and this

[75] These dialogues were partially published by C. B. Hase, *Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque Royale*, VIII (Paris, 1813); they were reprinted by Migne with Hase's introduction, *Patr. Gr.*, CXVI (Paris, 1866), 111–174.

means that we increase their strength and decrease ours."[76] In another letter Manuel describes at length the sufferings and privations that he and his army had to endure and gives a vivid picture of the decadence into which Asia Minor had fallen since the Byzantines were driven out. This letter is one of those documents which should be repeated almost in full.[77]

"Your letter," he writes to Cydones, "has travelled over many lands; it went past mountains and rivers; and scarcely caught up with us in a certain plain which is surrounded on every side by chains of craggy mountains, as the poet might have said. This plain is very small, hardly sufficient for the army camp; it appears and is very wild. Except for wood and some water not very clear it cannot furnish anything, for it is deserted. The inhabitants have fled into the caverns, forests, and on the high peaks, hoping thus to escape a death from which there is no escape, a death most cruel and inhuman, imposed without recourse to justice. For every mouth that opens to justify itself is at once shut up by the sword. Neither the most tender age nor the weaker sex is spared. Even those who, either because of old age or of disease, cannot use their feet to flee, fall victims to the murderous scimitar. . . .

"The plain we occupy must have had a name in the prosperous times when it was treaded by the Romans and obeyed their rule. But today, when I wished to learn what that name was, it was as if I searched for the wings of a wolf, according to the proverb. There is no person to inform me. Cities there are a lot, but none possesses that which makes the splendor of a city and without which it cannot be a city. I mean men. Most of these cities lie in ruins, a pitiable spectacle for the descendants of those who once possessed them. They have not even names, the destruction being already old. And when I asked what were their names, those around me replied: 'we have destroyed them and time destroyed their names.' Immediately I was seized by sadness, but I sorrowed in silence, being still able to control my emotions. But when we reach a city whose ancient name has been changed into some strange and barbarous one, then I lament aloud, for no longer can I restrain myself, however I may desire.

"Since I cannot clearly indicate in what parts of the earth we are (for how can one indicate in writing the location of places that have no names?) I shall try another method: I shall try to the extent that that is possible, to give you an idea of where we are by mentioning those places in the neighborhood which are still known by name.

"You have heard of Pompeiopolis, that great, beautiful and marvelous city; or rather it was such in the days gone by, for today even its ruins are hardly visible. It is located on the bank of a river which is spanned by a bridge of stone, adorned with porticoes, marvelous for their size, beauty and art. Did not this city while it flourished justify the surname of great which the Romans gave to its founder and which was confirmed by numerous trophies? After we left this city and that of Zeno we marched for many days, having Sinope at our left, the river Halys at our right and the sun as our guide. For it is necessary, they say, to look at the sun's rising and then march straight forward, if one does not wish to lose his way.

"Do now you wish to know the objective of the one who commands the army?

[76] Émile Legrand (editor), *Lettres de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue* (Paris, 1893), p. 29 (letter ιθ').

[77] *Ibid.*, 21–25 (letter ις').

His aim is either to enslave or reduce to vassalage a certain satrap, Peitzas by name, whose domain, some territory, a few small towns and a population not large, borders on Sinope and Amisus. He aims at this in order to surround Sinope from every side and thus subdue Spentare (this is the name of the one who governs Sinope), or force him to accept and respect the oaths that he may impose upon him; and finally in order to strike with all these trophies the ruler of Sebastia and the Scythians. When he will have accomplished these things as he plans he will return home, he says, and, with the aid of God, we can do likewise.

"It is not easy to bear these things: the scarcity of provisions, the excessive cold; the disease which, in striking many of our men, has smitten my soul and many other things which the rules of letter writing forbid to enumerate, not to mention the thought that our affairs at home may have suffered some harm, as is probable, since we have already been gone a long time. And it is unbearable not to see anything, or to hear anything, or to do anything of those things which contribute to the formation or perfection of our souls. This is neither in our education, nor in our customs, nor in our nature. Nothing more pleasant can happen to us than to be delivered from such a situation. . . ."

The letter ends with the following note which shows how thoroughly Manuel disliked the company of Bayazid:

"But I stop, for well nigh do I see those who come to call us to join the chief. Perhaps he wishes again to drink a health and to force us take our fill of wine from his manifold golden bowls and drinking-cups. He thinks thus to assuage our grief brought on by the ills I have described. But, had we been of good cheer, this alone would be enough to sadden us."

The reference to Spentare definitely fixes the date of this letter and that of the expedition during which it was written. The Spentare mentioned here is no other than Sulaiman II of the dynasty of the Isfendiarides, the rulers of Qastamuni and Sinope. Sulaiman was actually killed by Bayazid late in 1392 and his territories came under the domination of the Ottomans who held them until 1402.[78] But Manuel did not participate in this campaign as is pointed out in the Venetian document which has already been cited. Consequently the campaign during which this letter was written is that of 1391, for the only other campaign in Asia Minor undertaken by Bayazid and in which Manuel participated was not directed against Sinope. This is confirmed by another letter of Manuel, obviously written during the same expedition, in which he expresses concern about the pestilence which raged in Constantinople while he was still there.[79] It is known from another source that a pestilence raged in Constantinople throughout the winter and summer of 1391;[80] and, it will be recalled, Manuel

[78] Zambaur, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

[79] Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 31 (letter κ′).

[80] Ducas, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

left Constantinople toward the end of the summer of that year. Evidently Bayazid had found it difficult to take Sinope by land in 1391 and it was doubtless for that reason that, in the following year, he organized the sea expedition, referred to in the Venetian documents, against that city.

In their peregrinations throughout Asia Minor Manuel and his companions doubtless often found it necessary to employ the Turkish language if they wished to communicate with the inhabitants of the country. For the depopulation and the ruined cities, referred to by Manuel in his letter, were not the only evidence of the destructive nature for hellenism of the invasion of Asia Minor by the Turks. The use of Greek, especially in the central regions of Anatolia where its hold was weak, was also disappearing and not only among those who abandoned Christianity for Islam, but also among the Christians. The abandonment of Greek place names for Turkish ones noted by Manuel may be cited as proof of this, but more conclusive is a statement contained in a memorandum which was drawn up in Munich on July 30, 1437 and designed to inform the Council of Basel (1431–1438), which, among other things, took up the question of the union of the churches and of the conditions of the Greek church. "It is to be noted," runs the statement, "that in many parts of Turkey (*in multis partibus Turcie*) one finds priests, bishops and archbishops who wear the garments of the infidels and speak their language. They do not know how to say anything in Greek except to sing Mass, the evangel and the epistles. But in other matters of speech they use the Turkish language." [81] Although it is not specifically stated in the document, the *multae partes Turcie* doubtless refer to Asia Minor for it was too early yet for Christians of European Turkey to have abandoned their own language, something which actually never happened among the Christians of the Balkan peninsula.[82] But in Asia Minor there were Christians who spoke

[81] S. Lampros, *Ὑπόμνημα περὶ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν χωρῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιῶν κατὰ τὸν δέκατον πέμπτον αἰῶνα*, in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, VII (Athens, 1911), p. 366: Notandum est, quod in multis partibus Turcie reperiuntur clerici, episcopi et arciepiscopi, qui portant vestimenta infidelium et locuntur linguam ipsorum et nihil aliud sciunt in greco proferre nisi missam cantare et evangelium et epistolas. Alias autem orationes multi dicunt in lingua Turcorum.

[82] Some Turkish speaking Christians may be found along the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria but they really came from Asia Minor. See S. A. Hudaverdoglu-

only Turkish until 1922; they were found chiefly in the districts of Konia, Sebastia, Ancyra and Qastamuni and it is doubtless these regions that are meant by the *multae partes Turcie* of the document.[83] In 1390 and 1391 Manuel traversed virtually all these regions.

Despite his hardships and humiliation, Manuel maintained his policy of appeasement towards the Ottomans as long as he believed that he could thereby save Constantinople and what other territories were still in the possession of the empire. But by the spring of 1394 he became definitely convinced that Bayazid aimed at nothing less than the complete destruction of the family of the Palaeologi and the occupation of what remained of the Byzantine empire. In May, 1394 Bayazid summoned to Serres [84] Theodore, the brother of Manuel and despot of Morea; Manuel and the remaining Serbian princes were also there. Theodore was ostensibly summoned in order to answer the charges of Paul Mamonas, a magnate in the Morea and a tool of Bayazid, that he had been illegally deprived of his possessions and the governorship of Monenvasia. But the real purpose of Bayazid was to get the Palaeologi together and then put them to death in order to clear "his fields from the thorns," as Manuel himself puts it. Indeed it was only an accident that saved the Palaeologi, for Bayazid had actually ordered Ali, the son of Haireddin-Pasha, to put them to death, but the latter, for personal reasons, delayed the execution, while in the meantime Bayazid changed his mind and decided to limit himself only to the occupation of the Morea. Manuel was permitted to return to Constantinople while Theodore escaped in time to prevent the surrender of the forts of the Morea to the Turks. The Byzantine princes now decided to break definitely with Bayazid and began to turn their eyes to the West for possible assistance. In his turn Bayazid sent an army under the command of Evrenos-Beg to ravage the Morea, while he himself laid siege to Constantinople. This was in the spring of 1395 and

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Theodotos, Ἡ *τουρκόφωνος ἑλληνικὴ φιλολογία*, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (Athens, 1930), p. 301, n. 1.

[83] J. Bogiatzides, Ἐκτουρκισμὸς καὶ ἐξισλαμισμὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τὸν Μεσαιῶνα, in Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίς (Thessalonica, 1932), p. 98.

[84] On the date of the conference of Serres see D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat Grec de Morée* (Paris, 1932), p. 153 f.

for nearly eight years Constantinople lay under siege.[85] In the meantime Manuel visited western Europe vainly seeking help from the western powers. Help came from another quarter, from Timur. The battle of Ancyra in 1402 gave Manuel a chance to breathe more freely and to recover some lost territories but this belongs to another chapter of the history of the empire.

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[85] Lampros-Amantos, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

STOJAN NOVAKOVIĆ ON THE SO-CALLED "SERBIAN ALEXANDER"

By Francis P. Magoun, Jr.

FOREWORD

In the present paper I have translated three passages selected from §§ 3 and 5 of Stojan Novaković's instructive introduction to his critical edition of the so-called "Serbian redaction" of the legendary history of Alexander the Great;[1] it is hoped that these items may prove both of interest and use for those students of the legendary history of Alexander for whom modern Serbian may not be a comfortable medium; of the other sections of the Introduction only the headings are given. The text or text-type here represented, with its numerous slightly differing versions, is, for the spread of the story in Balkan and Slavic lands, comparable to the equally basic text of one Leo, a tenth-century archpresbyter of Naples, and its later interpolated (*I*) redactions (the so-called *Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni*, abbreviated *HdPr*) in Western Europe.[2] Folklorists may be interested in Novaković's discussion of certain clear instances of the cross-fertilization of folk-tradition and the Alexander story (pp. 332 ff., below).

In addition to translating Novaković I have added certain supplementary material, chiefly bibliographical, in the way of footnotes; most of the footnotes are mine. I have also silently expanded, where necessary, bibliographical references in the text where the latter are so abbreviated by the Serbian author as to make their identification in one way or another difficult or inconvenient. The nature of these supplementary notes varies somewhat with the section (§) translated or briefly commented upon. In § 3 (pp. 317 ff., below), devoted to a description of various manuscripts, I have tried whenever possible to indicate where these manuscripts are, or rather were in 1934–5, when I wrote to a

[1] *Pripovetka o Aleksandru Velikem u staroj srpskoj Književnosti: kritički Tekst i Rasprava*, published in Vol. IX of *Glasnik srpskog učenog društva*, 2d ser., Belgrade, 1878.

[2] See my *Gests of King Alexander of Macedon* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), pp. 40 ff.; not to be confused with the "Serbian redaction" are the Bohemian, Polish and Russian translations of the *Historia de Preliis* (I^3), noted in *op. cit.*, pp. 53–5.

number of librarians in Serbia, Croatia, and elsewhere for the latest information available. In this same connection I have given references to catalogs of certain libraries, not printed when Novaković was writing in 1878. Elsewhere, and in general, I have tried to increase the usefulness of Novaković's introduction by reference to more recent editions of works cited, by reference to certain additional items, by cross-references to parts of the introduction not translated and to his edition of the Serbo-Slavonic text itself. Italic capital roman numerals refer to the pages of Novaković's introduction.

Titles in the Cyrillic alphabet have been transliterated according to Croatian orthography or in an adaptation of the same that will, I hope, not prove ambiguous.

In conclusion it would be gratifying to think that the present partial revival of Novaković's sound scholarship may interest some competent Slavist in translating the Serbo-Slavonic text itself; such a translation would do much to broaden the base of scholarship centering on the legendary history of Alexander the Great.[3]

[Novaković's Introduction, pp. *I–XLII*]

§ 1

Indications of the chief characteristics of the story of Alexander [pp. *I–III*].[4]

[3] Apropos of the general desirability, here suggested, of translations of important Alexander romances composed in out-of-the-way languages, I am glad to report that the translation of the Armenian Alexander, referred to in my *Gests*, p. 25 (in n. 2 from p. 24), has been completed and is included in Joseph Skinner's *The Alexander Romance in the Armenian Historians* (unpublished Harvard diss., 1940).

[4] On the Alexandrine Greek background (Pseudo-Callisthenes) and the main text-types see in general Adolf Ausfeld, Wilh. Kroll, ed., *Der griechische Alexanderroman* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 1–28; Wilh. Kroll, ed., *Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes)*, Vol. I: *Recensio vetusta* (Berlin, 1926), pp. III–XVI; and for bibliographical material my *Gests*, pp. 22 ff., supplemented by H. R. Patch, *Speculum*, V (1930), 118–20.

With particular reference to the background of the Slavonic texts the following may be observed: in a study of the sources of the Serbian Alexander in his monumental *Iz Istorii Romana i Povesti*, I (St. Petersburg, 1886), 131 ff., A. N. Veselovski makes use of the Greek chapbook of Venice, 1852 (see *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 2, and cp. n. 50, below). A vastly superior Greek text has since that time been edited by V. M. Istrin: *Istorija serbskoi Aleksandrii v russkoi literature*. Pt. 1. Βίος Ἀλεξάνδρου,

§ 2

Something of the fate of the story of Alexander in the Middle Ages [pp. *III–VI*].[5]

§ 3

The South-Slavonic manuscripts of the story of Alexander. — The Bulgarian (earlier) and the Serbian (later) translation is clearly distinguishable, though the existing forms have been little analysed [pp. *VI–XXII*].

The number of Slavonic manuscripts through which we today know the story of Alexander is not small. Vatroslav Jagić surveyed some of these in his edition of the Croatian text published in *Starine* (*Antiquities*) of the Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti (South-Slav Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb), III (1871), 203–331; of these the South-Slavonic texts which have hitherto been identified (Nos. 1–6, below) will only be briefly enumerated, namely:

1. National Library (Belgrade, Narodna Biblioteka), *Ms. 117*.[6] It was presented to the library in 1864 by Simo Andrejević Igumanov, a patriotic business man who, having lived for a long time in Odessa, at a later date settled in Belgrade. As the distinguished discoverer of the manuscript personally informed me, he found it in the monastery of St. Mark, an hour beyond Prizren, below the monastery of Koriša; Hilferding writes about this monastery in *Bosnija*, etc., 3d ed., pp. 152–4.[7] It is one of the

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published in *Letopis istoriko-filologičeskago Obščestva*, XVI (Odessa, 1910), 1–164, also printed separately. Nothing further of Istrin's promised work seems to have appeared up to the time of the author's death in 1937.

[5] On the later translations and adaptations of the basic Greek texts see, *inter alia*, V. N. Istrin, *Aleksandrija russkich Chronografov* (Moscow, 1893), pp. 1–68; Fr. Pfister, *Der Alexanderrom des Archipresbyters Leo* (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 35–9, 41; Magoun, *Gests*, pp. 24 ff. *passim*. For a somewhat curiously assorted but not uninteresting bibliography see *A Tentative Classification of Books, Pamphlets and Pictures concerning Alexander the Great and the Alexander Romances from the Collection of Julio Berzunza, University of New Hampshire* (privately printed, 1939), esp. pp. 75–101.

[6] Now *Ms. No. 521;* Ljubomir Stojanovič, *Katalog narodne Biblioteke u Beogradu*, IV (Belgrade, 1903), 383; see *ibid.*, pp. vii ff., for a concordance of old and new manuscript numbers.

[7] I.e., A. F. Hilferding, *Bosnija, Gercegovina i Staraja Serbija* (= Vol. III of his *Sobranie Sočineni*, St. Petersburg, 1873). This work first appeared as "Pojezdka po Gercegovine, Bosnii i Staroi Serbii," *Zapiski imperatorskago russkago geografičeskago*

better texts of the story that we today possess. In his edition of the Croatian text Jagić recorded variants and also filled out certain lacunae from this manuscript. In *Primeri Književnosti i Jezika staroga i srpskoslovenskoga* (*Specimens of the Old and the Serbo-Slavonic Language and Literature*, Belgrade, 1877), pp. 445–55,[8] I printed one excerpt from this manuscript.[9] It has been made the basis of the present edition; accordingly, a little more will be said about it later.[10] *a* is the siglum which Jagić gave this manuscript, and I shall use Jagić's sigla.

2. National Library (Belgrade, Narodna Biblioteka), *Ms. 149*.[11] It agrees so closely with Ms. *a* (No. 1, above) that it is clear that at some earlier date both manuscripts had a common source; in other respects this manuscript is quite inferior, rather carelessly written, and the text is here and there, and indeed very [p. *VII*] often, corrupted to complete nonsense, which, even with the help of *a*, can scarcely be made out.[12] V. Jagić designated it with the letter *b*.[13]

3. Serbian Learned Society (Belgrade, Srpsko Učeno Društvo), *Ms. 50*.[14] "Of the last (i.e., eighteenth) century. The text of this manuscript is even more corrupt than *b*. The scribe probably had a bad exemplar before him, and much of it is unintelligible. Accordingly, there is in the manuscript a great deal of nonsense. The language of this manuscript has been markedly revised in the direction of vernacular speech." [15] Jagić gave this manuscript the siglum *c*.[16]

4. Mihanović Collection, *Ms. III.a.27*, now the property of

Obščestva, XIII (St. Petersburg, 1859), where the pertinent passage occurs on pp. 219–20; also issued separately in 1859 with the same pagination but under the title later used in the 1873 edition.

[8] 2d ed., Belgrade, 1889, pp. 458–68.

[9] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 460 ff., corresponding to Novaković's present edition (hereafter cited "Novaković"), Bk. i, ch. 22–4, pp. 26–41.

[10] Novaković, pp. *XXXIII–IV*.

[11] Now *Ms. No. 487*, fol. 104v ff.; Stojanović, *Katalog*, pp. 348–9.

[12] Jagić, *Starine*, III (1871), 210–11.

[13] See further Novaković, pp. *XXXVIII–IX*.

[14] Now merged with the Serbian Royal Academy of Sciences (Srpska Kraljevska Akademika Nauka), where this is *Ms. 118*; see Ljubomir Stojanović, *Katalog Rukopisa i starih štampanih Kniga. Zbirka srpske kraljevske Akademije* (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska Akademija, 1901), pp. 200–1 (*Ms. 118* [*50*]).

[15] I.e., the spoken language vs. Serbo-Slavonic.

[16] *Starine*, III (1871), 211; see further Novaković, p. *XXXIX*.

the Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. "Alongside of *a* this is the very best text of the Alexander story in Serbo-Slavonic. In the main its text agrees with *a* and *b* and seems to have had the same source as they." [17] Miklosich used it in his linguistic works and cites it in his dictionary as "*Alex.-Mih.*" [18] Jagić gave it the siglum *m*, which I, too, have employed. I have made significant use of it in the present edition, as will be seen below.[19]

5. Gaj Library (Knjižnica Gajeva) Ms., in Zagreb.[20] In Jagić's opinion it dates from the seventeenth century. The language is thoroughly vernacular. Jagić gave it the siglum *g*.[21]

6. Lobkowitz Library *Ms. VI.Fe.40*, Raudnitz on the Elbe (Roudnice), Bohemia, written in Bosnian Cyrillic letters, in the *ča*-dialect. Jagić made it the basis of the Croatian text.[22] Lest anyone should think that this manuscript, of which mention is made in *Glasnik društva srbske slovesnosti*, 1st ser., VII (1855), 329, and which in transcript was presented to the Srpsko Učeno Društvo,[23] is at all an independent manuscript, I may now explain here that I have examined this same copy, presented to the Society in 1854 by the late G. I. Gavrilović, and found that it was made from this (Lobkowitz) manuscript. Gavrilović obtained his transcript in Prague which he visited in the summer of that year.

These are the manuscripts which Jagić used for his edition, chiefly for the selection of variants and matter supplementary to his (basic) text cited under No. 6, above.

Now we shall continue the list [p. *VIII*].

7. National Library (Belgrade, Narodna Biblioteka), *Ms. 122*.[24] On the front cover is written: "This is the book of Jero-

[17] Jagić, *Starine*, III (1871), 211–2.

[18] Franz von Miklosich, *Lexicon linguae slovenicae veteris dialecti*, Vienna, 1850; rev. ed., *Lexikon palæoslovenico-græco-latinum* (Vienna, 1862–5), I, iii ("Compendia").

[19] Novaković, pp. *XXXIII*, *XXXIX–XL*.

[20] The Gaj Library is now incorporated in the library of the University of Zagreb — Dr. Ivšić, 4 Jan. 1935.

[21] *Starine*, III (1871), 212; Novaković misprints this as *d*, the siglum which, in fact, he uses for No. 7, below.

[22] *Starine*, III (1871), 209–10.

[23] I do not find this transcript entered in Stojanović's catalog.

[24] Now *Ms. No. 522*; Stojanović, *Katalog*, pp. 383–4.

monah Mitrofan Paićić, monk of the monastery of Ribnik." The manuscript was written in the seventeenth century in language quite similar to Ms. *b* (No. 2, above).[25]

8. National Library (Belgrade, Narodna Biblioteka), *Ms. 150*,[26] written in a large script on paper, demi-quarto. This copy belonged to Simeon Gjorgjić, Sarajevo schoolteacher, and was made in Sarajevo in 1782. V. Jagić mentions this manuscript in *Starine*, III (1871), 212, as a text of special source and redaction, of which I shall speak below; however, after studying it closely, I have come to a contrary conclusion (to Jagić's) and think that this manuscript is merely a free and abridged reworking of rather late date, but that its source cannot be other than the present known redaction (i.e., of Jagić's and Novaković's editions). The order of the narrative is quite the same; often very sentences recur in passages where both texts are parallel; and the proper names, though here and there much distorted, likewise reveal a common source. Only, in a passage where mention is made of the prophet Jeremiah, this manuscript speaks of *Joada* (cp. *HdPr.:Iaddus*); this, however, the scribe himself explains in a heading on fol. 17^{v}, which runs:

> To the lover and the reader of pious stories! In certain books about Alexander which are found among us it is written that the prophet Jeremiah was alive at the time Alexander entered Jerusalem. However, in Muscovite and in Latin books it is not written in that way, rather that *Joada* was high priest there and that Jeremiah had died two hundred years before.[27] But believe as thou likest; we shall write according to our belief.

At the end the scribe himself had already forgotten about this and writes again, keeping to the text which he had before him, "Jeremiah." This heading is to this extent significant that it shows that the story of Alexander, *Aleksandrija*, was not yet a rare book in 1782. In other respects the language of this manuscript is, except for certain Russianisms in the phonology, purely that of the vernacular.

9. Monastery of Velika Remeta (in Fruška Gora) Ms., written in 1719 and mentioned by P. J. Šafařík (J. Jireček, ed.) in his *Geschichte des serbischen Schrifthums* (Prague, 1865), p. 236.

[25] See further Novaković, pp. *XXXVII–VIII*.

[26] Now *Ms. No. 488*, fol. 1^{r} ff.; Stojanović, *Katalog*, p. 349.

[27] On *Iaddus* see *Historia de Preliis* (I^1, I^2 and I^3) ch. 26–8; also ch. 24 of I^2, on the bones of Jeremiah.

10. Ms. of the Library of the Patriarchate (Patrijaršiiska Biblioteka) at Karlovci (Karlowitz nr. the Danube), written in Russo-Slavonic, which is mentioned by Šafařík, *op. cit.*, p. 236, and by Jagić in *Starine*, III (1871), 212. This manuscript was found on July 11, 1739, on the battlefield near Bolč, below Belgrade, and afterwards came to the Karlowitz library. It is a copy, done into Russo-Slavonic, of the same redaction of the Alexander story as is printed here [p. *IX*]. Having secured this manuscript through Archimandrite I. Ruvarac of Grgeteg (in Fruška Gora), to whom I here express my thanks, I am in a position to give here a more detailed description. The book is in-quarto, written in uncial (*ustav*) letters of Russian type. It seems that it lacks both the beginning and the end; but since blank folios have been left at both beginning and end and since blank spaces have often been left within (the manuscript) to be filled out, the scribe must have had in his hands some sort of damaged Serbo-Slavonic text and have left the blank spaces in each instance with the intention of filling in the lacunae later. On fol. 1 there is the heading:

> In the year of Christ the Redeemer 1739 on July 11th a very great battle was fought between the Imperial and the Turkish armies at Grocka, where many prominent members of the Imperial nobility perished and the Turkish Pasha suffered heavy losses, and the armies of both sides counted a great number of slain. And this book was found on the battlefield at Bolč. And since we found it then on our feast-day, July 11th — by Roman reckoning the 22d — Aleksander Rašković (not Ratković, as in *Starine*, III, 212), son of the colonel, presented it to me.

The writer signed the heading with so elaborate a monogram that I have been quite unable to decipher it.[28]

11. Ms. of the library of Dorpat University in Russia,[29] which A. K. Vostokov describes in his work, *A Description of Russian and Slavonic Manuscripts of the Rumjancev Museum* (*Opisanie russkich i slovenskich Rukopisei Rumjancevskago Museuma*, St. Petersburg, 1842), pp. 216–8, under *Ms. No. CLXXV* (fol. 1 ff.), where a transcript of the manuscript is described. No one has described this (Dorpat) manuscript (itself), but from Vostokov's notes in the above-mentioned book it can be stated that it belongs to the seventeenth century. An excerpt from the beginning of the

[28] On this manuscript see further Novaković, pp. *XXXIX–XL*.

[29] Later Ülikooli Raamatukogu (University Library), Tartu (Dorpat), Esthonia, *Mns. 11*; in 1920 it was sent to an unknown destination in the Soviet Union; so Fr. Puksor, Librarian at Dorpat, 8 Jan. 1935.

Rumjancev Museum transcript (*Ms. No. 175*), which Vostokov does describe, was printed by A. N. Pypin in his *Outline of the Literary History of Old Russian Tales and Stories* (*Očerk literaturnoi Istorii starinnych Povestei i Skazok russkich*), pp. 303–6.[30]

12. Ms. of the Kirillo-Belozersk Monastery,[31] Serbian redaction, written in 1497. This is known from A. N. Popov's book, *Survey of the Chronographs of the Russian Redaction* (*Obzor Chronografov russkoi Redakcii*), I (Moscow, 1866), 120–1. On the basis of the two passages from this manuscript which are known in their entirety Jagić in *Starine*, III (1871), 213, wrote that the text of this manuscript — at least in the two passages now known — did not correspond to that text which is in Jagić's or my edition, and that the text of our editions is fuller than this manuscript. On the basis of these same passages I should express the opinion that in these at least it is not different from this redaction (i.e., Jagić's and mine), rather that the text [p. *X*] in this manuscript has been abridged and worked over. Accordingly, it is clear how worthwhile it would be to become acquainted with it.[32]

13. Ms. of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts (Duchovnaja Akademija),[33] Serbian redaction, written in 1492. I learned of this from Jagić's article in *Starine*, III (1871), 213. No further characteristics are known.

14. Ms. of the (St. Petersburg) Imperial Public Library, *XV.Q.45*,[34] Bulgarian redaction, written in 1562, on the order of Grigorii, metropolitan of Sučav and Nemec, for the monastery of Nemec at Vlaška. Jagić has reported on this manuscript in *Starine*, V (1873), 22–7; making what use I can of this manuscript on the basis of Jagić's report, I designate it with the siglum *f*.[35]

[30] Published with independent pagination as the second main article in *Učenyja Zapiski vtorago Otdelenija imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk*, IV (St. Petersburg, 1858), 1–360. On this manuscript see Novaković, p. *XL*.

[31] Now Leningrad, Publičnaja Biblioteka, *Ms. Kirillo-Belozersk 11/1088;* in 1935 this manuscript was being studied by Dr. Vladimir Maïkov of the Public Library.

[32] For more on this see pp. 326–327, below.

[33] Later merged with the Publičnaja Biblioteka, Leningrad.

[34] Now Leningrad, Publičnaja Biblioteka, *Ms. XV.Q.45*. The late Mme. Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaja of the Library wrote to me in 1935 concerning this manuscript to this effect: It is bound in brown tooled leather, 247 folios in a fine uncial (*ustav*); the entire manuscript is devoted to the story of Alexander, with the title: *Kniga Aleksandra Makedonskago*. The date, given in the explicit in a hand contemporary with the manuscript, is A.D. 1562, of the world 7071.

[35] See further pp. 330–331, below, and Novaković, p. *XXXIX*.

15. A Peć (Ipek) Ms., of which there is a summary in *Ms. 235* of the manuscript collection of the Srpsko Učeno Društvo.[36] It is a chronograph and a *Chronicle of the Three Emperors* (*Tricarstavnik*), in which Russian princes, too, are mentioned. The manuscript now begins with the story of Alexander, and whatever part of the chronograph may have preceded it, this, as is obvious, has been lost. The manuscript itself is at Peć in the possession of a townsman,[37] but a summary of it, quite awkwardly written, was submitted in 1868 by Paja Popović, at that time a Peć schoolmaster. In this summary there are eighty section-headings from the story of Alexander, and from these and from the order in which they occur I can imagine that it belongs to another redaction, not to this of ours now under discussion. Such is § 15 "On the Defeat of *Pausanias Solounjanin*," where all our texts, now edited, read "*Ana(k)sar'h(os)*";[38] such is § 21 "On the Taking of *Fija* and of other Greeks," which makes one think of "*Tiva*" (= *Teba*, "Thebes"), which likewise is not mentioned in the text known to us;[39] such is § 26 "On the Relics of Jeremiah the Prophet," and this immediately after Alexander arrived in Egypt, about which our texts have nothing at this point;[40] such is § 27 "On the Taking of the Cities by Alexander," which at this point assumes the story of the taking of Gaza and Tyre (see Julius Zacher, *Pseudocallisthenes: Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte* [Halle, 1867], p. 121, § 35), about which our texts likewise know nothing;[41] such is § 50 "Alexander goes himself to Porus,"[42] and § 54 "Alexander's Horse likewise falls," at a point where the war against Porus is narrated, about which, too, our texts know nothing.[43] The story of the Brahmins in the Peć Ms. follows on the story of the struggle with Porus, though in our hitherto known manuscripts it precedes it.[44] The Brahmin leader is in our [p. *XI*]

[36] Now Serbian Royal Academy, *Ms. 131*; Stojanović, *Katalog*, p. 207 (*Ms. 131* [*235*]).

[37] Dr. A. Belić, Secretary of the Academy, informed me 31 Dec. 1934 that nothing is now known about this manuscript.

[38] King of Pelagonia, northern Macedonia. See Novaković, Bk. i, ch. 16, p. 18, l. 15, and nn. 10, 11; cp. *HdPr*, § 24 (*Pausanias*), and Veselovski, *Iz Istorii*, etc. I, 163–5.

[39] Cp. *HdPr.*, §§ 39 ff.

[40] Cp. *HdPr.*, *I*², § 24, ed. A. Hilka, p. 61, l. 29–p. 62, l. 7.

[41] Cp. *ibid.*, §§ 25–8.

[42] Cp. n. 44, below.

[43] Cp. *HdPr.*, § 120, where Bucephalus dies of an illness.

[44] So Novaković, Bk. ii, ch. 26 ff., pp. 86 ff. (*Jefant'*); Bk. ii, ch. 1 ff., pp. 93 ff. (Porus); cp. *HdPr.*, § 85 ff. (Porus), § 98 (Brahmins).

manuscripts called "*Jefant*" (i.e., Evander),[45] but in the Peć Ms. "*Dandamije*" (i.e., Dandimis, Dindimus) and called "*igoumen*," "abbot," whereas our manuscripts call *Jefant* "czar." [46] From all this the marks are clear of a special redaction and of a translation from a Greek text older than that which was used as the original of the basic version of the redaction now known.[47] It is unfortunate that the Srpsko Učeno Društvo [48] has not succeeded in acquiring this manuscript, for no further information can be obtained about it.

16. Ms. from the monastery of St. Janićije of Devičkog, now (1878) in the possession of M. D. Kovačević, aged schoolteacher of Priština, at this time a Serbian official at Vranja. Kovačević showed me his facsimile copy, from which it seems from one heading that the manuscript belongs to a period before the second half of the eighteenth century. The redaction is the same as ours.[49]

17. In conclusion here I shall report that one redaction of this story of Alexander has through modern Greek literature penetrated our contemporary (i.e., nineteenth-century) Serbian literature and is widespread in printed form. This is: *The Origin, Birth and Life of the Brave, Famous, Marvellous and Immortal Greek Emperor, Alexander the Great* (*Proishoždenie, Roždenie i Žitie hrabrog, slavnog, čudovitog i bezsmertnog Velikog Aleksandra, Carja grečeskago*), *translated from Greek into his mother-tongue by Georgi Dimić*, in Novi Sad (Hungary), 1844 . . . in 8vo, 148 pp. The work had already been translated in 1832, as appears from the signature to the preface, though it (the work) remained in manuscript until 1844. In a second edition this book appeared under the title: *History of Alexander the Great, Macedonian Emperor, which describes his Birth, Life and Immortal Glory* (*Istorija Aleksandra Velikog, Cara makedonskog, koja opisue niegovo Rogjenje, Život i Hrabrost' bezsmrtnu*); and also it was printed in 1851 in Belgrade by one Gjorgje Ćirić Piroćanac with trifling changes in language. Besides this there follows a Bulgarian translation with the title: *History of the Great Macedonian, Alexander,*

[45] Novaković, p. 86, l. 6.

[46] *HdPr., passim*, "*Dindimus rex*," also "*Dindimus didascolus*."

[47] See n. 4, above.

[48] Later the Serbian Royal Academy.

[49] In 1935 the Narodna Biblioteka of Belgrade knew nothing further concerning this manuscript.

which describes his Birth, Life, Youth and Death (Istoria na Velikii Aleksandra, Makedonca, kojato opisuva negovoto Roždenie, Život, Junačestvo i Cmurt'), translated from Greek by the Karlovo Slavonic-Bulgarian Teacher, Christo P. Protopopović of Karlovo, Bulgaria, Belgrade . . . 1844, 60 pp., in 8vo.[50]

In all of these the text is the same, which in the order of events and in the main characteristics agrees point for point with our edition, excepting mere editorial details and a greatly abridged text. With regard to this Bulgarian book [p. *XII*] Jagić has already noted this in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, II (1877), 27, where it appears "that the essential contents of both works is the same and is narrated in the same order; the agreement is, however, not verbal. Rather the present-day Greek chapbook has, in comparison with the medieval Greek text which must be assumed as the basis of our Slavic romance,[51] the character of a faithful digest."

Since Jagić has already occupied himself with the first six manuscripts (Nos. 1–6, pp. 317–319, above) in connection with the edition of the Croatian text, and since this present edition, too, is based on manuscripts from this large group, accordingly a relationship in the text of these manuscripts has been established and it is quite clear that they all have as a source a single translation (from Greek). Having continued studies on this subject from the point where Jagić stopped them on completing the work of his edition, I am in a position to add that to this same family of manuscripts belong also the manuscripts listed above under Nos. 7, 8, 10, 11, 14 and 16.

As for Mss. Nos. 9 and 13, it is not known either approximately how one stands in relation to the other or (how) both (stand) in relation to the other manuscripts. As for the manuscript of the Kirillo-Belozersk monastery (No. 12), this much only is known, that *it does not altogether agree* with the redaction now known;

[50] Perhaps merely a later edition of this chapbook is *Istoriata na Aleksander Veliki, makedonski Car, v kojato se opisva negotovo Raždanie, Život, Junaštvo i Cm'rt; Perevod ot Grečeski*, Iv. K. Božinov, Sofia, 1901, pp. 121 + v.

For further references to Bulgarian, Rumanian and modern Greek texts of the Alexander story see Magoun, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XVI (1934), 121–2, n. 7; there are still other editions of the Greek chapbook in Athens, namely, in the Gennadeion, in the Library of Parliament (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Βουλῆς), and in the National Library (Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη).

[51] See n. 4, above.

this may be very significant when enough is known about it so that it will be possible to pronounce a reliable judgment on the true character of the manuscript. Further, compare, by the way, what I have previously written about this (p. 322, above).

Likewise, though so little is known about the manuscript under No. 15 (Peć), it is, however, obvious that it does not belong to a redaction now known. Apropos of this, the question might be asked: with what is this manuscript connected, which does not agree with the hitherto known editions (e.g., Jagić's and mine) — Nos. 9 and 13, they are so completely unknown that we say nothing (about them) — and how in relation to this (No. 15) stand the manuscripts which without any doubt form a single family, i.e., Mss. Nos. 1–8, 10, 11, 14 and 16, and probably No. 12? But until, then, this manuscript (No. 15, Peć) has been worked through in detail, it will not be possible to answer the question precisely.[52]

Suffice it that today in the Serbian manuscripts we can see that in the Slavic South at least *two redactions* were known — and that will be tantamount to *two translations* (from Greek) — of the story of Alexander. The obscure features of what we now know about Ms. No. 15 (Peć) show us, however, that the text of this manuscript is, nevertheless, much nearer to the older [p. *XIII*] Byzantine types, types *B′* and *C′*,[53] than is the text of this and of Jagić's edition. . . .[54]

[p. *XVIII*] The Kirillo-Belozersk Ms., which is cited (p. 322) above in our list of manuscripts under No. 12, Jagić in *Archiv für*

[52] To the manuscripts of the "Serbian redaction," listed here by Novaković (and Jagić), attention may now be called to a few others: an illuminated Ms. cited by Pypin (see my *Gests*, p. 38, n. 1): Carpatho-Russian Mss. of the type edited by Ivan Pan'kevič (see *Studia Germanica tillägnade till E. A. Kock* [Lund, 1934], p. 182, n. 2); and Ukrainian Mss. of the type edited by Stepan Gaevs'kii (see *Speculum*, VI [1931], 308–10).

[53] Edited by Carl Müller as an appendix to Fr. Dünber, ed., *Arriani Anabasis et Indica*, Paris: Didot, 1846; for further bibliographical notes see my *Gests*, p. 23, n. 3 and pp. 37–8. See also n. 4, above.

[54] I omit here most of pp. *XIII–XVIII*, in which Novaković discusses the Alexander material based on, and found in, the chronicles of John Malalas and George Hamartolos. For a superior and very detailed study of this matter see now V. N. Istrin, *Aleksandrija*, etc., cited n. 5, above; further, my *Gests*, p. 36, n. 1.

slavische Philologie, II (1877), 25–6, adduces as a third redaction (according to him the second in a series)[55] of the story of Alexander and as Serbian, since this manuscript is of Serbian origin of the year 1457. Since I am not in a position to determine either approximately or exactly whether it is a special translation (from Greek) and how, in general, this redaction stands in relation to the two discussed above, Bulgarian and Serbian,[56] I shall leave this task to those who are in a position to know more about the Kirillo-Belozersk Ms. Meanwhile, since we have for the Bulgarian (chronograph) translation concluded definitely (as far as is possible according to the present material that is at hand) that its origin is not later than the first half of the thirteenth century, we shall try to ascertain if as much can be determined concerning the Serbian translation, be it the one we have in this and in Jagić's edition, or the one of which the Kirillo-Belozersk manuscript is a representative and with which we are not familiar.

In the *Life* of King Stefan Dečanski which is in Archbishop Danilo II's (1323–38) *Lives of the Serbian Kings and Archbishops* (*Životi Kraljeva i Arhiepiskopa srpskih*), which might have been written at the beginning of Stefan Dušan's reign (1331–55), accordingly, in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, I have found undoubted signs that Serbian literature at that date knew the story of Alexander. The author of the *Life*, in telling of the war with the Bulgarian czar Mihail Sišman (d. 1330), says: "When they reached that place where the most exalted king became famous [p. *XIX*] with his very mighty host, *then they began with their strong and sweet words to take council, like the mighty Macedonian emperor when he made war on the Persian emperor Darius.*"[57] And, a little farther on, a comparison diverts him again to the story of Alexander, which, it would seem, flickered up vividly in his memory, and (*ed. cit.*, p. 187) we read the words: "*And how at a certain time the mighty Macedonian emperor Alexander, making war against the Persian emperor Darius and the Indian emperor Porus* and destroying them, took with his own hands their bodies and, lovingly lamenting them, ordered them to

[55] According to Jagić's arrangement we have: (1) the version of Malalas (Bulgarian); (2) the Kirillo-Belozersk Ms. (Serbian); (3) his own (Croatian) edition.

[56] Especially on pp. *XIII–XVIII*, omitted here; see n. 54, above.

[57] Djuro Danicić, ed., (Belgrade-Zagreb, 1866), p. 183.

be buried with honor." It is significant that both (allusions) should, indeed, occur right in this text, for Alexander's words to his warriors, of which the quotation from *ed. cit.*, p. 183 (see n. 57, above), reminds us, can be found in Bk. ii, ch. 5 and 6 of this edition (Novaković, pp. 53–8), and these are, specifically the second (cp. Novaković, p. 56, l. 23–p. 57, l. 11), really such that they might remain in the reader's memory. The passage about honor paid to a ruler, which Alexander did not deny his slain enemies Darius and Porus, of which with so much pride and nobility the author of the *Life* of Stefan Dečanski reminds us, can likewise be found in this text with reference to Darius in Bk. ii, ch. 14 (Novaković, p. 72, ll. 10–16),[58] and with reference to Porus in Bk. iii, ch. 5 (Novaković, p. 106, ll. 7–8).[59] At that time, accordingly, when the *Life* of Stefan Dečanski was written, (at least) one text of the story of Alexander was known among us (Serbs). The true state of affairs might be thought of as this: that the (Alexander) text was known to the author of the *Life* through a Greek original, but even if this were (the case) and even if this (Greek) original had so deeply penetrated the spirit of the writer that he remembered it in the *Life* of Dečanski, written (as it was), for a wide public, we should have gained still more for literary history. For the date of the translation (of the Alexander story) into Serbo-Slavonic could not be moved far from that time. A second hypothesis might be that the author (of the *Life*) could have known about Alexander through that very Bulgarian translation about which I have just spoken.[60] I should, however, reject this hypothesis with the statement that hitherto, in general, in Serbian manuscripts little trace has been found of copies from earlier historical translations of Bulgarian literature. Just in the fourteenth century, independently and as a special branch encouraged by vigorous historical developments of the national life itself, did historical literature develop in Serbia. At that time George Hamartolos was translated, although the Bulgarians [p. *XX*] had translated him long before;[61] at that time John Zonaras was translated;[62] at that

[58] Cp. Veselovski, *Iz Istorii*, etc., I, 249.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 388–9.

[60] See n. 54, above.

[61] Matthias Murko, *Geschichte der älteren südslawischen Litteraturen* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 78, for an eleventh-century date of the translation of Hamartolos into Bulgarian.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

time work on the *Serbian Annals* (*Srpski Letopisi*) begins.[63] However, Bulgarian historical work shows closer affiliations with Russian than with Serbian, for among us is found neither anything of Malalas's chronicle,[64] nor of the *Hellenic Annals* (*Ellinskii Letopisi*)[65] — the first chronographic compilations about which it seems to me definite enough that its beginning is in Bulgaria —, nor of other historical works translated in the first, Symeon period of Bulgaro-Slavonic literature.[66] Serbian historical literature of the Middle Ages developed, according to my observations, in the direction of the form which is now known independently under the influence of the vigorous social life, by which in the fourteenth century an influence is exerted on literature in an historical direction. These are the reasons for which I think that the Serbo-Slavonic translation of the Alexander story originated in the fourteenth century and, apparently, already in the first half of the same. The work of Constantine the Philosopher (of Kostenec)[67] on the *Life of the Despot Stefan* (*Lazarević*, 1389–1427),[68] likewise establishes the point that the life of Alexander was widely known in our literature at the time when this work originated (1431). This appears in ch. 12 (Jagić, *ed. cit.*, p. 248) and ch. 27 (*ibid.*, p. 264), even though the allusion is not such that it could show us anything about the *form* of the work on Alexander (lying behind it). So, too, the memoir (*Turkish History*) of Mijail Konstantinović of Ostrović,[69] written at the end of the fifteenth century, in which are reminiscences from the middle of that century, testifies clearly[70] how well the Alexander story was at that time known in the Balkan Peninsula. In Konstantinović's work there are other indications that testify that Serbian literature at that time was known to him, and I do not doubt that he is likewise recollecting Alexander from a knowledge gained from native literature, about which the passage in Šafařík, *ed. cit.*, p. 169, is for me decisive.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 164 ff.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 79: see also Popov, *Obzor* (cited p. 322, above), I, 1 ff.

[66] Murko, *op. cit.*, Index, *s.v.*, "Symeon, Zar."

[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 162–3.

[68] Ed. V. Jagić, *Glasnik*, 1st ser., XLII (1875), 223–328; cp. Murko, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–3.

[69] Ed. J. Šafařík, *Glasnik*, 1st ser., XVIII (1865), 25–188 ("*Istorija ili Ljetopisi turski*").

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 142, esp. p. 169.

It has already long been known, namely, from copies of this translation (of the Alexander story) which were circulating in Russia, surely in the fifteenth century, that one translation, namely, that translation of the text which is in this edition, originated among the Serbs. To this Vostokov has already referred in his above-mentioned *Description of Russian and Slavonic Manuscripts*, etc., p. 216 (p. 321, above), and from this Jagić in *Starine*, III (1871), 216, notes (the following passages): "and they gave it [Alexander's horse] the name '*Dram*,' which in the *Serbian* language is called 'Runner,' "[71] And in a second passage: "and they named it [the city] [p. *XXI*] *Osjenos*', which the *Serbians* call, the 'single-hearted meeting.' "[72] And in a third: "The *Makaroni*, then, are called in the *Serbian* language the 'blessed.' "[73] The word "Serbian" in these (above-cited) sentences is kept in a very large number of manuscripts, even in the Russian copies. The Croatian scribe of the manuscript (No. 6, above) which Jagić printed in *Starine*, III (1871), 218–329, has in one place (the second passage above) "our" instead of "Serbian," but in another (the first and third passages above) has kept the adj. "Serbian." Russian scribes ignorantly put "Siberian" in place of "Serbian," and in one place "Slavonic." The scribe who in 1562 copied the Alexander story for the Nemec monastery at Vlaška (No. 14) put in all three places the adj. "Slavonic" instead of the adj. "Serbian." For this reason Jagić, reporting on this manuscript in *Starine*, V (1873), 23, raised the doubt whether a Serb really translated this Alexander text, as he had affirmed in *Starine*, III (1871), 215, and as Vostokov had in this sense expressed himself (*loc. cit.*, p. 321, above). In view of everything which hitherto has been said about a Serbian and a Bulgarian translation, in view of the so numerous genuinely Serbian manuscripts of this text, in view of what is certain from the older manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as Jagić himself thought, this translation penetrated Russia, and there this adjective ("Serbian") was kept — I myself am convinced that the significance of this "Slavonic" in the 1562 Ms. (Nemec-Vlaška) should be compared with the Croatian translator's "our" and the Russian's "Siberian"

[71] Cp. *Starine*, III (1871), 229–30, and p. 230, n. 1; cp. Novaković, p. 14, l. 16.
[72] Cp. *Starine*, III (1871), 247, nn. 12, 13; cp. Novaković, p. 37, ll. 8–9.
[73] Cp. *Starine*, III (1871), 284, l. 32; cp. Novaković, p. 88, ll. 25–6.

and "Slavonic." "Serbian" stood in the original, and the Bulgarian-Vlaška scribe merely showed a greater understanding of the work, when, in deference to the taste or the habits of his readers, he put "Slavonic."

One question still remains: did, indeed, this text (Nemec-Vlaška) come from the Serbian translation of the Alexander story in the first half of the fourteenth century? Suffice it (1) that the above-quoted sentences with the adj. "Serbian" occur in this edition;[74] (2) that with this the reminiscence of the author of the *Life* of Stefan Dečanski completely agree;[75] (3) that the spread in Russia presupposes that the translation might have been worked over in Serbia, in any case at least in the first half of the fifteenth century; and (4) that, in view of this, nothing prevents this text from representing precisely that (Serbian) translation of the first half of the fourteenth century, since it (Ms. Nemec-Vlaška) could in any event scarcely be put later than the first half of the fifteenth century.

In this survey a critical analysis of the text which is preserved in the hitherto known manuscripts will very obviously help us. According to this critical analysis, which [p. *XXII*] is set forth more fully in § 6 of this Introduction (pp. *XXXIII* ff.; see p. 338, below), all the Serbian manuscripts which were sufficiently accessible to me so that I could appraise their text, fall into two types, an *earlier* and a *later*. The earlier is represented today by one manuscript of the National Library (of Belgrade), *Ms. 117* (siglum) *a* (No. 1, pp. 317–318, above), which is made the basis of this edition; the later is presented by all the others, whose very best representative is the Mihanović Ms. of the Yugoslav Academy at Zagreb (siglum) *m* (No. 4, pp. 318–319, above). This second (later) type, which is some sort of reworking of the first, with the idea of approaching a more vernacular style, is also represented in Ms. *f* of the Petersburg Imperial Public Library (No. 14, p. 322, above). Since, therefore, they were still copying in 1562 in Bulgaro-Slavonic this later type, a reworking, this may testify that the date of the translation (from Greek) of the older type is scarcely to be placed at a time later than 1450. Therefore, the final trustworthy result of the investigation shows us (1) that the Bulgarian

[74] See nn. 71, 72, 73, above.
[75] See pp. 327–328, above.

translation (see p. 326 and n. 54, above) cannot be later than the first half of the thirteenth century, and (2) that the Serbian translation must originate in the fourteenth or, at the very latest, in the first half of the fifteenth century. On the basis of this second result two Serbian translations must be looked for, not one. The present uncertainty, however, can be cleared up only when as much is known about all the text-types as is now known about this text (here edited).

§ 4 [pp. *XXII–VII*]

The Serbian (later) translation (viewed) in the light of the known Byzantine redactions of the text of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

Its original is today not known, but it is the very one from which the modern Greek redaction derives; from certain indications it appears that the redaction of the Byzantine original cannot be older than the thirteenth century.[76]

§ 5 [pp. *XXVII–XXXII*]

Material from the story of Alexander, blended with vernacular literary products.

The large number of Slavonic manuscripts and copies (of the Alexander story) — in the Slavic South itself only a little under the number in which Greek manuscripts are known to us — and the popularity of Alexander, which, among the same semi-educated masses, provided so many buyers and readers of the printed translations from modern Greek of this story of Alexander,[77] sufficiently indicate how wide-spread the Alexander romance has long been among our people. But apart from this we have other even more direct proofs of this spread. There are various little sparks from this literary work which are blended with vernacular products and stories.

Already in his *Očerk* (*Outline*)[78] Pypin by a few citations proved how interesting the story of Alexander can be even for [p. *XXVIII*] the study of popular traditions:

[76] For a far better discussion of this matter see Veselovski, *Iz Istorii*, etc., I, 131 ff., and note Istrin's Greek text, cited n. 4, above.

[77] See No. 17, pp. 324–325, above.

[78] *Op. cit.*, p. 322, above. The excerpt is here translated directly from Pypin's Russian (*op. cit.*, pp. 49–50).

The wise answers of the Brahmins[79] to Alexander's questions[80] were carried by the readers into the orbit of their own tales; the word "Brahmin"[81] even passed into popular story; in one tale the invention and the first cultivation of gardens is attributed to Alexander;[82] in another it is related that Alexander enclosed Gog and Magog in the mountains and that they will emerge from the mountains and lay waste the Earth.[83]

To this I can add a few notes which I collected while preparing this edition. Thus, in his *Lexicon Serbico-Germanico-Latinum* (e.g., 4th ed., Belgrade, 1935), under "*tama*" ("darkness") V. S. Karadžić recorded a story about the "Land of Darkness" (*tamni vilajet*) with these words:

It is told how a certain emperor, having come with an army to the boundary of Light, penetrated the Land of Darkness, where nothing can ever be seen. Not knowing how he will get back, he leaves there a foal apart from a mare, so that the mare may lead them out of that darkness. When they came to the Land of Darkness and entered it, all felt under their feet some kind of small stone and from the darkness something cried out: "Whoever carries this stone will regret it, and whoever does not carry it will regret it." Many thought: "Since we shall regret it, why should we carry it?" and many: "Let us carry at least one." When they returned from Darkness into Light, then (they discovered) it was all precious stone. Then those who had not carried it began to regret that they had not, and those who had carried some (regretted) that they had not carried more.

Perhaps Karadžić was thinking of this darkness, final reminiscences, when he sings:

And the fighting continued on the level plain of Kosovo
Until the sun went to rest in the darkness.[84]

While resident in Montenegro Archbishop N. Dučić noted and published in *Srpsko-Dalmacki Magazin*, XXII (1863), 62, a variant of this same story:

[79] In the older (Bulgarian, chronograph) translation are *Rahmani*, *Brahmani*, "Brahmins," where our later (Serbian) translation has *nagomudre*, "naked-wise," and *makarone*, "blessed." Here, too, vernacular tradition confirms our conjecture about the later (Serbian) translation. The Bulgarian story, translated later (see No. 17, pp. 324–325, above), lends still further confirmation.

[80] See Novaković, Bk. ii, ch. 23, pp. 81 ff., and Veselovski, *Iz Istorii*, I, 265 ff.

[81] Th. I. Buslaev, "Russkija Poslovicy i Pogovorki," in N. Kalačov's *Archiv istoriko-juridičeskich Svedeni*, II, ii (Moscow, 1854), 45.

[82] For the Germanic hero, Walter of Aquitaine, as a gardener in the *Chronicon Novaliciense* (Novalesa, Italy) see H. M. Smyser and F. P. Magoun, *Some Survivals in Old Norwegian from Medieval English, French and German Literature, together with the Latin Versions of the Heroic Legend of Walter of Aquitaine* (Connecticut College Monograph No. 1, Baltimore, Md., 1941), p. 152.

[83] J. G. Kohl, *Reisen in Südrussland* (2d ed., Dresden, 1847), II, 190–1; for further Gog and Magog material in the Alexander story see my *Gests*, Index, *s.v.*

[84] Quoted from a ballad (see *loc. cit. supra*).

Lesander [i.e., Alexander] was great and he had conquered the whole universe (*vasu vaselenu*). Finally he went with an army to the boundary of Light, up to Darkness, and there he found some kind of wonderful stone. But Lesander said to his followers: "Take some of this stone, but know this: whoever takes it, will regret it, and whoever does not take, will regret it!" Accordingly, some take and some do not. But when they returned home, then it is recognized that the stone is a precious stone. And those who had not carried away any regretted it and beat their breasts because they had not taken any. But those who had taken some regretted it and beat their breasts because they had not taken more. And so each and all regret it.

After reading through this popular story, which appears in Bk. ii, ch. 29 of this edition (Novaković, p. 90),[85] one will be in no doubt that this folk tale got to the people through this work (Alexander story). Therefore, it is very valuable that we have both the above-mentioned notes from such reliable persons and from regions so removed from modern literary influence, which could by no chance have penetrated so far. Indeed, the very language of the Montenegran story, the archaism *vasu vaselenu* ("whole universe"), points obviously to an old literary source. Already in his *History of the Literature of the Croatian and Serbian People* (*Istorija Književnosti Naroda hrvatskoga i srbskoga*) (Zagreb, 1867), p. 95,[86] V. Jagić in a note recorded a Bulgarian variant of this very story, which the brothers (Dimitri and Konstantin) Miladinov published in their collection of Bulgarian folk-songs (*Bulgarski narodni Pjesni*, 1st ed., Zagreb, 1861), p. 526:[87]

The emperor Alexander went to get Water of Immortality. And whoever went out did not come back, for he had to journey to it for three days in the darkness of night, and then everybody would lose his way and would not be able to return to the light of day. Emperor Alexander took with him, accordingly, a mare and a foal and then left the foal and the mare behind in the darkness within reach of the voice until they all got as far as the Water of Immortality: this was between two mountains that opened and closed. With terrific speed Alexander filled one bottle (with Water of Immortality), then went back, aided by the voices of the mare and foal. He places the bottle with Water of Immortality by the window with the intention of drinking his fill Sunday and orders his sister to take care by no means to upset it. But the sister, while putting the room in order, inadvertently broke it. When he heard of this, Alexander becomes frightfully angry, and his sister, fleeing his wrath, springs into the sea and is changed into a dolphin, which, as soon as it hears the name of Alexander, hastens to the depths of the sea.[88]

[85] Cp. Istrin, *Aleksandrija*, etc., p. 200, and Veselovski, *Iz Istorii*, etc., I, 228.

[86] There is also a Russian translation of this work: *Istorija serbsko-chorvatskoi Literatury* (Kazan, 1871), pp. 114 ff. ("Alexander"), esp. p. 116.

[87] 2d ed., Sofia, 1891, pp. 530–1.

[88] Translated here directly from the Bulgarian of the Miladinovs' 2d ed. On this material, found first in Alexander's letter to Olympias (Land of Darkness, Land of

The "Water of Immortality" of this Bulgarian story our (Serbian) popular songs and tales call "Water of Life," and this occurs frequently in them, though Alexander is never mentioned in connection with it, and its source may well be [p. *XXX*] in some other place. However, this Bulgarian tale certainly derives from some other redaction of the Alexander (than Novaković's). In our redaction, to be sure, there is a story about the "Land of Darkness" (*t'm'nou zemlju*) (Novaković, Bk. ii, ch. 29, p. 90, ll. 13–4) and a story about a lake (*jezero*) of the "Water of Life" (Novaković, Bk. ii, ch. 30, p. 91, ll. 2, 5), but the conception is different and has no connection with this Bulgarian story, although Bk. ii, ch. 29, which got into our (Serbian) folk-tale, agrees well with it. And this, I think, might serve as a confirmation of (the existence of) two redactions and two translations, Serbian and Bulgarian.[89]

I was not a little surprised to discover one story about Darius and Porus taken from oral popular tradition, and especially (with) the location on account of which the story was noted down. Stojan Obradović, describing the antiquities of the Užice district and the district itself,[90] notes:

> In the village of Tubić there are two very old fortification-walls a quarter of an hour's distance away, one of which is called "*Gradina*" ("Castle Ruins"), the other "*Zlostup*" ("Hard-to-get-at"). Farther off, below this, is a Roman cemetery with big tomb-stones with inscriptions. Concerning these fortifications the inhabitants relate that they were Roman and beneath them are buried two emperors, *Darije* and *Porije*. The combat was exceedingly fierce, for both had a numberless army, but the defeat and death of both emperors happened quite accidentally, because they were allies and go and meet one another and proceed against a third, namely, Alexander of Macedon.[91] But in a fog through lack of precaution they struck one another and perished.

Here, accordingly, as is evident, an uncontaminated reminiscence of names (from the Alexander story) has been carried over and blended with other material. But for us, however, this testifies

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the Blessed, Water of Immortality, etc.), see I. Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman* (Berlin, 1913), esp. Appendix A, § 29, pp. 331–2 ("Precious Stones"), also A. H. Krappe, "The Realm of Darkness," *Philol. Quart.*, XXI (1942), 335–346.

[89] See n. 56, above.

[90] "Opisanije Okružija užičkog," *Glasnik*, 1st ser., X (1858), 326–7; the excerpt is here translated directly from Obradović's article.

[91] With reference to Alexander, the style of the inscription does not show to which it belongs, whether to a notary scribe or to popular legend.

that from this literary work (about Alexander) at one time items more extensive than that which is about the Land of Darkness were being told among the people.

I have still something to note which likewise shows the popularity of the heroic story of Alexander. In the monastery of St. George of Temska near Pirot there are by the place of honor to the right of the portal where one goes into another old gynæconitis *representations of the torments of Hell*,[92] for example, of one who gives false measure, who ploughs [p. *XXXI*] over a furrow (on another's land), etc., and like these (is) Eve, then "*Car Alexandr, Car Daria, Car Pora, Car Avadounosor*." [93]

By the same token I do not think it fortuitous that here in Bk. ii, ch. 11 (Novaković, p. 64, ll. 10–11), with which Bk. ii, ch. 31 (*ibid.*, p. 91) must be compared, in a description of Darius's palace occur the words: "Four stones were at the four corners of that palace, which at night blazed, indeed, like fire instead of lamps," and that our folk-song [94] puts in the pockets of (Stefan) Dušan, wooer of Roksanda, a maiden from the town of Legjan, rings with pearls and precious stones, by which, in the *darkness* into which the Latins (i.e., Romans) had taken Todora [95] Roksanda, the room seemed shining with the stones.[96] It is not fortuitous that many other folk-songs know of stones of this sort and that the poem about the wedding of Maksim Crnojević ("*Ženidba Maksima Crnojevića*")[97] relates in words which describe what there is on the bridegroom's shirt:

> On the collar is embroidered a serpent,
> And the head is brought down under the throat;
> It is done as though it were alive . . .
> In its head is a precious diamond
> When the young man goes with the maiden

[92] Also a very familiar theme in old medieval literature, which popular poetry developed in the (Montenegran) poem: *Ognjena Marija u Paklu* (*The Feast of Mary in Hell*, July 17th) with its variants. For a text of this poem see V. S. Karadžić, ed., *Srpske narodne Pjesme*, 4th ed., II (Belgrade, 1932), 11–14.

[93] Noted from an (unpublished) report of M. Rakić on a Journey around Monasteries in Districts liberated in the War of 1877–78, submitted to General K. S. Protić, Chief of Staff of the High Command.

[94] "The Wedding of Dušan" ("*Ženidba Dušanova*") in Karadžić, *op. cit. supra*, II, 123–41.

[95] I.e., Teodora.

[96] "The Wedding of Dušan," ll. 51–7, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

[97] Karadžić, *ibid.*, pp. 484–518.

Into the bedchamber, so that he may carry no candle,
(But) may let the precious diamond serve as light.[98]

Likewise, it can scarcely be fortuitous that, in the same Dušan poem which mentions this stone, the name of Dušan's bride is Roksanda, a name that does not accord with (Serbian) history but does accord entirely with the text of the story of Alexander, whose wife is also called Roksanda.[99]

Furthermore, in folk-tales isolated episodes from this (Alexander) story are often alluded to. Alexander puts Cleopatra's ring on his hand when he wishes to render himself invisible. In Bk. ii, ch. 29 (Novaković, pp. 144–5), people come to Alexander and announce to him the death of the prophet Jeremiah, and immediately afterward the inhabitants of his city of Alexandria (Egypt) come and say to him that they cannot live in the city that he built. When Alexander asks them why, they answer him that many snakes come from the river Nile and [p. *XXXII*] bite and kill people. He answered them to the effect that they should immure in the form of a cross in the city-wall the bones of the prophet Jeremiah, *for his prayer will appease the wrath of the serpents*. "Since that time," the story continues, "in Alexandria a snake cannot bite a man" (Novaković, p. 144, ll. 18–9). This item I have not found in what Müller [100] and Zacher [101] have collected from the contents of the old (Greek) texts of Pseudo-Callisthenes nor in our translations of the modern Greek text.[102] Therefore, I point to the popular tradition about Jeremiah Day (in Karadžić, *Lexicon*, cited p. 23, above, *s.v.* "*Jeremijev dân*"), where it appears that in Grbalj one who desires that no snakes bother him that year, on the morning of Jeremiah Day (May 1st), striking on a pan around his house, says: "Jeremiah into the field, and all snakes into the sea!" This same thing M. Gj. Milićević noted even in the eastern districts, in Sjenica, Zaječar, Podibar and Kopaonik,[103] communicating further variants of a song which is

[98] *Ibid.*, ll. 791–8, p. 506.

[99] I.e., Roxana, daughter of Porus; see Novaković, p. 73, ll. 1–2, *et passim;* see *HdPr.*, § 73 ff.

[100] *Op. cit.*, n. 53, above.

[101] *Op. cit.*, p. 323, above.

[102] Cp., however, Ausfeld, *op. cit.* (note 4, above), pp. 48 (i, 32), 139, on serpents as guardian spirits of Alexandria; also Veselovski, *Iz Istorii*, etc., I, 365 ff., for further material on the exorcising of snakes in connection with the present passage.

[103] *Glasnik*, 1st ser., XXII (1867), 97 (Sjenica, Zaječar); *ibid.*, XXXVII (1873), 117–8 (Podibar, Kopaonik).

sung in this form and with quite the same idea. I do not cite this with the intention that I had a little earlier (pp. 333 ff., above), namely, of showing that these customs grew out of the story of Alexander, since on account of their so great extension among the people I regard them as older among us than this (Alexander); rather (I cite this) to show that the Alexander story thus received this to itself from popular belief and story, whether from our (Serbian) or from Byzantine or in common from ours and Byzantine, whichever may be the first, as if it was enriched by itself, transmitting the tales from one people to others.

Beside everything presented hitherto, it would be wrong not to mention how (Ivo Fran) Gundulić (1558–1638) in *Osman*, Canto iii, stz. 14, ll. 65–8, as he begins to list the series of heroes of Serbian national poetry, sings thus:

> Accordingly, in them is still kept
> What was written in song long ago
> Of Lesandr the Serb,
> A glorious emperor above all emperors.[104]

In *Rad jugoslavenske Akademije*, XXXVII (1876), 128, Jagić thinks that Gundulić listed Lesandr among the other heroes by poetic licence. But since almost all the others whom Gundulić mentions in this passage are today heroes of popular poetry, and since today we find traces of Alexander still in popular tradition, some further consideration might at least still be given to this matter before it is finally attributed to poetic licence.

§ 6 [pp. *XXXIII–XLII*]

A report on the edition and on the manuscripts on which it is based.[105]

§ 7 [pp. *XLIII–LVIII*]

Outline of the text of the story of Alexander which is published in this edition.

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[104] Jovan Bošković, ed. (Semlin-Zemun, 1889/90), p. 36.

[105] In § 6 Novaković further describes certain of the manuscripts discussed in § 3 (p. 317, above) and indicates the varied use made of these in the edition (pp. *XXXIII–XL*). Pp. *XL–XLII* are devoted to a brief, final survey of the principles on which the text (Novaković, pp. 1 ff.) is constructed and to a discussion of typographical details.

ITALO–BYZANTINE ETYMOLOGIES II [1]

By Henry R. Kahane

MIDDLE GREEK *τρικάνθιν "WING TRANSOM"

The origin of Ital. *dragante* "forte pezzo di legno disposto orizzontalmente sulla testa del dritto di poppa, e congiunto coi suoi estremi all'ultimo quinto poppiero," [2] and of the corresponding nautical terms Fr. *dragan*, Span. *dragante* has been much discussed. The last scholar who applied himself to the study of the word was Vidos.[3] He rejects the rather dubious etymon Span. *dragante* "figura que representa una cabeza de dragón o de serpiente, con la boca apierta, como mordiendo o tragando alguna cosa," [4] and advocates a derivation from Middle Gr. *τρικάντουνον* n. "triangle." This *τρικάντουνον* is a Gr. compound, whose second element, *καντούνι* n. "angle, corner," is itself a loan-word from Venet. *canton*, *idem*.[5] As the *dragante* is of triangular form, *τρικάντουνον*, semantically, fits this denomination; neither does it present any difficulty phonetically. But there are chronological difficulties.[6] The Ital. nautical term is attested as early as 1246 in a Medieval Lat. text of Genoa: *tragant* "legno che si poneva a mo' di croce sulla cima del capione di prora della galera";[7] this form shows already the assimilation of the protonic *i* > *a*, and the weakening of *k* > *g* before *a*. Such phonetical changes presuppose an earlier date of borrowing than that of the first appearance of the nautical term in Genoa, and furthermore presuppose, certainly, an early borrowing of Ital. *canton* by Greek. If *καντούνι* "angle, corner" was so familiar in Gr. that it could be used in Gr. compounds, such as *τρικάντουνον*, it must have been borrowed at least

[1] The first article of the series, "Italo-byzantinische Etymologien: *scala*" was published in *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* XVI (1939/40), 33–58.

[2] *Dizionario di marina medievale e moderno* (Rome, 1937), p. 232.

[3] *Storia delle parole marinaresche italiane passate in francese* (Florence, 1939), pp. 342–345. Vidos gives a bibliography of the question.

[4] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, No. 2759 *s.v.* draco.

[5] Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano* (Venice, 1829), *s.v.*

[6] Cf. Kahane, "Zur neugriechischen Seemannssprache," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* XV (1939), 97 f.

[7] Vidos, *op. cit.*, p. 343 and n. 2.

in the twelfth c.: for it appears in Ital. form in the first half of the thirteenth century. Τρικάντουνος "trigonus," τρικάντουνον "triangulum" are first registered by Du Cange,[8] but without any reference to a Middle Gr. text; they are found nowadays in the dialects of the Aegean Islands (Thera, Naxos, Sikinos, Syros), Samos, and Eastern Thrace (Ainos).[9] The simple καντούνι n. "angle, corner" appears, according to Triandaphyllidis,[10] in Middle Gr., but the record is given without any chronological indication. The earliest record of the Venet. loan-word occurs, as far as I see, in the Cyprian Chronicle of Makhairas (middle of the fifteenth century), where the compound τετρακάντουνος means "(a brazier) with four corners."[11] Even if from a fifteenth-century τετρακάντουνος we may infer an analogical compound τρικάντουνον for the same century, we are still three centuries away from the hypothetical point of departure. The real difficulty, however, consists in the fact that such a familiarity as καντούνι shows, can hardly be assumed for an Italianism as early as the twelfth century.

If therefore the derivation of Ital. *dragante* from Gr. τρικάντουνον is not probable, Vidos, on the other hand, seems to be right in advocating Gr. origin of the Ital. nautical term: the basis is, I believe, not a Gr. Italianism, but a genuine Gr. word: *τρικάνθιον or, rather, *τρικάνθιν[12] s.n. This Middle Gr. word is a compound of Gr. τρι- "three-," and Gr. κανθός in the meaning "angle, corner." From the standpoint of Romance linguistics there is no semantic difference between τρικάντουνον and *τρικάνθιν; and, since the whole word is of Gr. origin, the chronological difficulties of Vidos' hypothesis, connected with the phenomenon of a *rückwanderer*, are eliminated. Three questions arise, two from the standpoint of Greek, and one from that of Ital. linguistics: 1. a semantical one: has Middle Gr. κανθός assumed the meaning "angle, corner"? 2. a morphological one: is such a formation as *τρικάνθιν possible in Middle Greek? 3. a phonetical one: was,

[8] *Glossarium mediae ed infimae graecitatis* (1688) I, 578.

[9] Kahane, *Italienische Ortsnamen in Griechenland* (Athens, 1940), p. 85 f.

[10] *Die Lehnwörter in der mittelgriechischen Vulgärliteratur* (Strassburg, 1907), p. 136.

[11] Ed. by R. M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932), Glossary *s.v.*

[12] The -ο- of the neutra in -ιον disappeared as early as the 3d c. B.C., but was often restored by Byzantine authors, cf. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (Göttingen, 1913), §§ 94–96.

in the twelfth or thirteenth c., the Ital. explosive *t* substituted for the Gr. spirant *θ*?

1. *The semantical problem*

Ancient Gr. *κανθός* m. "corner of the eye" is attested from the fourth c. B.C. to the sixth/seventh c. A.D., and poetically as "eye," from the 4th c. B.C. to the sixth c. A.D.[13] But *κανθός* must have survived, as is shown by the existence of the word in Modern Greek. The usual form of the word in Modern Gr. is *ἀγκαθός* m., with *α*-prothesis and change of *k* > *ng* under folk-etymological influence of Gr. *ἀγκάθι* "thorn." From the modern Gr. dialects only one seems to preserve the word in the Ancient Gr. meaning: Syme, *ἀκατθός* m. "corner of the eye towards the temples," whereas elsewhere in Greece the connection with the eye was dropped and stress was laid on the meaning "corner"[14] from which secondary meanings developed: General nautical term: "rabbet" (*ἀγαθός*).[15] Dialectical records: "inside corner of the house" (Melos: *ἀγκαθός*); "point of any cubical or parallelepiped body, and generally the external corner of any body, e.g. of a stone, of a loaf of bread" (Leucas: *ἀγκαθός*; Crete: *gαθός*; Syros [Hermoupolis]: *ἀγαθός*; Megiste: *ἀγκαθθός*; Acarnania: *ἀγκαθός*; Northern Euboea: *ἀγαθός*); "point, end of the keel of a ship" (Megiste: *ἀγκαθθός*); "pointed end; point" (Northern Euboea: *ἀγαθός*; Macedonia: *ἀγαθός*); "steep rock; cliff" (Samothrace: *ἀγκαθός*); "ridge of a mountain" (Syme: *ἀκατθός*).[16] These records which are scattered all over Greece give evidence that Middle Gr. *κανθός* had assumed the meaning "angle, corner."

2. *The morphological problem*

In Middle Greek, the type **τρικάνθιν* could be formed from *κανθός*, as shown by the parallel compound expressions in *-ιος* or

[13] Liddell-Scott; *CGL* II 17, 47; 338, 28; 390, 55; III 85, 35; 349, 26; 394, 31.

[14] E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 3d ed. (Heidelberg-Paris, 1938), p. 406 *s.v. κανθός*: "le sens prim. est 'fléchissement, courbure,' cf. *κανθώδης* 'courbe, recourbé.' "

[15] Palaskas, Γαλλοελληνικὸν λεξικὸν τῶν ναυτικῶν ὅρων (Athens, 1898–1908), *s.v.* râblure.

[16] Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς (Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν), Athens, 1933 ff., I, 130.

-ιον whose first element is a numeral. Some examples, arranged according to the numeral prefixes, follow:[17]

μονο — compounds

ἡμέρα "day": *μονημέριον* s.n. "spectacle lasting for one day," *Anthologia Palatina* (*in lemmate*), Justinianus, *Novellae* (6th c. A.D.); cf. the adj. *ἡμέριος* "lasting but a day," Papyrus (6th c. A.D.).

κίων "pillar, column": *Μονοκιόνιον* [meaning "a single column"] "a place at Constantinople," Stephanus Diaconus (9th c.).[18]

μαλλός "wool, hair": *μονομάλλιος* adj. "of pure wool," Theophanes continuatus (9th/10th c.),[19] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (10th c.);[20] cf. *μονόμαλλος* adj. *idem*, Papyrus (3d/4th c. A.D.).

μονήρης s.f. "a galley with one man to each oar,"[21] Leo, *Tactica* (probably 8th c.):[22] *μονήριον* s.n. "a galley with one bank of oars," Leo, *Tactica* (probably 8th c.), Theophanes continuatus (9th/10th c.);[23] *μονέριον idem*, Leo Diaconus (end of the 10th c.).[24]

πτυχή "fold": *μονοπτύχιος* adj. "folding once," Papyrus (6th c. A.D.); cf. the adj. *πτύχιος* "folded," *Etymologicum magnum*.

πύργος "tower": *μονοπύργιον* s.n. "fortress with one tower only," Procopius (6th c. A.D.).

χορδή "string": *μονοχόρδιον* s.n. "monochord," *Codex Graecobarbarus* (Vulgargr. paraphrase of the *Historia* of Nicetas Choniates, written in the 13th c. or later);[25] cf. *μονόχορδον* s.n. *idem*, Pollux (2nd c. A.D.) etc.

ᾠδή "song": *monodium* s.n. "the song of a solo-singer," Diomedes (Latin Grammarian of the second half of the 4th c. A.D.); cf. *μονῳδία* "monody, solo," Aristophanes (5th/4th c. B.C.) etc.

δι — compounds

ἄρμενον "sail of a vessel": *διαρμένιος* adj. "with two sails, as a vessel," Synesius (4th/5th c. A.D.).[26]

[17] When not stated otherwise, the quotations are taken from Liddell-Scott's Greek dictionary. *-ιον* formations with dimin. character have not been, of course, registered in the following list.

[18] Sophocles *s.v.*

[19] Psaltes § 251.

[20] Psaltes §§ 251, 501.

[21] The noun is based on the adj. *μονήρης* "of a ship, with one man to each oar," Pollux (2nd c. A.D.), Procopius (6th c. A.D.). Cf. the parallel formations *τριήρης* s.f., *πεντήρης* s.f. etc. The termin. *-ήρης* from *ἐρε-*, Boisacq, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[22] Henricus Stephanus *s.v. μονήριον*.

[23] Sophocles *s.v.*

[24] Du Cange *s.v.*

[25] Du Cange *s.v.*; Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Niort, 1883–1887), *s.v.* monochordum. — Nicetas Choniates, ed. Bonn., 1835, p. 454, 25: *μονοκόρδιον*.

[26] Sophocles *s.v.*

δάκτυλος "finger": διδακτύλιος adj. "two fingers long or broad," Cedrenus (11th/12th c.);[27] cf. διδακτυλιαῖος adj. *idem*, Sextus Empiricus (2nd c. A.D.), Heliodorus Medicus (1st/2nd c. A.D.) etc., and διδάκτυλος adj. *idem*, Hippocrates (5th c. B.C.) etc.

δίκρανον s.n. "pitch fork," Lucian (2nd c. A.D.) etc., δίκρανος s.f. "furcula"; "furca," *Gloss.* (3d c. A.D.; 6th/7th c. A.D.):[28] δικράνιον s.n. "furca," *Passio S. Romani* (probably 4th c. A.D.).[29]

ἕδρα "seat": διέδριον s.n. "seat for two persons," *Gloss.* (from the 3d c. A.D. on),[30] Anonymus apud Suidam; cf. δίεδρον s.n. *idem*, Papyrus (3d c. B.C.).[31]

ἵππος "horse": Διΐππιον s.n. "Duo equi (statua repraesentati) [Constantinopolitan place-name]," Theophanes (begin. of the 9th c.),[32] Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th c.),[33] Theodosius Melitenus (second half of the 10th c.),[34] Codinus, *Patria* (end of the 10th c.),[35] Joannes Zonaras (first half of the 12th c.),[36] Nicetas Choniates (end of the 12th c./begin. of the 13th c.);[37] cf. διιππον· biga, *Glossae Graeco-Latinae* (6th/7th c. A.D.).[38]

κίων "pillar, column": δικιόνιον s.n. "having two pillars," Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th c.).[39]

κοτύλη "measure": δικοτύλιον s.n. "measure of two κοτύλαι," Oribasius (6th c. A.D.); cf. δικότυλον s.n. *idem*, Papyrus (3d c. A.D.).

λαβή "handle": διλάβιον s.n. "forceps," *Diploma* (ca. 1135); "pair of fire-tongs," *Glossae Reg. Cod. 2062*.[40]

οὖς "ear": διώτιν s.n. "two-handled vessel," Ptochoprodromus (12th c.).[41] Cf. the adj. δίωτος "of vessels, two-handled," Plato (5th/4th c. B.C.) etc.

πύργος "tower": *διπύργιος adj. "with two wings," in διπυργία οἰκία "house with two wings," Papyrus (1st c. A.D.), Papyrus (3d c. A.D.), etc.; cf. διπυργιαία *idem*, Papyrus (3d c. A.D.).

σκέλος "leg": δισκέλιον s.n. "a frame with two legs," Leo, *Tactica* (probably 8th c.).[42]

[27] Sophocles *s.v.*

[28] *CGL* III 263, 2; II 277, 42.

[29] *Analecta Bollandiana* L (1932), 257; concerning date, *ibidem*, p. 275.

[30] *CGL* III 321, 15; 492, 20; 514, 41; II 30, 21.

[31] E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, 2nd ed. (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936–), Bd. I: Laut- und Wortlehre, 3. Teil: Stammbildung, p. 158.

[32] Psaltes § 404.

[33] Psaltes § 502.

[34] Psaltes § 502.

[35] Henricus Stephanus *s.v.*

[36] Henricus Stephanus *s.v.*

[37] Henricus Stephanus *s.v.*

[38] *CGL* II 277, 11. In the *Hermeneumata Leidensia* (3d c. A.D.) (*CGL* III 11, 7) the type: di, ἵππιν· unga.

[39] Sophocles *s.v.*

[40] Henricus Stephanus *s.v.*

[41] Koraes, Ἄτακτα (Paris, 1828–35), I, 28, l. 379.—For the formation cf. *monotion*· orciolus, presumably "a little pitcher with one handle," in the *Hermeneumata Monacensia* (3d c. A.D.), *CGL* III 194, 10.

[42] Sophocles *s.v.*

ταγή "ration": διτάγιον s.n. "double ration," Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th c.).[43]

φύλλον "leaf": διφύλλιον s.n. "two leaved pamphlet," *Concilium Constantinopolitanum* (a. 680).[44]

ᾠδή "ode, in the ritual": διῴδιον s.n. "cantus qui duabus odis constat," *Menologium*.[45]

τρι — compounds

ἄρμενον "sail of a vessel": τριαρμένιος adj. "with three sails," Nicetas Choniates (end of the 12th/begin. of the 13th c.);[46] cf. τριάρμενος adj. "with three sails or masts," Plutarch (1st/2nd c. A.D.), Lucian (2nd c. A.D.).

ἵππος "horse": τρϊππιν· triga, *Hermeneumata Leidensia* (3d c. A.D.);[47] cf. τρΐππον· triga, *Glossae Graeco-Latinae* (6th/7th c. A.D.).[48]

κῶλον "limb, member": τρικώλιος adj. "three-limbed, i.e., three pronged," Inscription of Cos (4th/3d c. B.C.).

λέξις "word": τριλέξιον s.n. "a kind of song," Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th c.).[49]

ὁδός "road": τριόδιον s.n. "a meeting of three roads," Antiatticista (2nd c. A.D.),[50] Papyrus (3d/4th c. A.D.);[51] cf. τρίοδος s.f. *idem*, Theognis (6th c. B.C.) etc.

ὀδούς "tooth": τριόδους s.m. "trident," Pindar (5th c. B.C.) etc.: τριοδόντιον· (besides τρίαινα) tridens, *Glossae Latino-Graecae* (date?);[52] *triodontin*· fuscina, *Glossae Servii Grammatici* (8th c.?).[53]

πούς "foot": τριπόδιος adj. "three-footed," Papyrus (3d c. B.C.).

πύλη "gate": τριπύλιος adj., in τριοδίτης τριπύλιος, title of Menippean Satire by Varro (1st c. B.C.).

σκέλος "leg": τρισκέλιον s.n. "a frame with three legs," Leo, *Tactica* (probably 8th c.).[54]

ταγή "ration": τριτάγιον s.n. "three feeds or shares," Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th c.).[55]

τρίβολος "caltrop, i.e., a four-spiked implement thrown on the ground to lame the enemy's horses," from Philo Mechanicus (3d/2nd c. B.C.) to Procopius (6th c. A.D.): τριβόλιον s.n. "murex ferreus," Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th c.).[56]

[43] Psaltes § 501; Sophocles *s.v.*
[44] Sophocles *s.v.*
[45] Meursius, *Glossarium Graeco-barbarum* (1614), cf. Henricus Stephanus *s.v.*
[46] Ed. Bonn., 1835, p. 223, 24.
[47] *CGL* III 11, 8.
[48] *CGL* II 459, 11.
[49] Psaltes § 502; Sophocles *s.v.* For meaning cf. *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, ed. Bonn., II, 152, 296.
[50] Concerning date cf. K. Latte, *Hermes* L (1915), 393.
[51] F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin, 1925 ff.), p. 617.
[52] *CGL* II 201, 43.
[53] *CGL* II 522, 41; cf. *RE s.v.* Servius.
[54] Sophocles *s.v.*
[55] Psaltes § 501; Sophocles *s.v.*
[56] Psaltes § 504.

φύλλον "leaf": τριφύλλιον s.n. "trefoil, clover,"[57] Aretaeus (second half of the 2nd c. A.D.), *Scholia in Homeri Odysseam* δ 603 (14th c.);[58] cf. τρίφυλλον s.n. "clover, *trifolium fragiferum*," Herodotus (5th c. B.C.) etc.

χαλκός "copper money": *τριχάλκιος adj. "of three χαλκοῖ," in τριχαλκία (ὠνή) f. "tax of three χαλκοῖ," Papyrus (3d c. B.C.).[59]

ᾠδή "ode, in the ritual": τριῴδιον s.n. "a κανών consisting of three ᾠδαί," Theodorus Studites (end of the 8th/begin. of the 9th c.), Michael Monachus (9th c.) etc.[60]

ὥρα "hour": *trihorium* s.n. "three hours," Ausonius (4th c. A.D.).[61]

τετρα — *compounds*

ἀοιδή "song": τετραοίδιος adj. "of four notes, in Music, name of a Νόμος of Terpander," Plutarch (1st/2nd c. A.D.).[62]

κίων "pillar, column": τετρακιόνιον s.n. "shrine with four pillars," Pausanias Damascenus (4th c. A.D.); τετρακιόνιν s.n. "monument with four columns," Malalas (6th c.), Epiphanius Monachus (begin. of the 9th c.).[63]

μήν "month": τετραμήνιος adj. "lasting four months," Papyrus (3d c. A.D.); cf. the older types τετράμηνος adj. *idem*, Thucydides (5th c. B.C.), τετραμηνιαῖος adj. *idem*, Diodorus Siculus (1st c. B.C.).

πούς "foot": (a) τετραπόδιον s.n. "quadruped, beast," *Martyrium S. Placidae seu S. Eustathii*;[64] cf. the type τετράποδον s.n. *idem*, Papyrus (a. 256 B.C.).[65] — (b) τετραπόδιον s.n. "mensa quadrupes, in qua panis cum frumento, vinum et oleum benedicenda offeruntur . . . vel etiam ad alios usus ecclesiasticos," *Typicum S. Sabae* (written a. 524 A.D., revised in Constantinople in the 12th and 13th c.[66]), *Euchologium*, and Philotheos Kokkinos (14th c.).[67, 68]

[57] For the many cases in which -ιον was used, for different reasons, as a plant suffix, cf. W. Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in -ιον* (Weimar, 1910), pp. 185–190.

[58] Cf. Schrader, *Hermes* XXII (1887), 337.

[59] Mayser I 3, p. 185.

[60] Sophocles *s.v.*; Henricus Stephanus *s.v.*; Du Cange *s.v.*

[61] Liddell-Scott, *s.v.* τριώριον, suggest *trihorium* to be a Greek word in Latin dress because its second element is Greek; but cf. Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 34, n. 1.

[62] For further passages cf. H. Weil — Th. Reinach, *Plutarque, De la musique* (Paris, 1900), p. 18, n. 44.

[63] Psaltes § 502; Sophocles *s.v.*

[64] Du Cange *s.v.* with the erroneous definition "abacus"; the passage runs as follows: ὑπερβάλλων πάντας τοὺς ἐνδόξους, ἔν τε κτήμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ καὶ τετραποδίοις καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ περιουσίᾳ; Migne, *Patr. Gr.* CV, 378, gives the variant ἀνδραπόδοις [ἀνδράποδον "slave"] instead of Du Cange's τετραποδίοις. — S. Eustathius died a. 118 in Rome. The *S. Eustathii et sociorum acta antiqua* (ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* CV, 375–418) are mentioned in A. von Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (Leipzig, 1893–1904), I, 2, p. 825 under *Verdächtiges und Unechtes*. These *acta* were the source for Nicetas David's (9th c.) *Oratio in laudem S. Eustathii* (Migne, *loc. cit.*).

[65] Mayser I 3, p. 158.

[66] *Byz. Z.* III (1894), 167 f.

[67] Du Cange *s.v.*

[68] τετραπόδιον s.n. "table with four feet" was probably formed after the numeral compound τριπόδιον s.n. "that which has three feet," "a tripod," originally a dim. of τρίπους; cf. below n. 95.

πύργος "tower": τετραπύργιος adj. "with four towers," Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* [si vera lectio] (1st c. A.D.); Damascius (5th/6th c. A.D.); cf. the f. noun τετραπυργία "building with four towers, fortified country house," Plutarch (1st/2nd c. A.D.) and as a place-name from the 2nd c. B.C. to the 6th c. A.D.[69]

ᾠδή "ode, in the ritual": τετραῴδιον s.n. "in the ritual, a κανών consisting of four ᾠδαί," Theophanes Continuatus (9th/10th c.), Leo Grammaticus (11th c.), Cedrenus (11th/12th c.), Michael Glycas (12th c.), Ephraem (begin. of the 14th c.).[70]

πεντα — *compounds*

ἔτος "year": πενταέτιος adj. "five years old," Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th c.);[71] the Ancient Gr. adj. is πενταετής or πενταέτης *idem*, Herodotus (5th c. B.C.) etc.

μήν "month": πενταμήνιος adj. "five months old," Papyrus (2nd c. A.D.); cf. πεντάμηνος adj. *idem*, Aristotle (4th c. B.C.) etc., and πενταμηνιαῖος adj. *idem*, Bithynian Epigramma, and Apsyrtus (4th c. A.D.).

πύργος "tower": πενταπύργιον s.n. "shrine with five turrets," Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th c.).[72]

ἑξα — *compounds*

ἔτος "year": ἑξαέτιος adj. "six years old," Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th c.);[73] cf. ἑξαετής or ἑξαέτης adj. *idem*, Greek inscription (date?), Papyrus (date?), Josephus (1st c. A.D.).

ἵππος "horse": Ἑξαΐππιον s.n. "Constantinopolitan place-name," Malalas (6th c.), *Chronicon Paschale* (7th c.);[74] cf. εξαΐππον· sexiuges, *Hermeneumata Leidensia* (3d c. A.D.),[75] Εξαΐππον· seiuga, *Glossae Graeco-Latinae* (6th/7th c. A.D.).[76]

κίων "pillar, column": Ἑξακιόνιον s.n. "place near Constantinople," Theophanes (9th c.), Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th c.), Codinus, *Patria* (end of the 10th c.).[77]

[69] Henricus Stephanus *s.v.*
[70] Psaltes § 502; Sophocles *s.v.*; Henricus Stephanus *s.v.*
[71] Psaltes § 501; Sophocles *s.v.*
[72] Psaltes § 503.
[73] Psaltes § 501; Sophocles *s.v.*
[74] Psaltes § 404.
[75] *CGL* III 11, 10.
[76] *CGL* II 301, 29.
[77] Sophocles *s.v.* Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, ed. Bonn., vol. I, p. 56, 1; p. 105, 20. Cf. Dawkins, "The Place-names of Later Greece," *Transactions of the Philological Society* [London], 1933, p. 33: "The Greeks called it *Exokionion*, Ἐξωκιόνιον 'the Outside Column,' because it was outside the Constantinian wall and was adorned by a notable column. Later the Greeks corrupted the name to *Exakionion* Ἑξακιόνιον, 'the Place of Six Columns,' and of this the Turks, or more probably Turkish-speaking Greeks, made the translation *Alty Mermer*, 'the Six Marbles.'" — Ἐξωκιονῖται m. pl. was an epithet given to the Arians in the reign of Theodosius the Great, because they used to hold their religious meetings at Ἐξωκιόνιον, as they were not allowed to have churches within the walls of Constantinople; the corrupted type ἑξακιονῖται in Theodoret (5th c. A.D.) and Malalas (6th c.); for further references cf. Sophocles *s.v.* Ἑξακιονῖται; Du Cange *s.v.* ἐξωκιονῖται.

ἑπτα — compounds

λόφος "hill": ἑπταλόφιον s.n. "septimontium," *Hermeneumata Monacensia* (3d c. A.D.).[78]

μήν "month": ἑπταμήνιος adj. "born in the seventh month," in the *Theologumena Arithmetica* of Iamblichus (4th c. A.D.); cf. ἑπτάμηνος adj. *idem*, Hippocrates (5th c. B.C.) etc., ἑπταμηνιαῖος adj. *idem*, Cicero (1st c. B.C.) etc.

ὄρος "mountain": ἑπταόριον s.n. "septimontium," *Glossae Graeco-Latinae* (6th/7th c.).[79]

ὀκτα — compound

πούς "foot": ὀκτάπους s.m. "*octopus vulgaris*," *Gloss.* (3d c. A.D.; 6th/7th c. A.D.),[80] Alexander Trallianus (6th c. A.D.): ὀκταπόδιον s.n. *idem*, Joannes Tzetezes, *Scholia in Oppianum* (12th c.),[81] Anonymous ms. in *Methodo de urinis*;[82] ὀκταπόδιν s.n. *idem*, Vulgargr. paraphrase of the *Historia* of Nicetas Choniates (13th c. or later);[83] ὀκταπόδιον s.n. = ὀκτάγλωσσον, "a banner, a flag," Codinus, *De Officiis* (middle of the 14th c.).[84]

ἐννεα — compound

ὥρα "hour": ἐνναώριον s.n. "space of time of nine hours," Theodorus Studites (end of the 8th/begin. of the 9th c.).[85]

δωδεκα — compounds

δραχμή "a silver-coin": *δωδεκαδράχμιος adj. "of twelve drachmae," δωδεκαδραχμία (ὠνή) "tax of twelve drachmae," Papyrus (3d c. B.C.), Papyrus (a. 28 B.C.),[86] and substantivized, δωδεκαδραχμία f. *idem*, Papyri (3d c. B.C.; 1st c. B.C.);[87] cf. δωδεκάδραχμος adj. "sold at twelve drachmae," Demosthenes (4th c. B.C.), "privileged to pay as poll-tax only twelve drachmae," Papyrus (1st c. A.D.).

χαλκός "copper money": *δωδεκαχάλκιος adj. "of twelve χαλκοῖ," δωδεκαχαλκία (ὠνή) "tax of twelve χαλκοῖ," Papyrus (3d c. B.C.);[88] and substantivized, δωδεκαχαλκία f. *idem*, Papyrus (3d c. B.C.).[89]

[78] *CGL* III 171, 40.
[79] *CGL* II 313, 38 var.
[80] *CGL* III 186, 61; 256, 58; 355, 53; II 381, 40.
[81] Ed. U. C. Bussemaker (Paris, 1849), I, 306: Πουλύποδες· λέγω, τὰ ὀκταπόδια. In this passage ὀκταπόδιον does not imply any dim. sense; it may, however, have originated from a type ὀκταπόδιον, where -ιον was used as a suffix of descent designating the young of animals; cf. πολύπους: πολυπόδιον "a young polyp," Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
[82] Du Cange *s.v.*
[83] Ed. Bonn., 1835, p. 303, 24.
[84] Ed. Bonn., 1839, p. 48, 2. For the semantical development cf. *ibidem*, p. 285.
[85] Ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* XCIX, 917 B.
[86] Mayser I 3, p. 183.
[87] Mayser I 3, p. 36. — Cf. the substantivized adjectives μονοδραχμία f. "tax of 1 drachma," Papyri (3d c. B.C.), ἑξαδραχμία f. "tax of six drachmae," Papyri (1st c. B.C.; 2nd c. A.D.).
[88] Mayser I 3, p. 185.
[89] Mayser I 3, p. 36. Cf. above s. τρι-: τριχαλκία.

ὥρα "hour": δωδεκαώριον s.n. "space of time of twelve hours," Theodorus Studites (end of the 8th/begin. of the 9th c.).[90]

According to the rules of Greek word formation, a type like *τρικάνθιν could be produced in three ways: 1. κανθός: *τρικάνθιος adj.; *τρικάνθιον adj. n.: *τρικάνθιον s.n. "(piece of wood) with three corners." In analogy to Ancient or Middle Gr. compounds in -ιος from words with the ending -ιος, or -ία, or -ιον several bahuvrihi were formed in Middle Gr. with the ending -ιος, instead of the expected ending -ος or -ης.[91] From these compound adjectives in -ιος new neuter nouns were derived, so to speak *erstarrte neutra* in -ιον.[92] 2. κανθός: *τρικάνθιον s.n. In analogy to the many *erstarrte neutra* new neuter compounds in -ιον were formed, without presupposing the intermediate stage of an adj. in -ιος.[93] 3. κανθός: *τρίκανθος s.m.: *τρικάνθιον s.n. From already existing common compounds new neuter nouns could develop which should be regarded rather as *parasyntheta* than as *syntheta*.[94] In the following list I present the same examples, but this time arranged according to the three ways of word formation; the order within the groups is a chronological one; only the first record is mentioned.

1. 4th/3d c. B.C. τρικώλιος. 3d c. B.C. τριπόδιος, τριχάλκιος, δωδεκαχάλκιος, δωδεκαδράχμιος. 1st c. B.C. τριπύλιος. 1st c. A.D. διπύργιος, τετραπύργιος. 1st/2nd c. A.D. τετραοίδιος. 2nd c. πενταμήνιος. 3d c. τετραμήνιος. 4th c. ἑπταμήνιος. 4th/5th c. διαρμένιος. 6th c. μονοπτύχιος. 9th/10th c. μονομάλλιος. 10th c. πενταέτιος, ἑξαέτιος. 11th/12th c. διδακτύλιος. 12th/13th c. τριαρμένιος.

2. 2nd c. A.D. τριόδιον, τριφύλλιον. 3d c. διέδριον, ἑπταλόφιον, τριΐππιν. 4th c. *trihorium*, *monodium*, τετρακιόνιν. *5th c. ἑξακιόνιον. 6th c. μονοπύργιον, μονημέριον, ἑξαΐππιον, δικοτύλιον. 6th/7th c. ἑπταόριον. 7th c. διφύλλιον. 8th c. δισκέλιον, τρισκέλιον. 8th/9th c. τριῴδιον, ἐνναώριον, δωδεκαώριον. 9th c. μονοκιόνιον, διΐππιον. 9th/10th c. διῴδιον, τετραῴδιον. 10th c. δικιόνιον, πενταπύργιον, διτάγιον, τριτάγιον, τριλέξιον. 12th c. διλάβιον, διώτιν. 12th/13th c. τετραπόδιον. 13th c. or later μονοχόρδιον.

3. 4th c. A.D. δικράνιον. 5th c. [?] τριοδόντιον. 8th c. μονήριον. 10th c. τριβόλιον. 12th c. ὀκταπόδιον.

The first of the three groups which presupposes an intermediate adjective between the primitive noun and the compound noun seems to have been always alive: the examples are found from the 4th c. B.C. on. — The second group, however, which presents

[90] Ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* XCIX, p. 917 C.
[91] Psaltes § 501.
[92] Psaltes § 502.
[93] Psaltes § 503.
[94] Psaltes § 504.

a direct derivation of the compound noun from the primitive noun, seems to have originated rather late, in the 2nd c. A.D.;[95] and the later the examples appear, the more numerous they are. Several facts suggest that this type of derivation: numeral-prefix + noun + suffix *-ιον* may owe its existence to Latin influence: in Latin, this formation was old and popular;[96] in Gr. there are some early records of Latin loan-words of this type;[97] and some examples of Gr. loan-translations.[98] — The third group offers only isolated examples.

[95] The examples which appear before the 2nd c. A.D., and which seemingly belong to this kind of formation, should, I think, for different reasons, be eliminated. P. Chantraine, *La Formation des Noms en Grec ancien* (Collection linguistique p.p. La Société de Linguistique de Paris XXXVIII), Paris, 1933, p. 57, states that there is "un certain nombre de composés avec des noms de nombre: les mots du type *τριπόδιον* 'trépied' (Antiphane [4th c. B.C.]), cf. *τρίπους* sont rares": but even this example may not belong to this class; it seems to be a diminutive derivative from *τρίπους*, as shown by context of the different passages (Liddell-Scott *s.v.*; cf. Mayser I 3, p. 41), and by the parallelism of *τριπόδιον* and *τριποδίσκος* (*RE* V, 1678; W. Petersen, "The Greek diminutive suffix *-ισκο- -ισκη-*," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* XVIII [1913], § 67). — Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in -ιον*, pp. 34, 160, points out the diminutive nuance of *τρικλίνιον*. — Concerning *διλήμνιον* "double lemniscus," it is difficult to retrace the way of derivation, the basis being obscure; but the existence of both *λημνίσκος* "woollen fillet or ribbon" and *διλήμνιον* seems to presuppose a type **λήμνιον* (cf. Petersen, "The Gr. dim. suff. *-ισκο- -ισκη-*," p. 186 f.). — *διλέσβιον* "a double Lesbian pitcher," Papyri (3d c. B.C.) [Mayser I 3, p. 47] seems to be a direct derivative from *λέσβιον* "drinking cup," Hedyle Epigrammatica (3d c. B.C.). — *τετραπέδιον* "rectangle," appears in Hero Mechanicus' *Stereometrica* (ed. J. L. Heiberg, Leipzig, 1914, V, Index); *τετρασίριον* s.n. "quadrangular barn, granary," in his *De Mensuris* (ed. J. L. Heiberg, Leipzig, 1914, V, Index) [whereas a much smaller granary is called *τετράσειρον* in the *Stereometrica*]: the period of the author as well as the history of both texts are completely uncertain.

[96] F. T. Cooper, *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius* (New York, 1895), § 76; and the Latin Grammars of Stolz I 2, pp. 389 ff., 415; and of Stolz-Schmalz (ed. Leumann-Hofmann), p. 210, No. 4.

[97] The earliest examples seem to be: *διπούντιον*, *διπούνδιον* s. n. "a Roman coin" (end of the 1st c. A.D.; end of the 2nd c. A.D.; 6th c.) < Lat. *dipundium*, a variant of *dupondium*; cf. F. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1864), p. 173; F. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie* (Berlin, 1862), p. 11 f.; Joannes Laurentius Lydus, *Liber de Mensibus*, ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig, 1898), p. 173, 17; *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* V, 2285. — *δισάκκιον* s.n. "saddle-bag, panniers" (2nd and 3d c. A.D.) < Lat. *bisaccium* (Petronius), cf. G. Meyer, "Neugriechische Studien III," *SAWien*, CXXXII (Vienna, 1895), p. 15 f.; W. Heraeus, *Die Sprache des Petronius und die Glossen*, Programm (Offenbach, 1899), p. 3.

[98] Some examples, arranged according to their first appearance: *τριόδιον* (2nd c. A.D.) after Lat. *trivium* (Cicero, 1st c. B.C.); *τριφύλλιον* (2nd c. A.D.) after Lat. *trifolium* (Plinius, 1st c. A.D.); cf. also Petersen, *Greek diminutives in -ιον*, p. 34;

The frequency of the examples of group 2 in Middle Greek makes it probable that **τρικάνθιν* has been derived directly from *κανθός*.

3. *The phonetical problem*

In Vulg. Lat., Gr. *θ* [99] is rendered by *t*.[100] It seems that in later periods Gr. *θ* was replaced in Romanic loan-words in two ways, either by *s* or by *t*.[101] I have not material of dated Gr. loan-words, borrowed at the same time as **τρικάνθιν*, i.e. in the 12th or 13th century; but there are Romanic (or Middle Lat.) forms of Gr. place-names of that period which show that Gr. *θ* was heard by Frankish ears also as *t*. Certainly, the single place-name can not indicate much, since questions of spelling or folk-etymological influence interfere in a high degree; their totality, however, is large enough to prove the Romanic *t*-substitute and, with it, the phonetical possibility of the development Middle Gr. **τρικάνθιν* > Old Gen. **trigant*. The following examples cover the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries; they are taken from portolanos, chronicles, and documents, especially from "that *locus classicus* for Frankish names, the [Venetian] list of depredations by pirates in Greece, drawn up in 1278." [102]

διέδριον (3d c. A.D.) after Lat. *bisellium* (Varro, 1st c. B.C.); cf. Petersen, *loc. cit.*; *ἑπταλόφιον* (3d c. A.D.), *ἑπταόριον* (6th/7th c. A.D.) after Lat. *Septimontium* (Varro, 1st c. B.C.).

[99] In Middle Gr. the nasal of the cluster *νθ* was assimilated to the following consonant, and such pronunciation *θθ* still exists in some Modern Gr. dialects (e.g., in Cyprus and the Dodecanese), whereas in the general language *θθ* was simplified to *θ*. This process, however, which can be observed since the period of the Roman Empire (Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I [Munich, 1939], p. 216; K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* [Leipzig, 1898], p. 115 f.), was not fully accomplished in Middle Gr. (Psaltes § 209).

[100] Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, p. 158. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* I (Leipzig, 1890), § 17.

[101] Some material for the pronunciation of Gr. *θ* as Romanic *t* is offered in the cases of *θεῖος* > **tiu* (P. Aebischer, *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* [Lettere, Storia e Filosofia], ser. II, vol. V [1936], 217–221); *ἀποθήκη* > **botica* (Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, No. 531; Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* [Bonn, 1928 ff.], I, 106; V. de Bartholomaeis, *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* XV [1901], 353; Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática histórica española*, 6th ed. [Madrid, 1941], § 4, 2; Claussen, *Romanische Forschungen* XV [1904], 85 n. 1); *κιθάρα* > **chitara* (Meyer-Lübke, *Roman. etymol. Wb.*, No. 1953; Menéndez Pidal, *loc. cit.*; Rohlfs, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität* [Halle, 1930], No. 997; on the other hand, Wartburg, *op. cit.*, II, 719); for Southern Italy: Rohlfs, *op. cit.*, p. XLV.

[102] W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 108 n. 6.

Ἀγαθόπολις. 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Gatopolli*;[103] a. 1311–1320 (maps of the Genoese Petrus Vesconte): *Gatopolli*;[104] a. 1367 (map of the Venetians Pizigano): *Gatopoli*;[105] a. 1375 (Catalan map): *Gatapoli*;[106] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Gatapoli*.[107]

Ἀθῆναι. a. 1278 (Venet. doc.): *Satine*;[108] a. 1317 (French doc.) *Ducaume de Staines*;[109] c. 1325 (Catal. chronicle of Muntaner): *duch de Tenes, ducat de Tenes*;[110] a. 1330 (Catal. doc.): *Cetines*;[111] a. 1379 (letter of the Queen of Aragon): *Santa Maria de Setines*;[112] a. 1380 (Catal. doc.): *castell de Cetines*;[113] a. 1387 (Greek doc.): Νικόλαος δὲ Ἀτέναις;[114] a. 1388 (Ital. letter): *lo chastello di Settino*;[115] end of the 14th c. (*Libro de los Fechos*, the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea*): *Cetinas*.[116]

Ἀθύρας. Begin. of the 13th c. (Geoffroi de Ville-Hardouin): *Nature*,[117] *Nanture*;[118] 13th c. (*La Cronique des Veniciens* de Maistre Martin da Canal): *Nature*;[119] a. 1311–20 (maps of the Genoese Petrus Vesconte): *Natura*;[120] a. 1362 *et seqq.* (Papal documents): *Naturensis* [adjective];[121] a. 1375 (Catal. map): *Natura*;[122] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Natura*.[123]

Ἅι Θεολόγος. a. 1278 (Venet. doc.): *Alter Locus*;[124] 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Alto Luogo*;[125] c. 1325 (Muntaner): *Altolloch*;[126] first third of the 14th c. (*Istoria del*

[103] K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1909), p. 641.

[104] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.* G. L. F. Tafel, *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus* (Tübingen, 1847), p. 38. Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (=*Fontes Rer. Austr.*, XII–XIV), Vienna, 1856–57, I, 474.

[105] G. L. F. Tafel, *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, p. 38.

[106] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 178, 186. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1889), I, 425. W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908), p. 151. R. M. Dawkins, "The Place-names of Later Greece," p. 24.

[109] K. Hopf, "Geschichtlicher Ueberblick über die Schicksale von Karystos auf Euboea," *SAWien*, XI (1853), p. 571 n. 1.

[110] Ed. Lanz (Stuttgart, 1844), p. 421, 431 *et passim*.

[111] A. Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l'historia de la cultura catalana mig-eval* (Barcelona, 1908–21), I, 97 n. 1.

[112] W. Miller, "Notes on Athens under the Franks," *English Historical Review*, XXII (1907), 521.

[113] Rubió y Lluch, *op. cit.*, I, 286.

[114] J. A. Buchon, *Nouvelles Recherches Historiques sur la Principauté Française de Morée* (Paris, 1843), I, 130 n. 1.

[115] W. Miller, *loc. cit.*, 519.

[116] Ed. A. Morel-Fatio (Geneva, 1885), pp. 121, 155.

[117] Ed. M. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1882), § 420.

[118] This variant in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, I, XXX n. 5.

[119] *Archivio Storico Italiano*, VIII (1845), 338; cf. *ibidem*, n. 79.

[120] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, 640.

[121] C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi* (Münster, 1898–1901), I, 371.

[122] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*

[123] *Ibid.*

[124] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 193.

[125] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, 654.

[126] Ed. Lanz, p. 371 f.

Regno di Romania): *Alto loco*;[127] a. 1375 (Catal. map): *Alto Luogo*;[128] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Alto Luogo*.[129]

Βαθύ. (a) Laconian harbour Northeast of cape Tainaron. 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Vatia*;[130] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Natia*.[131] (b) Laconian cape North of cape Hierax. 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Bota*;[132] a. 1311–1320 (maps of the Genoese Petrus Vesconte): *Bote*;[133] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Labotta*.[134]

Βουθρωτός. 11th c. (*Chanson de Roland*, v. 3220): *Butentrot*;[135] a. 1111 (by the South Italian poet Guilelmus Apulus): *Botrontina urbs*;[136] a. 1278 (Venet. doc.): *Butrinto*, *Butrento*;[137] a. 1294 (Neapol. doc.): *Butrontoy*;[138] between 1311–66 (Papal documents): *Botrotenensis*, *Votrontinensis* [adjective];[139] end of the 14th c. (*Libro de los Fechos*): *Otrento*.[140]

Ζάκυνθος. a. 1207 [141] (Papal letters): *comes Jacinti, insula Jacinti*;[142] a. 1212 (Papal doc.): *Jacint*;[143] 13th c. (*La Cronique des Veniciens* de Maistre Martin da Canal): *Gichintos*;[144] a. 1278 (Venet. doc.): *super Zanto*;[145] 13th c. (Ital. portolano): *Çante*;[146] end of the 13th c. ("Insulae Aegeopelagi"): *Zante*;[147] 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Ziante*;[148] a. 1301 (French doc.): *Jacinte*;[149] a. 1304 (French doc.): *Jachint*;[150] a. 1311–20 (maps of the Genoese Petrus Vesconte): *Iazante*;[151] begin. of

[127] Ch. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* (Berlin, 1873), p. 145.

[128] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*

[129] *Ibid.* — Further material: W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce dans le Levant* (Leipzig, 1885–86), I, 540 n. 8, 541 n. 4. W. Brockhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte der Stadt Ephesus*, Diss. Jena, 1905, p. 50 n. 3. Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[130] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 635.

[131] *Ibid.*

[132] *Ibid.*, p. 636.

[133] *Ibid.*

[134] *Ibid.*

[135] Ed. T. A. Jenkins, 1924. The interpretation of the passage of the *Chanson de Roland* by Henri Grégoire, *Byzantion*, XIV (1939), 269 ff.; *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, Acad. Royale de Belgique, 5e sér., XXV (1939), nos. 10–12, 211 ff.

[136] Muratori, *RISS* V, 271 f.

[137] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 226, 273.

[138] J. A. Buchon, *Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1845), I, n. 1 to p. 321.

[139] Eubel, *op. cit.*, I, 147.

[140] Morel-Fatio, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[141] The earliest record in which *θ* is rendered by *t*, seems to be *Jagent* in the medieval Latin text of English origin, *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I.*, of the end of the 12th c., ed. W. Stubbs, II (London, 1867), 199.

[142] Buchon, *Recherches*, II, 477 f.

[143] Buchon, *Recherches*, I, n. 2 to p. XXXIX.

[144] *Archivio Storico Italiano*, VIII (1845), 340.

[145] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 242; cf. *ibidem* I, 264; I, 469. Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[146] "Portolanfragment der Bibl. Marciana," Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 656.

[147] Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 176.

[148] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*

[149] Buchon, *Recherches*, I, 387 n. 1.

[150] Buchon, *Recherches*, II, 482.

[151] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*

the 14th c. (Marino Sanudo): *Iante*;[152] first third of the 14th c. (*Istoria del Regno di Romania*): *Zante*;[153] middle of the 14th c. (Giovanni Villani): *Giacinto*;[154] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Zante*;[155] a. 1375 (Catal. map): *Iazante*;[156] end of the 14th c. (*Libro de los Fechos*): *Jacento*.[157]

Θάσος. a. 1278 (Venet. doc.): *Taxo*;[158] 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Taxo*;[159] a. 1311–20 (maps of the Genoese Petrus Vesconte): *Taxo*;[160] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Taxo*.[161]

Θερμήσιον. a. 1356 (Will of Walter of Brienne): *Trémis*.[162]

Θῆβαι. 13th c.[163] (Henri de Valenciennes): *Estives*;[164] a. 1292 (French doc.): *Estives*;[165] a. 1305 (French doc.): *Estives*;[166] a. 1308 (French doc.): *Estives*;[167] c. 1325 (Muntaner): *Estiues*;[168] a. 1328–30 (Catal. doc.): *Estives*;[169] middle of the 14th c. (*Le livre de la conqueste*): *Estives*;[170] end of the 14th c. (*Libro de los Fechos*): *Stivas, Estivas*.[171]

Κάρπαθος. End of the 13th c. ("Insulae Aegeopelagi"): *Scarpanto*;[172] 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Scarpanto*;[173] a. 1311–20 (maps of the Genoese Petrus Vesconte): *Scarpanto*;[174] a. 1375 (Catal. map): *Scarpanto*;[175] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Scarpanto*;[176] between 1317–1408 (Papal documents): *Sc(h)arpatensis* [adjective].[177]

Κόρινθος. 13th c. (Henri de Valenciennes): *Chorynte*;[178] 13th c. (Morean coins):

[152] J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hannover, 1611), II, 287.
[153] Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 116.
[154] *Lib.* IX, c. 281, ed. A. Racheli (Trieste, 1857–1858), I, 282.
[155] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*
[156] *Ibid.*
[157] Morel-Fatio, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
[158] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 165. Cf. Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[159] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 659.
[160] *Ibid.*
[161] *Ibid.*
[162] W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, pp. 264, 265 n. 1.
[163] The earliest record seems to be a. 1102 *Stivas* in the writings of the English merchant Saewulf, cf. W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 159 n. 2.
[164] Ed. M. Natalis de Wailly, §§ 593, 600.
[165] Buchon, *Recherches*, I, n. 4 to p. 290.
[166] Buchon, *Recherches*, I, 388 n. 1.
[167] Buchon, *Recherches*, I, 393 n. 1.
[168] Ed. Lanz, cap. 240 *et passim*.
[169] Rubió y Lluch, *op. cit.*, I, 97.
[170] Buchon, *Recherches*, I, Index.
[171] Morel-Fatio, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 103 *et passim*.
[172] Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 176.
[173] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 662.
[174] *Ibid.*
[175] *Ibid.*
[176] *Ibid.*
[177] Eubel, *op. cit.*, I, 462. — Dawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 39. Dawkins, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, IX (1902–03), 179. B. Migliorini, *Studi Bizantini*, II (1927), 309.
[178] Ed. M. Natalis de Wailly, § 688 n. 2.

Corintum;[179] a. 1278 (Venet. doc.): *in culfo Corranti*;[180] a. 1311–20 (maps of the Genoese Petrus Vesconte): *Coranto*;[181] first third of the 14th c. (*Istoria del Regno di Romania*): *Coranto*;[182] middle of the 14th c. (*Le livre de la conqueste*): *Corinte*;[183] a. 1364 (Italian lists of the fiefs of Morea): *Coranto*;[184] a. 1375 (Catal. map): *Coranto*;[185] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Corenta*;[186] a. 1394 (Ital. doc.): *Coranto, Choranto*;[187] a. 1394 (Ital. doc.): *Corinto*;[188] 14th c. (Italian version of the *Chronicle of Morea*): *Coranto*;[189] end of the 14th c. (*Libro de los Fechos*): *Corento*.[190]

Κύθηρα. End of the 13th c. ("Insulae Aegeopelagi"): *Cerigo*;[191] 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Zerigo*;[192] a. 1311–1320 (maps of the Genoese Petrus Vesconte): *Cetri*;[193] first third of the 14th c. (*Istoria del Regno di Romania*): *Cerigo*;[194] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Cerigo*;[195] a. 1398 (Venet. doc.): *Cedericum*.[196]

Λεβίθα. a. 1278 (Venet. doc.): *Livita*;[197] 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Leuita*;[198] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Leuita*.[199]

Λιθάδα. a. 1262 (Venet. doc.): *Ponta Litadi*;[200] a. 1278 (Venet. doc.): *ponta Litaldi, ponta Delitalde*.[201]

Μαραθώνα. 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Maratona*;[202] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Maratona*.[203]

Μοθώνη. a. 1211 (Venet. doc.): *Modone*;[204] begin. of the 13th c. (Geoffroi de

[179] Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, I, p. LXX f.
[180] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 170.
[181] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 634.
[182] Hopf, *Chroniques*, pp. 100, 105.
[183] Buchon, *Recherches*, I, Index.
[184] Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 229.
[185] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*
[186] *Ibid.*
[187] Buchon, *Recherches*, II, 428.
[188] Buchon, *Recherches*, II, 435.
[189] Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 423 *et passim.*
[190] Morel-Fatio, *op. cit.*, p. 15 *et passim.* — Dawkins, "Place-names," p. 25. Migliorini, *loc. cit.*
[191] Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 176.
[192] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 656.
[193] *Ibid.*
[194] Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 127.
[195] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*
[196] H. Noiret, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination Vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485*, Paris, 1892 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 61), p. 93 f. — The modern occidental name of the island, *Cerigo*, developed according to Venet. phonetics from an older form **Cetericum*.
[197] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 229.
[198] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 660.
[199] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*
[200] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 53.
[201] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 167, 220.
[202] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 637.
[203] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*
[204] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, II, 133. — The form with *d* presupposes a type with *t*; it seems that the form with *d* radiated from Venice.

Ville-Hardouin): *Modon*;[205] a. 1226 (Venet. doc.): *Modone*;[206] 13th c. (*La Cronique des Veniciens* de Maistre Martin da Canal): *Modon, Moudon*;[207] a. 1277 (Venet. doc.): *Mutone*;[208] 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Modon*;[209] a. 1311–20 (maps of the Genoese Petrus Vesconte): *Mudun*;[210] first third of the 14th c. (*Istoria del Regno di Romania*): *Modon*;[211] middle of the 14th c. (*Le livre de la conqueste*): *Modon*;[212] a. 1375 (Catal. map): *Modom*;[213] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Modon*;[214] a. 1391 (French list of the fiefs of Morea): *Modon*;[215] a. 1394 (Ital. doc.): *Modone*;[216] a. 1395 (French itinerary): *Modin, Modon*;[217] 14th c. (Italian version of the *Chronicle of Morea*): *Modon*;[218] end of the 14th c. (*Libro de los Fechos*): *Modon*.[219]

Μυζηθρᾶς. a. 1278 (Ven. doc.): *Musistra*;[220] first third of the 14th c. (*Istoria del Regno di Romania*): *Mistra*;[221] middle of the 14th c. (*Le livre de la conqueste*): *Misitra*;[222] 14th c. (Italian version of the *Chronicle of Morea*): *Mistrà*;[223] end of the 14th c. (*Libro de los Fechos*): *Misitra, Mizitra*.[224] The Gr. form Μιστρᾶς is derived from the Frankish type.

Παρθένιος. 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Partelli*;[225] a. 1311–1320 (maps of the Genoese Petrus Vesconte): *Parteni*;[226] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Spartelj*.[227]

Ρέθυμνον. 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Reteno*;[228] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Rettemo*.[229]

Σκίαθος. a. 1278 (Venet. doc.): *Scati*,[230] *Loscato*;[231] 13th c. (atlas Luxoro): *Scati*;[232] 14th c. (Venet. chronicle of Andrea Dandolo): *Schiatum*;[233] last quarter of the 14th c. (atlas Pinelli): *Scatti*.[234]

[205] Ed. J. A. Buchon, Paris, 1828, p. 41.
[206] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, II, 261.
[207] *Archivio Storico Italiano*, VIII (1845), 537, 548.
[208] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 138.
[209] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 635.
[210] *Ibid.*
[211] Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 106.
[212] Buchon, *Recherches*, I, Index.
[213] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*
[214] *Ibid.*
[215] Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 230.
[216] Buchon, *Recherches*, II, 428.
[217] *Le Saint Voyage de Jherusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure*, ed. Bonnardot-Longnon, Paris, 1878, §§ 28, 29, 329, 341.
[218] Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 425 *et passim*.
[219] Morel-Fatio, *op. cit.*, p. 28 *et passim*.
[220] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 231. Cf. Dawkins, "Place-names," p. 42.
[221] Hopf, *Chroniques*, pp. 108, 116.
[222] Buchon, *Recherches*, I, Index.
[223] Hopf, *Chroniques*, pp. 447, 453.
[224] Morel-Fatio, *op. cit.*, p. 49 *et passim*.
[225] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 650.
[226] *Ibid.*
[227] *Ibid.* Cf. W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter," *SAWien*, CXXIV (1891) 9, p. 77.
[228] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 663.
[229] *Ibid.*
[230] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 161.
[231] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 191.
[232] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 659.
[233] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, II, 3. Cf. *Schiati* in Buondelmonte, quoted by Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1862–68), II, 385 n. 2.
[234] Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*

Τάθυρα.[235] c. 1325 (Muntaner): *la ciutat de la Tira, la Tira.*[236]

Middle Gr. **τρικάνθιν* passes into Old Genoese: the existence of Old Genoese **trigant* is proved indirectly by Neapolitan *drigantum*, recorded in a Middle Lat. text of the 13th c. and obviously a loan-word from Old Genoese; the same Genoese word appears also in Venet. *triganto* (14th/15th c., in the manuscript of the *Fabbrica di Galere*;[237] and in the 16th c. in a passage of the Venet. admiral Cristoforo Canale), in Ital. *drigante*, and in Span. *trigante* (1627).[238] The secondary Old Genoese type *tragant* is first attested for the year 1246; it radiates to France, where the *hapax tragant* is found in a translation of the Genoese Middle Lat. text of 1246; Genoese *tragant* is the basis of Span. *tragante* (1611); and of Ital. *dragante* (beginning of the 17th c.): in this form the naut. term survives in modern Italian, and in the modern dialects of Genoa and Venice. From Ital. *dragante* derive modern Fr. *dragan* (recorded since the beginning of the 17th c.), Modern Provençal *dragan*, Span. *dragante*, and Catal. *dragant*.[239]

Besides *triganto*, *dragante*, *crose*, originally "cross," is used in the Venet. dialect for the designation of the wing transom.[240] The earliest records I have found are in the *Venetae republicae statuta navium*, a. 1255.[241] To this Venet. denomination corresponds Modern Gr. *σταυρός*, originally "cross," [242] both showing the same figurative meaning. But as early records are lacking for the Gr. nautical term, it is not possible to state whether the two terms have developed independently from each other or whether the one presents a loan translation of the other, either *crose* of *σταυρός*, or *σταυρός* of *crose*.

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[235] Other variants are: *τὰ Θύραια*, *Θύρεα*, cf. E. Honigmann, *Byzantion*, XIV (1939), 653.

[236] Ed. Lanz, pp. 369 f., 372. Cf. Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, 34.

[237] Jal, *Archéologie navale*, Paris, 1840, II, 6.

[238] Jal, *op. cit.*, I, 287.

[239] Vidos, *loc. cit.*

[240] *Dizionario di marina*, pp. 210, 1296.

[241] Tafel-Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 418, 428, 429, 440. Another explanation of this passage in Jal, *op. cit.*, I, 268 and 259 n.

[242] Palaskas, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* hourdi.

THE ART OF STORY-TELLING IN THE DODECANESE

By R. M. Dawkins

Some few years ago Dr. W. H. D. Rouse put into my hands an extensive manuscript collection of Greek folklore material of all sorts for study and eventual publication. It is upon this that the present paper is based. Dr. Rouse was travelling in the Dodecanese in the early years of this century. The islands were then in the hands of the Turks, and though the pressure of the government was beginning to make itself more felt than in the palmier days of the special privileges of the Dodecanese, it was not enough to do more than slightly hamper the freedom and the economic prosperity of the inhabitants. It was possible for foreign visitors to circulate freely. The twilight of Young Turkey and the black night of the Italian occupation had not yet darkened the sun of those fair lands. Dr. Rouse had the fruitful idea of collecting the folklore of the islands on the same lines as those so happily followed by a number of local scholars, those men to whom Greece owes so much.[1] But the task was not easy for a foreigner, especially for one whose time was limited, and Dr. Rouse set Mr. Jacob Zarraftis of Kos to work for him.

Zarraftis was a native of Kos, and when I was in the islands in 1906 was a man between middle and late life. He had some property in Kos and from this and, I think, a little dealing in antiquities he picked up a living. Occasionally he was able to publish a little pamphlet on the local antiquities: he gave me copies of *Θαλύσια τῆς Κῶ* 1906, printed in Samos; of *Κῶϊα*, 1921; *Κῶϊα*, 1922; and *Κωΐων*, Β' *μέρος*, 1923; all three printed in Kos. As they must now be very hard to acquire, I ought perhaps to add that they do not seem to me of very great value. The work he did for Dr. Rouse, on the other hand, was excellent, and he collected a great deal that but for him would have by now certainly been lost. He was curator of the Kos museum, and I think one might regard him as a typical scholar of his place and time.

[1] Most of their work has been published in volumes of the Constantinople *Σύλλογος* (VIII, XIX, XXI, XXXI), and in the same Society's *Ζωγράφειος Ἀγών*. To which I would add the *Καρπαθιακά* of Emmanuel Manolakakis, Athens, 1896.

The greater part of this material Zarraftis collected from the town and villages of Kos, but he had relations with other islands and wrote down much, especially folktales, in Leros and in Astypalaia; a little comes too from Kalymnos. From other informants the Rouse collection contains a few items from Patmos and Euboia, but these are of comparatively little importance; no other collector was found of anything like the skill and industry of Zarraftis. The ballads, verses, riddles, glossaries and so on, do not concern this paper; nor does the rich information on folk customs. I concentrate on the art of story-telling as it is revealed in these rather more than forty stories. Of a very few more than one version was collected, one generally very much better than the other, but for the most part all are separate and independent pieces.

To one of the first questions that naturally arise Zarraftis has unfortunately given us no answer at all. We have no information as to the age, sex, or social position of the narrators, and we are left equally in the dark about their audiences.

This silence is once broken. In a footnote we are told that a story from the village of Asphendiou in Kos was got from a woman, Hatzi-Yavrouda, Yavrouda the Pilgrim. It is headed *Myrmidonia and Pharaonia,* but the subject, the wrath of a nymph, an Anerada (Ἀνεράδα), at the cutting down of her grove would make *The Nymph's Revenge* a more suitable title. Here I must mention another Asphendiou story, *The Wicked Stepmother:* the earlier part is traditional, and is in fact practically, though by no means verbally, the same as a story from Astypalaia. But all the latter part, which deals with the folklore belief in the nymphs who beguile men to the dance and how a man may be freed from them, seems quite original, and has the same merits as *The Nymph's Revenge.* The feminine touch seems betrayed by the full details of the birth and nurturing of a savage little monster, who later turns from being a snake to a very charming young prince. Even more cogent is the carefully description of the morning toilet of a very tiny baby. A third which has much the same qualities is a long story called *Yannaki* (Jack or Johnnie), which is in fact a version of the Apollonios of Tyre romance. It seems to me likely that all these three stories are by this same woman. Her special strength is in descriptive passages, a few of which will be quoted below.

In a story from Pyli in Kos a man's voice seems to be heard. It is a sort of Wit and Wisdom story, in which the difficult question is discussed how a man should deal with the younger generation, when he comes to share his property with them. Several men had, by a too foolish generosity, got thrown out of their houses by the young people, and the prudent man instructs them how, by clinging to their property, they may keep the whip hand over the juniors. It is very like a man to make out that all such domestic troubles are due to the conduct of the sons' young wives.

If we turn to the stories themselves, we are at once struck by the fact that the traditional fairytale plays a very minor part. Of the whole collection I find only about one-third, about fifteen stories, which can properly be brought under this heading. Of these almost all come from Astypalaia, which indeed yielded hardly anything else.[2] Since this kind of story forms the very great majority of almost all Greek collections, it is not necessary to say much of it here. We find ourselves in the familiar fairy world.[3] Characteristic themes are struggles with ogres, for so would translate *δράκος*, and the adventures of the hero in search of the mysterious lady known here as the Very Fair (*ἡ Παράμορφη*), or the Five Times Fair (*ἡ Πεντάμορφη*); in collections where the Turkish element is more marked she is generally called the Fair One of the World (*ἡ ὡραία τοῦ κόσμου*), or even by her Turkish name of *Dounia Guzeli*. We often meet the husband or wife from fairyland, where in the manner of Cupid and Psyche the otherworld partner is lost and at the end of the story recovered. A notably pretty story of this kind is from Astypalaia, *Donna Clera*. She is a daughter of the rainbow, who is a witch, and is married to a youth who, though adopted by human parents, is in truth a son of the Sun and of his wife the Moon. A childless man in a dream saw the Sun and the Moon, and they promised to give him their son; he awoke to find by his side a child like a little angel smiling at him. Donna Clera carries off the youth by the aid of her magic horse, but he as usual loses her. In the end his parents, the Sun and the Moon, his mother-in-law the Rainbow, and the Mother of the Winds with her twelve sons, help

[2] The same is true of the Astypalaia stories in Pio's *Contes populaires grecs* and in K. Dieterich's *Sprache und Volksüberlieferungen der südlichen Sporaden*, Vienna, 1908.

[3] See Μιχαηλίδης-Νουάρος, Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμεικτα Καρπάθου, I, 267, and Adamantiou's Τηνιακά, in Δελτίον τῆς ἱστ. καὶ ἐθνολ. ἑταιρ. τ. Ἑλλάδος, V, 277.

him to recover her. The whole story has a poetic and imaginative style very much above what is usual in such narratives; a kind of airy lightness, fitting a land of bright sunshine and windy seas.

Other features of these fairy stories are equally well known. We hear of kings and queens, princes and princesses, viziers and their lady wives, the king's Council of Twelve, the cunning Jew or the mysterious dervish or monk, the kindness of the hero to the animals who reward and help him, in short all the familiar, partly oriental elements of the Greek folktale. Wedding festivities last always for forty days and forty nights, the villain is put to death by being torn to pieces by four horses, the Fair Lady is apt to dwell in a region so far off and so strange that no bird can reach it in its flight, and so on. The Council of Twelve and the viziers point to the east; so too, I think, does the building which seen from afar looks like an egg: this clearly belongs to a land of domes. These elements are hardly to be found in any of our tales except those of this fairyland sort.

The stories in our collection from Kos and Leros are for the most part of quite a different kind. They contain not infrequently elements and episodes found also in the fairy stories, but the main thread of the narrative taken as a whole has quite a different character. We seem to have fresh and original creations showing strong marks of individual handling. They are in fact novels of what passes for contemporary life, and their originality is shown by this that the parallels which are so common for the fairy stories are with the very hard to find. The narrator has treated his material freely, working in elements from all sources, but in essence telling his own story and not merely passing on what he has heard from others.

These stories invite a profitable comparison with a collection of tales all very much of the opposite type, traditional fairy tales of the sort we can recognise in Astypalaia. These are the stories which in 1909 to 1911 I was able to collect from among the Greek-speaking Christians of Asia Minor. They were printed in my *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, to which Professor W. R. Halliday contributed a chapter on the subject-matter. He found that, with very few exceptions, they could be classified under certain fairly fixed types, hardly straying from the wholly impossible and quite

extravagant world of fairyland. There were examples of such well-known story patterns as *Puss in Boots. The Man born to be King, Snow White, The Three Oranges,* and so on. There were a few didactic stories, but these were equally traditional, and even for some tales of intrigue told me by a blind man, and the only "grown-up" stories I got, parallels were easily to be found. But the bulk of the stories were of fairyland, and the tellers were children, who had learned them from their mothers, or very often from one another. The style was invariably bald; dialogue was reduced to a minimum; characterization hardly existed; the personages were all very good or very bad. As the stories had been learned by heart, defective memory had sometimes led to incoherency, and there was a complete absence of any faculty of invention by which gaps might be filled. No tale showed any signs of individual composition. In short, the art was in full decline and had become merely an amusement for children. It was children who listened to the stories, and I was told at Pharasa, a very remote village in the Taurus, where collecting was particularly easy, that each child knew one or two stories, and that these were his or her contribution when children gathered together to amuse themselves in this way. The comparative excellence of two stories I gathered at Delmeso, a Greek village near Nigde, was simply due to the better memory and greater intelligence of the boy who told them.

The fixity of these stories is remarkable. Of a tale I recorded in 1911 I possess another version in manuscript collected some twenty years earlier by Anastasios Levidis of Zindzi-Dere, and the closeness of the two is really extraordinary.

No very deep study of the Zarraftis stories is needed to convince oneself that the conditions in the Dodecanese must have been very far indeed removed from what I found in Asia Minor. The narrators were clearly grown-up people working for an adult audience; for people of not much formal education, yet of great natural intelligence and of some subtlety of mind. Fortunately we have two excellent descriptions of such narrators and such audiences, and though the authors have as yet printed only a very small part of their collections, there cannot be much doubt that what they tell us is very much what we should have learned from Zarraftis, if it had occurred to him to set it down. That the

people were rather less sophisticated than the Koans seems likely because of the preponderance of the traditional fairytales, but on this point we must await a fuller publication of the material.

These two writers are Dr. Adamantios Adamantiou, who collected tales in Tenos and published in 1900, and Dr. M. G. Michailídis-Nouaros of Karpathos, who worked some thirty years later.[4] In his earlier years, says Michailidis-Nouaros, and this will be about the beginning of the present century, there were as yet no cafés in the villages of Karpathos, and people used to gather together in the winter in some convenient house and in the summer sitting on the flat roofs of the houses. I was in Karpathos first in 1903, and at that time the red-tiled roofs, which in 1917 were so hideously conspicuous in such richer villages as Aperi, were still nowhere to be seen; every house had its flat earth roof (*δῶμα*). At these gatherings people played cards and of course talked politics, but also amused themselves by listening to anecdotes, riddles, and stories.

The narrators were usually, we are told, men (*παραμυθάδες*): in such semi-public gatherings women would be shy of speaking; they confined themselves to telling much shorter stories to their children at home. Recognized story-tellers would be specially invited, and would sometimes tell tales so long that a single story might last for several evenings. But when Michailidis-Nouaros published his book in 1932 things had altered; men were no longer telling stories at all; all that was left were a few old women telling fairytales to children. But even so the author collected over fifty pieces.

In 1900 Dr. Adamantios Adamantiou published his account of storytelling in Tenos, where he was then stationed as scholarch. Both men and women had skill in telling stories, and notable practitioners were called, the men *παραμυθάδες* and the women *παραμυθοῦδες*. The times chosen were the nights of winter, and especially the forty days of the fast before Christmas: of a good narrator it would be said that "he knew all the stories of the Forty Days" (*αὐτὸς ξέρ' τοῦ σαραντάμερου τὰ παραμύθια*). They were held in some consideration; one of them boasted to Adamantiou: "So and so for all his learning used to send people, and with a

[4] See Σ. Π. Κυριακίδης, Ἑλληνικὴ Λαογραφία, μέρος Α' (1922), p. 284.

lantern, to fetch me to tell him stories." Sessions were held in the long evenings (σπεροκαθίσματα), often at the village baker's, where the heat of the great oven made the house comfortable. Sailors and fishermen, too, were great tellers of stories as they waited for the wind either on the shore or in the coffee-house, drinking their sage tea, hot and aromatic. The workshops of the shoemakers were another center. I remember myself being in a house at Komiaki in Naxos when stories were being told; this was in the December, 1912.

The Greek islanders of forty years ago were in a social condition perhaps not very often found. They were a people of great intelligence and quickness; mentally progressive and bodily active, but at home living in somewhat remote villages and abroad in sailing ships, and very little touched by the contemporary outside world. There were as yet no gramophones, no wireless, and no cinemas to destroy their own native culture and ways of thought; under Turkish rule even newspapers were none too common. Most of the people, certainly all the men, could read, but their books were mainly of the school and of the church. By nature they were extremely sociable, and these village gatherings with talk and story-telling were an essential part of their life, but they had long been too sophisticated in their own natural way to be fully satisfied with the old-fashioned fairytale so entirely separated from the interesting life which they themselves were living. Some sort of development in the art of narrative was inevitable. In his book on Greek Folklore Kyriakidis expressly notices the tendency of folktales, when the fairy world becomes less credible and less interesting, to push forward and become novels of real life. In fact it would seem that, as people grow out of what is a very primitive stage, the folktale may take two paths: either the art continues more or less unaltered and falls into the hands of children, as was very notably the case with the Asia Minor stories, or it continues to interest older people by changing into the novel dealing with life as known or as imagined by the auditors. No doubt both things may happen in the same community: our own bookshops have shelves for children, and I can hardly doubt that if Zarraftis had searched for them, he would have found among the children of Kos and Leros any number of stories of the old fairyland.

In most of the collections of Greek folktales which I have read the traditional fairy element is very much to the fore. We have a fair mass of material from many of the islands: in the Dodecanese, from Symi and from Nisyros; in the Cyclades, from Tenos, from Syra, and from Mykonos: nearly all of these are fairy stories. Such of the as yet unpublished stories collected in Chios by Mr. Stylianos Vios (Βίος) seem to be of the same kind. The mainland is much less well represented, but the stories from Epeiros published by the Syllogos are fairy stories; so too are the Athenian stories of Marianna Kambouroglou. On the other hand some stories from Crete and from Kastellorizo are for the most part novels.[5]

The development of the newer type of story is of course gradual, and it is therefore common to find embedded in the tales of common life episodes and phrases derived from the older fairytales. Again, the world of the Greek islander, certainly of fifty years ago, is a good way from the one we know, and the stories often deal with such creatures as the nymphs (ἀνεράδες) and ogres (δράκοι) of popular fancy and belief. Sometimes whole tales are constructed on their dealings with men of this world. This aspect of the subject I developed in a paper recently read before the Folklore Society of London,[6] and in particular gave an analysis of the long tale which I have described above as *The Nymph's Revenge*. Many of the novels also are arranged to point a moral; here efforts are made to increase the attractiveness of the narrative, quite apart from its ethical value, by adding to the psychological interest.

A good example of this embellishment of an old theme is afforded by a version from the town of Kos of the widely spread story of the man who goes traveling with a mysterious elder, whose actions teach him the inscrutability of the dealings of the providence of God. The story as usually told is that a man is accepted as a traveling companion on condition that he asks no questions about the elder's actions. Three times a seeming injustice is committed; the unkind man is rewarded by a kind

[5] For Symi, Nisyros, Kastellorizo and Crete I refer to the above mentioned Σύλλογος volumes; for Tenos and Syra to Pio; for Mykonos to Louis Roussel's *Contes de Mycono* (Lwów, 1929); for Athens to Παραμύθια, Μαριάννας Γρ. Καμπούρογλου (Athens, 1912). Mr. Vios' Mss. are in the possession of the Athens Lexicon.

[6] To be published in their journal *Folklore*.

action; the hospitable man is requited with what seems cruel ingratitude.[7]

The story is Rabbinic, told of the prophet Elias. It appears in the Koran, where the elder is the Servant of God, the mysterious Khidr. With the simplicity of these and other versions we may compare this Koan narrative. The man is a schoolmaster; the guide is an unnamed "holy elder." The story is enlarged to have four and not three instances of a questionable recompense for their treatment as guests, and two other incidents are introduced to show still more clearly the blindness of the man of this world as against the inspired insight of the strange companion. As the two are on their way, they pass a fine and handsome rider; the elder presses his nostrils as though there were carrion about, although to a dead beast lying by the side of the road he pays no attention at all. On their return journey they find the dead body of the gallant knight, whose death the elder had been inspired to foresee. The second incident is that they see a man cutting down a terebinth tree; the axe slipped and killed, not the man, but his innocent ass. The explanation vouchsafed at the end of the story is that, if the man had been killed, as indeed he deserved to be for cutting down so useful a tree, the traveller might have been accused of murdering him, and having no witness of his innocence might have found himself in danger of his life. The man was not let off: he was punished by the loss of his ass. Their journey carries the companions through the villages of Kos, and the hospitality incidents are worthy of note as showing a subtlety and inventiveness quite beyond the range of the story as usually told. At the village of Pyli they were received, and quite honorably, in the house of a very rich man: fittingly, but not with the affectionate cordiality of the poor man who had been their host at Asphendiou. In the night the elder rose up and by his magic art built a fine tower in their rich host's garden. This seemed to his companion an over-lavish return for his not very zealous hospitality; but this was not the full truth. The elder explained that the man had been intending to build the tower himself; had he

[7] The story has been discussed by F. W. Hasluck in *Christianity and Islam*, Ch. LV: *The Three Unjust Deeds*. The then unpublished Imera version to which he refers, in which the mysterious person reveals himself as Christ, I have now published in *Medium Aevum*, VI, p. 181. A general reference may be made to Friedländer's *Die Chadirlegende*.

been left to do so, he would in digging the foundations have found a buried treasure, but this would have ultimately caused his death, because another man would have murdered him in order to get it. The result of the elder's act was therefore to save his life — incidentally, too, the cost of building — but not to deprive him of the enjoyment of the treasure; the man therefore neither lost nor gained; just as his hospitality had been in relation to his wealth only mediocre, though creditable as far as it went. He had shown himself neither good nor bad, and as such had been treated. The very conception of a mixed character of this sort shows a great advance upon the sheer black and white of the stock form of the story. The moral is of course as always, that divine dealings must not be judged by what man can see of them.

At Antimakhia, where they were refused any hospitality at all, the people were given money, over which they quarrelled. At Kephalos a rich man received them very well; like the poor man at Pyli, he was requited with seeming ingratitude, but the result was to bring him a very substantial benefit.

Very close to this story is the teaching, implicit in several of the moral tales, that man should acquiesce in whatever fate, luck, or, to use religious language, the will and mercy of God may bring him. Once, in a story from Astypalaia, this is held up as an almost heroic ideal. Two men were friends and made a written agreement that their children should marry one another. One became rich and the other poor; the former had a son, and the latter a very beautiful daughter. The poor man sent his wife — against her will, but it was her duty — to ask the rich woman for her son, but she was rudely repulsed. The daughter of the poor man fell in with a porter (the carrying of burdens is always regarded by the sharpwitted Greeks as a typically humble occupation), but her parents were in despair and arranged that they should marry. The porter treated his bride with great consideration and generosity, and while this was going on, the rich young man saw her and fell in love. He sent his mother to make a proposal of marriage, but the girl's mother rejected this. Her daughter was already married, and in any case the porter was the man sent her by fortune; to him she must cleave. The story is called *What Comes by Luck*, *τὸ τυχερόν*, and the virtuous poor resign themselves to the decree of fortune. The final discomfiture

of the rich family is brought about by the porter's revealing himself as the king in disguise.

The idea of luck or fate, the wordly opposite number to the will of God, is very present. In the above mentioned paper in *Folklore* on the background of popular belief worked into these stories, I have analyzed a tale of a man who went to seek for his Fate. He found her in her cottage and saw how at random she dealt out riches and poverty to the souls of the newly born. In another story from Leros about the daughter of a schoolmistress in the island who was fated to marry a prince from the fairy world below ours, we are told: "Every man in this world has a fixed fortune, a guiding genius, a luck, an angel; I hardly know what to call it, good or bad" (*Ἔχει καὶ πῶνα ρινζικό, στοιχιό, τυχερό, ἄγγελο, δὲν ἐξέρω πῶς νὰ σᾶς τὸ πῶ, καλὸ γιὴ κακό*).[8]

There are a number of other moral stories, generally bearing marks of individual handling. "God will Provide" is the theme of one of them; another is to teach that anything however seemingly impossible may come to pass, "if God wills." The morality is always of a practical caste. Charity, moderation, and patience are commended; of otherworldliness or asceticism there are no traces. How the stock treatment is often improved we may see from the familiar story of the Two Women, one bad and the other good, and the Twelve Months. One woman was poor but good, and spoke to the Months, represented as twelve youths, kindly and gratefully. Her rich but churlish sister answered them harshly and morosely. Each was given in return for her speech coals from the fire at which the Months had been warming themselves. For the good woman these turned into jewels, but for the rich woman they became deadly serpents. So far as the story is common enough, but in the Zarraftis version, from the town of Kos, the general duty of cheerfulness is reinforced by working in another well known theme, the two hunchbacks, one good and one bad, and making them the husbands of the two women. As usual the good hunchback is relieved of his hump and the bad one has the other's hump added to his own; so at the end he goes off with two humps, to find his wife killed by the serpents.[9]

[8] *Ῥιζικόν* I translate "fixed fortune" because it is derived not, as was thought, from Ital. *risico*, but from *ῥίζα*, for which see Xanthoudides, in *Λεξ. Ἀρχεῖον*, I, 174.

[9] For a parallel from Pontos see *Λαογραφία*, VII, 185.

Of the pure novel the best example is the version of Apollonios of Tyre, which I have already mentioned; it is based ultimately on the rhymed version first published at Venice in 1534, but as I have dealt with it at length elsewhere I do no more here than mention it. It is the longest and in many ways the best story in the whole collection. A much less ambitious effort in the same genre is a story called *The Boatman*, from the town of Kos: it introduces the folk belief in the nymphs of the sea and the Water of Life, reminiscences of the Alexander Romance not uncommon in modern Greek lore. This is not the place to develop this point, and I go on to give the thread of the story.[10] The hero is a boatman. A ship's captain came to the port where he worked and fell in love with his wife. The usual wicked old woman induced the wife to dress as a boy, and the captain took her away with him to Smyrna. The boatman followed them; first to Smyrna, then to Constantinople, and then to some Black Sea port. His money ran out, and he went to work in a cookshop. The captain came there to eat, and the boatman induced him to take him to his ship as his servant. On board the boatman was recognized by his wife who, to get rid of him, falsely accused him of theft. His eyes were put out and he was thrown into the sea. But by good fortune he bumped up against a plank and so was carried to the shore. Lying on the beach, he heard music: this was the nymphs, the Anerades (*ἀνεράδες*), singing and dancing on the sands. They guided him to the Water of Life; with this he anointed his eyes and regained his sight. He carried away with him some of the water, with which he cured blind people, finally restoring the sight of the daughter of the king of Constantinople. For this he was made admiral; the wife and the ship's captain were hanged, and the boatman married the king's daughter.[11]

Another story of the same sort is called *The Daughter of the Rich Man* (Ἡ Μειαλανοπούλα); it was collected at Asphendiou in Kos, and might be another of Hatzi-Yavrouda's stories. It runs thus. A king's son and the daughter of a rich man went to school together and she helped him with his lessons and went on doing so even after she had left the school: the clever girl often appears in these stories. Her father said that she was then too old to

[10] To be published in the *Modern Language Review*.

[11] See "Alexander and the Water of Life," *Medium Aevum*, VI, 173.

receive the prince without scandal, but this did not stop them, and one day they were found together. The girl hid him in a chest, where he was stifled, and then she got rid of the body by giving it to a servant to take it away and bury it. But the man blackmailed her, and at last forced her to visit him and his boon companions at midnight. The girl got them drunk and killed them all. Years afterwards she felt moved to take the Communion and had to make her confession. The wicked priest demanded a sum of money for his absolution, and then betrayed her confession to the king in order to get the reward he was offering for anyone who would tell him the fate of his son. The girl was sent for, and she revealed the whole story. The king pardoned her, and the priest was hung up by the tongue as a warning against betraying confessions.

Here we see a good moral worked in at the end of a novel of life; several of these stories are in fact written round a moralizing idea. A good example is from the town of Kos. It is called *Helen*, and the idea is that it is precisely the greatest rascals who make the most ostentatious display of piety. A good deal of island life is sketched in as the background of the story. The thread is as follows:

A king had an only son; a negress serving in the palace fell in love with the boy, and to force him to her will locked him up in a cellar, spreading the report that he had been carried away by robbers. The vizier's daughter also was in love with him, and she set out to find him. On her way she delivered a king from his vampire wife, a probably inserted episode as it has no connexion with the thread of the story. On her way back again, intending to take service in the palace, she met four men, led off to be tried on a charge of robbing a shop; among them was a friend of hers whom she knew to be a good man. He alone had been found on the scene of the crime; the three others had been arrested on his denunciation. His story was that his unfaithful wife had locked him out of the house, and he had taken refuge in the shop in order to get some sleep, but he had not seen the thieves at all. But how then did he know their names? He said he was sure that they were the men, because he had observed their great show of piety in church; they made such demonstrations of devotion that he had no doubt they were scoundrels. The vizier's daughter thought that she too might find out something, and hearing this story she "began to think it over. It was Saturday afternoon, so the next day was Sunday. And she says to herself: 'How many times have I heard my nurse now in heaven (*μακαριασμένη*) say: Whoever wants to hear news of all sorts should go to the river where the girls are washing clothes; just like water their mouths run over with the news that first one and then another has to tell. Or go to the fountain where the young girls are waiting in a row to fill their jars, and you will hear a string of stories of what happens in everyone's house. Or go to vespers where the servant girls who know everything are singing a quiet psalm all among themselves about

their mistresses right through to the end of the service.'" So she went off to hear vespers and in the morning Mass. She saw a negress showing all the marks of extreme piety, and then overheard a long dialogue between her and the serving women of her own mother, the wife of the vizier; the two women were gossiping about her own disappearance and that of the prince. The vizier's servant said of the prince: "Well, he is a lad and what harm can they do to him? But alas, for my poor young mistress." — "But why do you say Alas?" said the negress: "the girl wanted it and now she has had it." — "And that's true enough, my dear; unless a girl has an understanding, does she ever get carried away?" — "Now we must be off; vespers are over." And so they all left the church, the vizier's daughter having picked up a good deal from their innuendoes. She then went into the service of the king, and observed that after every meal the negress carried off fragments of food. She followed up this clue and found the imprisoned prince, and the story ends with the execution of the negress and the happy marriage of the prince and the vizier's daughter, the festivities lasting as generally in these stories for forty days and forty nights.

These realistic little pictures of common life are found in several of our stories, more especially in the novels, and they serve to bring even the traditional themes into connexion with the common life of the day. A story of a girl who finds her way down into the underworld below ours, which appears in so many Greek fairytales, and there wins a prince for her husband, begins with one of these sketches. The story is from Leros. Most Greek country women go out in the spring cutting herbs for food, what are generally called *ραδίκια*, but the heroine here, being the daughter of a schoolmistress, is ignorant of all such homely matters. Her mother, however, begged the other girls to take her with them, but she did not know one plant from another, and the other girls grew tired of her questions and finally left her to herself, promising that in the evening they would give her a share of their gatherings. Left by herself like this, she lit upon the hidden steps which led her down to the lower world. Here a typical fairy story follows this little sketch of real everyday life.

In two stories we have a description of a storm at sea, naturally interesting to a nation of sailors. The more elaborate is in the Koan version of Apollonios of Tyre, here called *Yannaki*, in many ways the best, as it is the longest of all these stories. I have already suggested that the narrator was a woman. A storm at sea might seem a subject more natural to a man, but it may be noted that technical details, which a man accustomed to the sea would certainly put in, are here entirely absent. The repetition of the same word — "thunder thundering," "flashes of lightning flashing,"

and so on — are rather a rhetorical device than any result of poorness of vocabulary. The passage runs thus:

So they raised the anchor, set the sails and laid them to the wind. The ship was well ready for the sea, and Angelica was sitting by the side of her Jack very well pleased; she felt that his breath and his life were her own breath and her own life. Next day the weather broke. They were in the open sea; the sky was clear of clouds. But no long time passed before clouds formed themselves on every side, and shortly the sky was all clouded over; the ocean sighed, oppressed by all those many black clouds. The wind began to whistle in the cordage of the ship; the night was growing darker; flashes of lightning were flashing from the far distance, and from the depth of heaven the thunder was thundering. Hail began, and the demons of the storm were showing their flickering lights on the masts. As the night went on, so the weather became worse; the lightning flashed constantly from more quarters of the sky and more frequently; the thunder thundered with still louder thunderings and more terrifically; the rain fell heavy and dense, the wind whistled like a demon in the cordage of the ship and the sea howled terribly. Then at midnight the storm increased in violence. The wind, how furious and savage! And that rain which seemed to be falling in buckets! That lightning, how terrible, every moment cleaving the foundations of the firmament! The waves were like mountains, rising up and sinking down, rolling forward with irresistible violence. The ship would not obey the rudder, and the savage waves smote her pitifully; at times she was hurled up into the air, at times she was let fall into the foam of the waves. Night gave way to day, and the storm flung all its fury upon them. Midday passed; another night came. The terrors and alarms hurled upon them by the savage storm were greater than ever.

"Jack was full of grief for his Angelica," and so the story goes on with the birth of Angelica's child, her apparent death, her burial at sea, and the final deliverance of the ship.

A similar but much shorter description comes from Antimakhia in Kos. It serves as the opening of a longish story about the adventures partly in the real world and partly in an enchanted underworld of a youth with the same standard name of Yannaki, Johnnie:

A ship's captain was once sailing on his way on an evening of bad weather; it was windy and so dark that a man might fear and tremble to be at sea. The ship was creaking on one side and cracking on the other, and the bows groaned among the foamy waves: she moved over the sea in her violent course like a great cloud. It was so dark that a man could not see his hand or even where he was going. At that moment there appeared a flame flaring up on the land, and by its brightness the men saw that they were very close to being utterly wrecked on the steep rocks, and that no one would save even the tip of his nose (*καὶ νὰ μὴ γλυτώσῃ γὰ μηὲ ῥουθοῦνι*).

The Apollonios tale contains an interesting description of a dance. The hero is dancing before the court and the people, and charming everyone by his skill: his lady is watching him from a window. The appreciation of sensuous beauty carries us miles

away from the dry manner of the old fairytale. The men are clearly dancing some variety of the common Greek ring dance: the dancers link hands and form an open ring, which moves slowly round and round. The leader performs elaborate steps and figures; the rest follow with a plain step moving forwards and then swaying a little backwards, going on thus until the leader tires. From the description we have of the leaps and twistings of the leader, the dance is likely to be the lively πηδηχτός, the leaping dance, rather than the more sedate συρτός.

The dance began; the young men were dancing and singing songs, and Jack was still eating and drinking, enduring all his troubles. But little by little he drank plenty of wine and came to a cheerful mood. Then he forgot his woes; he remembered that he was in his strength and young, and he poured out still more wine and drank his fill. Then he rises up and approaches the dance, free of care and full of pride, and asks leave to take the place of leader. All men's eyes were upon him and upon his old woollen clothes, and they were smiling in a mocking manner. But as soon as they had given him the permission, Jack took his place as leader and started to get into step with the dance. All men's eyes were upon him with derision, looking to see some drunken young shepherd and to laugh at him. Suddenly they see that he was settling quickly to his dance like a real master. Then all the mocking faces changed, and became full of eager interest. Presently they are watching him make those skilful turns and twistings in such a way that the very best dancer could not excel him. Then still more were the eyes of all gazing upon him and could never have enough, men marvelling at the art, at the dexterity and at the beauty of his dancing. So too the princess was very much pleased with him, as she looked at him from above, delighting in his dancing. Without paying heed to anything at all but the music, Jack went on dancing still better and in a yet more masterly style, so that he made everyone marvel at him.

There follows a description of the hero at dinner and his good appetite, a thing much to delight this a simple audience. Then came another dance:

When Jack had eaten and drunk very well and come to a cheerful mind, he again forgot everything and rose up from the table and went to the dance. All were waiting for him from one moment to another, and the princess as well. When they saw him coming, at once the man who was leading the dance left his place and ran off and took the young shepherd by the hand and put him to lead. The instruments of music tuned up to accompany him, and the players watched his steps with great attention. Jack began, and little by little settled himself to his dance until he became a little warm, and then he began again to display his marvellous art with the beautiful turns of his fine dancing and the graceful swayings of his slender waist. And so beautifully and gracefully was he dancing that nobody regarded his old woollen clothes, but only the charm of his dancing. All men's eyes were fastened upon him and could never have enough of gazing at him.

The fairy tales occasionally contain similar pictures drawn from the local life. From Astypalaia comes a story called *The*

Lily (ὁ Σκρῖνος), the theme of which is the marriage with a Fairy Husband. Here is how the hero shows himself to the people: "Next day, the day of St. George, outside the town a rider is seen on a white, a pure white horse; he had a golden saddle and all his gear was of silver and gold, and he himself was dressed all in gold with a lance in his hand; he was coming toward them looking like St. George, all brightly shining in the brightness of the sun. Some days later he appeared again on a bay horse with a lance in his hand as though he were about to kill some monster; the people thought the rider was St. Dimitrios." Here the narrator is clearly inspired by the great icons of the two warrior saints so often to be seen in Greek churches on the iconostasis.

The Asphendiou-story of the Wicked Stepmother, to which I have already alluded, has in its latter and more original part what is perhaps a reflexion of another icon. The fairy husband Neros is seen coming out of the tomb in which he has been confined by the lustful nymphs, the *ἀνεράδες*. *Ἄνοιξεν ἕνα σκέπασμα τάφου κ' ἔβγαινεν ἀπὸ μέσα ἕνας νέος.* We may here, I think, see the influence of the icons of the Resurrection. The risen figure stands above the open sarcophagus, the lid of which is lying to one side. The name *Neros* we can see from the Cupid and Psyche character of the story is to be explained as a form of *Ἔρως*, with the common prefixed *ν*.

Adamantiou notices as a part of the craft of the skilled narrator that he can shorten or lengthen his story by cutting out incidents or by making additions from his general repertory. The word for combining incidents in this way is *κολλῶ*, *to glue together*, and it cannot but remind us of the primitive meaning of the ancient word *Rhapsode*, the bard skilled in sewing together incidents and episodes. Stories, it seems, were sometimes told in competition, and this power of working in fresh incidents would be a great resource: a man could always be springing surprises on his rival by adding to the length of an otherwise more or less familiar tale.

A story from Antimakhia in Kos gives us a very clear example of such an added episode. The hero is a boy, again called Yannaki, Johnnie; he wandered through magic lands reached by passing through a mountain which had opened to him in a miraculous manner. Yielding to temptation, he disobeyed his master's instructions, and the mountain refused to allow him a passage

back to the world of men. Then he found himself in a country by the sea; fresh incidents with a talisman follow, and after some shape-changing adventures Johnnie reached home and was happily reunited to his father and mother. Of this tale there is a version from Astypalaia in Pio's *Contes populaires*, collected as long ago as sometime before 1869. The story is in details more logical and often better told than in our Koan version, but it is a good deal shorter, and in particular lacks a long episode, which is plainly marked as an addition by a later teller in having no connexion at all with the general plot. When the hero was by the sea, he was one day amusing himself by flying a kite. Then a brigantine appeared, and from her a boat came to the shore with the owner; he was a lord, a *lordos* (λόρντος), the common Greek word for a traveller from the west, always supposed to be of fabulous wealth. The *lordos* took the boy on board his ship (*ἕνα περγαντὶ λόρντικον*) and made him his adopted son. But Johnnie proved so very extravagant and spent so much money, that the *lordos* grew tired of him and took him back to the place where he had found him. There without any warning he stripped him of his fine clothes and left him on the shore bewailing himself. At this point the *lordos* disappears and the story resumes its main thread. To go away with a wealthy traveller is often the romantic but businesslike dream of the young Greek; in folktales it is commonly a dervish or a cunning Jewish merchant who proposes in this way to make the boy's fortune. The mixture of harshness and indulgence in this particular patron seems rather on an oriental pattern.

For another contact with contemporary life I must hark back to *The Wicked Stepmother*. The heroine is sent away with a negro servant to be blinded and have her hands cut off. She found herself in the mountains, and here she met the prince who was shortly to marry her. Another shorter version of this story is given us from Astypalaia, and in this the prince's reason for being in the wilds is as much of today as hers is of the fairy past: he has been sent there by a very modern doctor to recover his health as in a sanatorium, because he was "ready to say goodbye from consumption" (*πούτομ πρῶτα ἀποντζούρι 'πὸ τὸ χτιτσό*),[12] from which of course he duly recovers through the prayers of a pious hermit. The much fuller Koan version is not so prosaic; I have

[12] *'Αουτζούρι* is a hard word. I can only conjecture that it is the French *bonjour*.

mentioned above the trouble of the hero, who has yielded himself to the Anerades, the nymphs or fairies, and was being forced every night to exhaust himself by joining in their dances.

The traditional fairytales are, as one would expect, very much more conventional both in style and matter than the novels; they represent an older stage in the art, and this appears from another particular, the set formulae used at the beginning and ending of a story. These fixed phrases are in many parts of the world quite a feature in the art of the narrator, although, as Professor Halliday has remarked, Greek folktales have not much to show in this way, and in these Dodecanesian stories even less is to be found than usual.[13] The stories commonly begin in the simplest way, introducing the characters: "Once and a time there was," "At that time there was," and so on. Very occasionally we find a general wish for the good health of the company. Dodecanesian and Cypriot stories often begin with a little verse which suggests that the story was being told in a company where the women were working wool, winding the yarn on the big revolving reel. Here is the verse from an Astypalaia fairy story called *The Little Horse of Gold* (Τὸ Χρυσοαλοάτσι):

Red thread twisted well,
Neatly wound upon the reel;
Push the reel to make it spin,
Then my story can begin.

Κότσινη κλωστὴ κλωσμένη
στὴν ἀνέμη τυλιμένη.
Δός της τσοῦννον νὰ γυρίση,
παραμύτθι ν' ἀρκινήση.

The verse is often followed by "A good beginning for the tale: a good evening to you. Once upon a time there was," and so on. But only five of our stories have this beginning; one from Kos, one from Leros, and three from Astypalaia, and all five are traditional fairytales. I find only one commencement formula which is new to me and this is in the Astypalaia story called *What Comes by Luck* (*τὸ τυχερόν*), by exception a story of real life. It runs:

"Οτσα βροῦλτα 'στὴβ βρουλτσά
τότσες τρύπες 'στὴν τσοιλτσά,
τσ' ὅτσα βρουλοκόμματα,
'στῶμ μάερων τὰ στόματα.

[13] In my *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 220.

The general sense seems to be that there are as many mouths in a kitchen waiting to be fed as there are rushes in a marsh. The word *τσοιλτσά* is of course dialect for *κοιλία*.

The tales in the same way generally end quite abruptly; the last sentence sometimes clinches the narrative or points the moral. A pretty example is from an Astypalaia fairytale, *The Sugar Boy* (*ὁ Ντζακχαρένος*): "and the other princess lived happily with her Sugar Boy until they grew old in loving fashion, and all the world made a story of their love and of their life" (*τσ' ἡ νὰ ἄλτη βασιλοπούλτα σαίρετο τὸν Ντζακχαρένον της ὥσπου γεράσανε μαντζὴ γαπημένα, τσ' ὁ κόσμος οὗλτος εἶσε δήημα τὴν ἀγάπην τος τσαὶ τὴν ντζωήν τος*).

There are however a few fixed formulae; like the conventional beginnings, they belong to the fairytales and hardly ever occur in the novels of real life. A few examples may be noted. An Astypalaia story has the common ending: "They ate and drank and gave gifts to all the world." This occurs too in a fairytale from Leros and in another from Astypalaia. In the one story Zarraftis recorded in Kalymnos, a story of the nymph in a baytree, the formula is given a satiric turn: "And they ate and drank and to us never gave anything." Another Astypalaia fairytale ends thus: "And from henceforth their life was all honey and milk and they ate and drank and gave to all the world.

What now are stories told to you,
In older days were true as true.

In the Greek: *Τσαὶ πὸ τότες πλτσὸ ἐπερνοῦσαν μέλι τσαὶ γάλα, τσαὶ τρώασι τσαὶ πίνασι τσ' οὗλτουνοῦ τοῦ κόσμου δίνασι.*

Τσαὶ τὰ παραμύτθσα
Ἤσαμ πρῶτ' ἀλήτθσα.

The sceptical note appears in the endings of three fairytales from Astypalaia. Two run: "All was sweet as honey, but I was not there to see," and "I was not there nor anyone who is listening to me." The third runs: "In the love of the people was their strength and the pride of their lives." Then the verse:

My tale is at an end;
Belief I leave to you.
But even pleasant stories
Have in their day been true.

Τὸ παραμύτθι μας τελεύτσει,
Τσ' ὅλος θέλει ἂς πιστεύτσῃ
Μὰ τσαὶ τὰ παραμύτθσα
Γενῆκαν ἀπ' ἀλήθτσα.

The Koan story on the difficult question of how a man should deal with his property in his old age ends thus: "I have told you my tale, and now some other bird must sing."

These formulae, hardly appearing in the novels, belong to the older tradition, and seem to have been going out of use with the fairytales to which they properly belong. The greater frequency of the formulae in the Astypalaia stories goes with the vogue for fairytales in that island. Their disuse in Kos marks the more individual, less conventional stage of the art.

If folktales are the germ of the novel, and in these Koan stories we seem to be able to trace the development, there is another kind of folk narrative which may be regarded as a primitive kind of history: the tradition, the story relating to some past event, generally localized and deriving its value from its truth, the kind of thing which, as Makhairas says, "will please those who delight in histories of old times" (*οἱ ποῖγοι θέλουν ἀλεγριάζεσθαι τὰς παλαιὰς ἱστορίες*).

Of such traditions Zarraftis gathered hardly anything; the islanders possibly do not preserve many such stories and Zarraftis' neglect may be due to a similar indifference. Of Karpathos Michailidis-Nouaros tells us that he could find very few, and that in the Dodecanese they are everywhere rare; he thinks this is because they have no close link with the social life of the people, who can easily dispense with them.[14] He may well be right: on such a point no one certainly is a better judge. But Zarraftis did collect a few stories about a notable pirate of Astypalaia who flourished early in the nineteenth century. His name was George Negros, but he seems sometimes to have been called Jouvelekas. Of him we have three stories. In one we learn that when he was at school he had trouble with the master, who harshly wanted to cut off his hand in punishment for an insulting gesture. The father and a Cretan friend then killed the schoolmaster and they all became outlaws. The second is a story of the hidden treasure left by the pirate. The third tells how he came to kill a French naval

[14] See Μιχαηλίδης-Νουάρος, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

captain called Brisson, and how the Frenchman's son came to Astypalaia to give reverent burial to his father's bones, but was artfully deceived, so that what he actually buried were the bones of the pirate who had brought about his death. The tomb is now a conspicuous object in the island and I much regret that I did not visit it to see the inscription.

The harvest is scanty, but these stories are excellent; the notion of how the pious son was beguiled by the seemingly simple shepherd who wanted the reward of forty napoleons is very amusing and very much in the spirit of the place.

I hope in another place, perhaps when I succeed in publishing these texts, to make some study of the language in which they are recorded. For the present it must be enough to say that they are told in the dialect of each island or village as it sounded to Zarraftis, and as he was able to transcribe the sounds with the use of the Greek alphabet. Occasional inconsistencies are to be found: when these are in phonetics and inflexions it may be supposed that Zarraftis' text is not exactly as he heard the story; when an occasional purist phrase occurs it is at least as likely as not that it comes from the actual narrator. These are, however, very scarce. It is plain too that the neatly written sheets which Zarraftis sent to Dr. Rouse are not what he wrote when he actually heard the story; slips, and some of these minor inconsistencies, may easily have crept in as he recopied.

One point may be mentioned. In his Astypalaia texts he almost invariably writes *τθ*, by which he probably means an aspirated *τ* where common Greek would have *θ*. My experience in the Dodecanese has led me to believe that this aspirate occurs only for the *νθ* of common Greek, or where in many of the islands *θ* is for some reason doubled. The syllable *θια* also is sounded with a certain stopped element. From my notes I see that this aspirated stop for *νθ* and *θθ* is heard in Telos, Nisyros, Kalymnos, and Symi; from a friend I learn that it is sounded also in Khalki and in parts of Rhodes. Elsewhere in the Dodecanese the sound is *θθ*, the spirant prolonged. Pernot's evidence from Chios points the same way.[15] I would hesitate to question the ear of a Greek, and the aspirated stop may have spread a good deal by the action of analogy, but I feel tempted to think that it is at least possible

[15] H. Pernot, *Phonétique des parlers de Chio*, pp. 409–415.

that, when Zarraftis came to copy out his texts, he thought that the aspirated sound should be written for all cases of *θ*. The sound seems not to occur at all in his own island of Kos, and in writing down the dialect of Astypalaia where he was, after all, a stranger, Zarraftis was recording a dialect very different from that of his native land. That *τθ* is used, though inconsistently, for all cases of *θ* in the texts printed by Dieterich is no further confirmation of its reality, for these texts were in fact all contributed by Zarraftis himself: this he told me when I met him in Kos, and he was bitterly complaining that he could not get paid for them.

The same argument applies to the numerous cases of *τθ* in Dieterich's Kalymnos texts also sent to him by Zarraftis.

But after all allowances have been made, these texts give us the longest, and but for the very carefully written Karpathian texts recorded by Michailidis-Nouaros, the best samples we have of the Dodecanese dialects. The vocabulary is singularly free from Turkish, there are a few words from the Italian. The most striking feature is the number of words clearly Greek, but not to be found in the dictionaries, and only with difficulty in the various local vocabularies which have been printed. At the meaning of some of them I can only guess; when the treasures of the Athens dictionary are again available most of these puzzles, it is safe to say, will be solved.

Everything in these stories points to the purity of the Greek population of these islands. Behind even the traditional fairytales and still more the novels, one can always discern the same character. The people are lively and witty; sometimes rather cynical. Keenly sensitive to sense impressions and to beauty, they are sensuous, but the texts are never in the least lascivious. They are enthusiastic and ardent, but always with a thread of commonsense business ability for which they have clearly a great admiration. The rich man is very important, and his wealth gives him the title *ἄρκοντας*, *lord*: the common word for rich, *πλούσιος*, hardly, I think, occurs. I quote here two descriptions of the hero of in these stories: of one it is said that he "was a young butcher, handsome, hardworking, prudent, and honorable; with his many graces he made a lot of money in his butcher's shop." The other was "a young ploughman, a very handsome youth, hardworking and the richest man in the town." To inquisitiveness they frankly

admit, but it is demanded that a man be charitable to the poor, kindly, and above all hospitable. In adversity patience and submission to the will of God are commended; of the unpractical "Byronic" idea of revolt against fate and heaven these people have no notion whatever; one feels that they would all say "what is the use of breaking yourself against that which is stronger than all of us?" The social structure is that of Greek peasant and island life. This is the world as it appeared to these storytellers of some forty years ago: one wishes it was their world today.

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BLOOD VENGEANCE (*MAINA*) IN SOUTHERN GREECE AND AMONG THE SLAVS

By André Mirambel

The purpose of this article [1] is not so much to compare the exercise of the right of vengeance and its manifestations among the Slav peoples and the Maniots; it is rather to elucidate the *characters of vendetta* among the populations of Maina by utilizing the Slavonic data, which are better known. The origin and evolution of the institution may thus become clearer, especially if more account is taken than hitherto of the vocabulary relating to vengeance in connection with the underlying historical facts. It is often dangerous to judge customs by merely comparing the corresponding gestures; every interpretation is then possible, and it is easy to find the resemblances and differences required to support a given thesis. But by doing this, no light is shed on the origins of an institution or even on the actual relations between similar practices in different regions. This is how Miklosich [2] and Vlavianos,[3] interesting though their observations are, came to disagree in explaining the existence of vengeance in Maina: the first sees it as a Slav importation, the second as a natural development which took place under definite conditions.

It seems possible to attempt a study starting from the terms which, among the Maniots, refer to the traditions of Vendetta.[4] The complex character of these traditions will thus come to light

[1] The article was intended for the *Revue Internationale des Etudes Balkaniques* which is so competently edited by MM. Budimir and Skok in Belgrade. The war has prevented me from sending it to them. May they excuse me and share my hope that one day our friendly collaboration may be resumed. Being retained in Great Britain, I wish to express my gratitude to Byzantion, xvi, for publishing this article. Let it be my very modest tribute of admiration to the great country whose victory is the wish of every man who thinks freely: it is the very condition for the pursuit of research and the existence of scholarship. I thank my friend and colleague Dr. Nicholas Bachtin who undertook the translation. A. M.

[2] *Die Blutrache bei den Slaven* (1888).

[3] *Zur Lehre von der Blutrache* (*mit besonderer Berücksichtigung dieser Sitte in Mani*), 1924.

[4] The method is indicated by A. Meillet in *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, 7th ed., p. 1–2. Baruzi draws attention to it in his *Problèmes d'histoire des religions*, p. 37, note.

and it will be easier to discern which elements in the institution belong to Greek civilization and which are derived from an alien source.

I

Throughout the whole of the Maina dialect, "vengeance" is denoted by the word *ὀγδικιωμός* (<*ἐκδικαιωμός). The word refers not only to the act of vengeance itself, but to all its accompanying circumstances, in particular to the reasons motivating the act: slander, adultery, murder. Another term similar to *γδικιωμός* also occurs, *ἡ γδίκιωση*. As long as an individual does not use his right of vengeance he is *ἀγδίκιωτος*. There is also the expression *παίρνω τὸ δίκιο (μου)* ("to take one's right, to take vengeance"), which is abundantly attested in popular literature,[5] e.g. *νὰ πάρουνε τὸ δίκιο του* ("let them avenge him"), *τὸ δίκιο τοῦ πατέρα τους* ("the right of their father"), *ποιὸς εἶναι ὁ μαυροφονιᾶς νὰ πάρω τὸ δίκιο σου;* ("who is thy foul murderer that I may avenge thee?"), etc. Side by side with these expressions there are others which may refer either to the whole of the traditions of vengeance or only to the avenging act itself: *παίρνω τὸ αἷμα (μου) πίσω* ("take back the blood (which had been shed, stolen), to take vengeance"). Thus we have, for instance, *νὰ πάρει τὸ αἷμα του πίσω* ("let him take vengeance"). In this type of expression terms occur which imply the idea of "payment" and the idea of "debt," e.g., *θὰ μοῦ τὸ πλερώσεις τὸ αἷμα μου* ("you shall pay me the blood which you made me shed"); *μοῦ χρωστᾷ αἷμα* ("he owes me blood, I have to take vengeance on him"); *φονικὸ χρωστῶ* ("I owe a murder"); *ἄλλου χρωστῶ* ("I have to take vengeance on another"); *χρεώστης αἱμάτου* ("owing a vengeance"), *ὀφειλέτης αἱμάτου* ("debtor of blood"); *τὸ χρέος τοῦ αἱμάτου* ("the obligation of vengeance"), etc. This series of expressions fit only when the cause of vengeance is murder. Some of them however (*ἡ ἐκδίκηση, ἐκδικῶ, ὁ ἐκδικητής, ἐκδικητικός, γδικιώνουμαι, παίρνω τὸ αἷμα μου πίσω*) occur also in common Greek, where they frequently denote vengeance in general as well as vengeance due after murder (especially the last of the expressions quoted). But in common usage they lack the pre-

[5] Cf. Vlavianos, *op. cit.*: Pasayanis, *Μανιάτικα Μοιρολόγια καὶ Τραγούδια* (1928), passim; A. Mirambel, *Etude de quelques textes maniotes* (1929), passim, and *Etude descriptive du parler maniote méridional* (1929), Introduction, p. 37.

cision which they have in Maniot, where the vendetta is something more than a mere tradition, an institution involving a complex ritual interplay.

Besides the studies by Miklosich (1888) and Vlavianos (1924) mentioned above, we have several descriptions of the Maniot customs.[6] Without re-examining the causes considered as justification of the right of vengeance there are four characters which must be borne in mind:

(a) The right of vengeance is not necessarily exercised against the person of the guilty man (except in the first of the three cases, that of slander), but against his family as a whole, which is to be struck by being deprived of its most influential and respected member, who is chosen accordingly as the victim. It is thus collective and not individual.

(b) The person entrusted with the carrying out of the vengeance is generally appointed by a council composed of members of the wronged family; the council draws lots for the member of the family — always a man — who has to choose the victim, fix the place and date and perform the deed.

(c) The vengeance, not being an individual act, does not necessarily put an end to hostilities; because of the conditions in which it is exercised it often becomes the starting point of a fresh series of murders extending through several generations.

(d) In order, however, to put an end to the continual slaughter which may endanger the existence of a village by depriving it of men needed to carry on the cultivation of the soil, custom admits three kinds of restrictions: —

(1) the *συνέβγαρμα*, "truce of accompaniment": the appointed victim may not be attacked while in the company of a stranger;[7]

[6] The oldest mentions seem to be those by Yemeniz and by Loucos of Chios, 1800. For later evidence see: Bony de Saint-Vincent, *Relation*, vol. II (1837); Leake, *Travels in Morea*, vol. I (1839); Buchon, *Recherches Historiques sur la Principauté francaise de Morée*, 2 vols., 1845; J. Kohler, *Zur Lehre der Blutrache* (1885); A. Thumb, "Die Maniaten," *Deutsche Rundschau*, XCV (1898), 122; Colonna de Cesari Rocca, *La Vendetta dans l'Histoire* (1908); Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (1910), p. 441; Patsouras, Ἡ Μάνη καὶ οἱ Μανιάται; A. Fouillée, *Esquisse psychologique des peuples européens* (1914), p. 38; J. Ancel, *Peuples et Nations des Balkans* (1926), pp. 138–140; N. Th. Katsikaros, Ἡ Βεντέττα ἐν Μάνῃ (1931); D. Zakythinos, *Histoire du Despotat de Morée* (1931), I, 22–23.

[7] As a matter of fact, it is here rather a question of avoiding to offend the

(2) the *ψυχικό*, "truce of forgiveness": after intervention by a third party the injured family often grants forgiveness to the guilty family on condition that they recognize their fault and sue for truce;

(3) the *ἀγάπη* "truce of reconciliation": without the request of either of the parties concerned, a third person may attempt to obtain an honourable reconciliation by direct intervention; this is what is referred to in folklore by such expressions as (see Pasayannis, *op. cit.*): *ἡ μαύρη κατάρα νὰ μὴ σᾶς ἀκολουθᾶ παντοῦ* ("May the dark curse not pursue you everywhere"). Or again (ibid., passim):

νὰ ρτοῦνε νὰ τὰ σιάξουμε
καὶ νὰ τὰ συβιβάσουμε

("Let them come so that we may arrange things and become reconciled").

The exercise of the right of vengeance appears thus to appertain to customary family law, which has maintained itself in spite of all official legislation and which is connected with the idea of heredity. It is also bound up, among the Maniots,[8] with certain traditions of the worship of the dead. The aim, in fact, is not only to avenge the family but also, whenever murder is the cause of vengeance, to appease the slain. For if the dead were to remain unavenged — or rather, if the family injured by his murder failed to wipe away the pollution — the dead might turn against his own family. Hence the development of superstitious practices: e.g., a nail is planted in the door of the house where the slain man's family lives and the priest blesses it to prevent the dead from coming back to plague his kinsmen; or, on the other hand, the murderer who has just committed his crime traces a cross on the soil to prevent his victim's soul from pursuing him.

Similar traditions are found among other populations which have preserved the vendetta.[9] They depend on general conditions,

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stranger by taking vengeance on the person who accompanies him; thus the appointed victim of vengeance enjoys the advantage from the laws of hospitality due to a third person,

[8] Cf. A. Mirambel, *Etude descriptive du parler maniote méridional*, Introduction, end pages.

[9] Cf. works mentioned above, by Miklosich, Fouillée, Kohler, Colonna de Cesari Rocca, Vlavianos; for the Slavonic evidence add also S. Trojanović, *Krvi umir* ("Vendetta and its Appeasement") in *Narodna Enciklopedija srpsko-hrvatsko-*

social and geographical: strong family organisation, in which the individual is completely subject to the whole, and the different families are opposed to one another; mountainous environment in which, owing to difficulties of communication, local traditions and clan-organisation are more easily kept up. It is in geographical conditions of this kind that family law continues to be practised, inasmuch as the corresponding social structure is preserved — among Southern Slavs, Albanians, Corsicans, Sicilians, Neapolitans, Spaniards and Maniots.

In Greece the institution of vendetta appears not only in the region of Maina. It exists and has the same characters in Sphakia (Crete)[10] and Chimara (Epirus).[11] The custom may possibly be very old in the lands of the Mediterranean — Fouillée (*op. cit.*, p. 38) considers it an Ibero-Ligurian characteristic — and identical traditions may have been handed down and developed, under similar conditions, even through changes of populations. As to the existence of the vendetta in Crete and Epirus, it should be noted that there are connections between Maina and Crete on the one hand and between Albania and Epirus on the other. As early as the tenth century, after Nicephorus Phocas had cleared Crete of the Arabs, Maniots came to establish themselves in the western part of the island.[12] In Epirus, of whose customs in the Middle

slovenacka, 1926; I. Jelič, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji* (Vendetta and appeasement in Montenegro and Southern Albania), 1926; A. Mazon, "Les 'Sangs,'" in *Revue des Etudes Slaves* (1933), XIII, 102–6; these studies complete the earlier observations of Dickel, *Montenegro*, and Widemann and Hauff, *Reisen in Montenegro* (1837). For facts relating to the Albanians, see Ch. Picard, "L'ancien droit criminel hellénique et la vendetta albanaise," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (1920), LXXXI, 260 (Bibliography, p. 262 and p. 263, note 3). For the Corsican data see Colonna de Cesari Rocca, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–40. Data concerning other peoples (German, Scandinavian, Celtic, Osset) may be found in Kovalevsky's *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne* (1893).

[10] A. Thumb, "Im Bergland der Sphakioten auf Kreta," *Deutsche Rundschau*, XL, pp. 405–426; Vlavianos, *op. cit.*, p. 54; G. Hatzidakis, Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά, I, 351.

[11] Pouqueville, *op. cit.*, I, 80; Leake, *op. cit.*, I, 269.

[12] In works on Modern Greek dialectology account must be taken of the internal movements of populations which took place in Greece, especially during the Middle Ages: relations between Asia Minor and the Tzakonians, between Maniots and Cretans, Naxians, etc. The interpretation of present-day linguistic facts, both of the common language and of the dialects, must rest on a knowledge of those movements. Cf. H. Pernot, "Tsaconien et Grec d'Asie Mineure," *Revue des Etudes Grecques* (1938); Philindas Γλωσσολογικά, 3 vol., 1929. A. Mirambel, *Précis de Grammaire élémentaire du Grec Moderne* (1939), p. IX.

Ages very little is known, the Albanians appeared as early as the beginning of the 11th century (1018). Slav influence penetrated there only later — in the thirteenth through the fifteenth century — and it is also to be noted that among the nomadic Greek populations of Epirus, the Sarakatsanes,[13] the custom of vendetta is unknown. Albanian legislation dealing with the vendetta was fixed only in the fifteenth century [14] by the code of Lek Dukadshin, but the traditions of vengeance are much older, and the Albanians already possessed them when they invaded the Greek lands. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that in Greece no force has ever been able to uproot all local tradition completely: both the Alexandrine and the Roman centralizations were superficial, and with the Byzantine Empire it was a process of decentralization that took place: immediately after the reign of Justinian the Empire began to disintegrate and local life began gradually to reappear.[15]

The existence of blood vengeance in Ancient Greece, where it formed the basis of criminal law in a society based essentially on family solidarity, is a fact which cannot be left out of account [16] in studying the Maniot custom. The persistence of certain traditions of vendetta during the Greek Middle Ages, and a comparison with Slav customs provide another set of evidence. The Maniot vocabulary relating to the institution in question seems at the present time to allow us to distinguish two groups of facts.

II

The expressions which, in Greek in general and in Maniot especially, refer to the traditions of vengeance, revolve round two distinct ideas: the idea of δίκη "justice" (in common Greek today meaning "law-suit") and the idea of αἷμα "blood" (cf. above). The first expresses adherence to a law defined by jurisdiction, the second the observance of a custom of vendetta characterised by an exchange of blood.

The first notion is essentially the one upon which the criminal

[13] Cf. C. Hoeg, *Les Saracatsans*, 2 vols. (1925), vol. I, Introduction.

[14] Cf. Ch. Picard, art. cit., pp. 263–5.

[15] Cf. Ch. Diehl, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin* (1934).

[16] Cf. G. Glotz, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce* (1904), and *Etudes sociales et juridiques sur l'Antiquité Grecque* (1906), *passim*, but especially pp. 5–6.

law of Ancient Greece rests. The second is attested especially among the Slavs. The two conceptions have fused together in Greece, and the Maniot vocabulary bears witness to their coexistence. It is striking, in fact, to observe that the Ancient Greek vengeance-vocabulary centres round the term δίκη while the corresponding Slavonic vocabulary pivots on the term "blood." It is easy to ascertain that the idea of αἷμα is almost foreign to the Ancients, and the idea of δίκη, in relation to vengeance, all but absent from the vocabulary of Slavs and Albanians.

G. Glotz (*op. cit.*) has well pointed out the coexistence in Ancient Greece of a family law, essentially religious in character — the θέμις — and an inter-family law, less mystical, which was named δίκη. This last persisted in spite of the evolution of the city-state which gradually came to predominate over the family; as a matter of fact, private action in cases of homicide did not disappear, and appeal to social justice was never made for avenging a crime perpetrated within the family. In primitive traditions the law of private vengeance "authorizes the offended man to kill the offender in case of adultery, seduction, theft or robbery, but it authorizes also the kinsman of the offended man to avenge him" (*ibid.*, p. 50) because "death does not sever the bonds of family solidarity" (p. 68). The fundamental idea of δίκη, as it was originally conceived, is "that of an example, a model; . . . a judgment is the search for a precedent" (p. 239). The vendetta appears "now as a right exercised by the members of one γένος against those of another, now as a duty which the care for common interest and the legitimate claims of the dead impose on his kinsmen" (p. 92). This conception supposes a close interdependence between the members of the same family and also a connection between vengeance and the worship of the dead. This is indicated by the terms in which the conception is expressed: ἀντικατθανεῖν τοὺς κτανόντας δίκην ("do justice by killing in return those who have killed"), ἴσ' ἀντιδοῦναι ("do justice by paying like for like"). "Punishment" is τιμωρία (τιμωρία ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος, "punishment to avenge the injured"); and ποινή, which means vengeance, is simply reparation by an act in accordance with a debt contracted. The dominating idea here is that of "exchange," which is the foundation of δίκη, as is shown by the terms compounded with ἀντι- (ἀνταποκτείνειν, ἀντιδοῦναι,

ἀντικατθανεῖν). In literary texts, apart from usual and fixed formulas, there are frequent epithets which convey two other ideas — that of "protection" and that of "vengeance." Thus, on the one hand; we have: — *ἀοσσητήρ* "helper, defender" (Il. XXII, 333), *τιμάορος* "protector" (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1280), *ἀρωγός* "helper" (Sophocles, Oed. R. 147), and on the other: — *ποινάτωρ* "avenger" (Aesch. *Agam.* 81).

The word *αἷμα* is rare. Aeschylus in the *Eumenides* (319) has *αἵματος πράκτορες* ("[avenging deities] who exact ransom for blood") and Euripides (*El.*, 138): *αἱμάτων ἐπίκουρος* ("defender of blood that has been shed"). The "blood" is sometimes that of the victim, sometimes that of the offender to be punished. The expression *αἷμα πράττειν* (Eur. *Or.* 1139) is comparatively late and conveys the idea of "debt of blood" rather than that of "exchange of blood." This expression does not seem to possess, like the others, a precise legal character, but rather appears to be literary, as is shown by the use of *αἷμα* with a different sense in *αἵματος πράκτορες* and *αἱμάτων ἐπίκουρος*.

The idea of *δίκη* reappears in the term *ἐκδίκησις* frequent in the Greek Middle Ages and denoting "vengeance." It is this word that is used by the Emperor Maurice (sixth century) in describing the Slav vendetta in a passage of the *Στρατηγικόν* (XI, V, 272) — our oldest witness of this custom among the Slavs (cf. Miklosich, *op. cit.*, p. 39): *σέβας ἡγούμενος τὴν τοῦ ξένου ἐκδίκησιν* ("considering it a duty to avenge the stranger").

The term, losing its full and precise meaning, has come to indicate "vengeance" in general in present-day Greece, except in Maina where it is attached to an institution.

Slav penetration into Greece took place in three successive invasions:[17] in 549 in Northern Greece, in 588 in the Peloponnese, and in 746 in the Taygetus region. Slav domination lasted for about five centuries (fifth to eleventh). It was not until the eighth century that the Byzantine Empire started the struggle against the invaders; the Empress Irene thrust them back at the battle of Patras in 807, Michael III subdued them in 867, and the Bulgars were defeated in 1018.

[17] Cf. the well known works by Diehl and Vasiliev; for a summary of the relevant facts see vol. V of *L'Histoire Générale* by Halphen and Sagnac (p. 310, *Les Bulgares*); see also Dvornik, *Byzance et les Slaves.*

The tradition of vendetta existed among the Slavs long before they began their movement of conquest. It was, and still is, denoted by the name of "blood" *krva* (cf. Miklosich, *op. cit.*, p. 14). The character of the institution must have struck the Greeks since, first, it is mentioned as a specific feature of alien tribes, second it is described rather clumsily, and finally it is generally referred to under the name *φόνος* "murder." The following are a few relevant passages. They are all later than the one in Maurice, mentioned above, and all use the word *φόνος* instead of *ἐκδίκησις*. An ordinance of the Emperor Andronicus (in 1299), specifying a point (Acta V, 89), says: *ἄνευ τοῦ κεφαλαίου τῆς σιταρκίας, τῆς καστροκτισίας, τῆς ὀρικῆς, τοῦ φόνου* ("with the exception of provisioning of corn, construction of castles, mountain life, vendetta"). The same emperor published in 1319 a decree concerning the criminal law for the city of Yanina, in which we read: *ἵνα ὁ μέλλων ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς φόνον παιδεύηται ὑπὲρ τούτου κατὰ τὴν ἐκεῖσε συνήθειαν* (*Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, V, 82, "in order that he who commits the crime of vengeance be punished in accordance with local custom"). In the regulations of Stefan Dušan (1346) we read: *ἐλεύθερα ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἐπερχομένων ἐπηρειῶντε δόσεων, ἤγουν τοῦ φόνου* ("freedom from all local vexations and taxes, namely from the fine of vengeance"), and the term *φόνος* is used again several times in the course of the document.[18]

So the vendetta appeared to the Greeks of the Middle Ages a rather curious custom. Are we, with Miklosich,[19] to conclude from this that vengeance was entirely unknown in Greece at that time? But the persistence, in the Greek vengeance-vocabulary, of terms expressing the idea of *δίκη*, unknown to the Slavs, seems to indicate that in spite of the evolution of the ancient city-state and the Byzantine Empire, the vendetta must have survived in some isolated corners where the conditions mentioned above favoured its survival. The intrusive Slav custom might well have grafted

[18] Cf. Miklosich, *op. cit.*, p. 28. The author comments: "*φόνος* ersetzt das serbische *vrazda*, bedeutet demnach gleichfalls Geldbusse für Todtschlag. Die Bedeutung scheint den Byzantologen so seltsam, dass sie es durch *φόρος* Grundsteuer, ersetzen möchten." See P. J. Alexander, "A chrysobull of the Emperor Andronicus II in favor of the See of Kanina in Albania," *Byzantion*, XV (1942), pp. 167–207.

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 28, "Die Griechen des Mittelalters kennen die Blutrache nicht, und wenn sie noch in diesem Jahrhundert in der Maina herrschte, so ist sie von der nicht Griechischen, slavischen Bevölkerung dorthin gebracht worden."

itself upon those native survivals, adapting itself while also changing them,[20] as is suggested by the appearance of the new idea of "blood" unknown to antiquity. It is highly probable moreover that the Maniots do not represent an autochthonous, purely Hellenic element. In this case too, fusion of populations must have taken place. The very name Μάϊνα appears only in the tenth century in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who remarks also that in the ninth century the Maniots were still pagans and were not baptised till during the reign of Basil I (867–886) (cf. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, I, 33). The Slavs in the seventh century were occupying the region of Monemvasia in the Peloponnese, and two Slavonic tribes, the Μιλιγγοί and the Ἐζερῖται held the slopes of Mount Taygetus. There exists a Serbian tribal name, the *Mà(h)ine* or *Mà(h)ini*, designating inhabitants of the Dalmatian coast (Budua) and Montenegro. The name is not of Slavonic origin but probably Illyrian; it must go back to the name of the Μάνιοι, an Illyrian tribe of the estuary of the Narenta (the name is attested as early as the first half of the 15th century, cf. Dottin, *Anciens Peuples de l'Europe, Illyriens*). Jireček (*op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 55) connects, with some probability, Μάνιοι, Mà(h)ine with Μανιάται or *Maïnotes*, *Maniotes*. Among the Slavonic tribes, partly Serbian and Croatian, who invaded the Peloponnese, there was probably a pagan Slavo-Illyrian tribe, the *Mà(h)ine*, which settled in the region occupied by the descendants of the Ἐλευθερολάκωνες who waged incessant struggle against the Byzantine Empire, against the Venetians, and later against the Turks (see the short historical introduction in my *Etude descriptive du Parler Maniote Meridional*).[21]

The Albanian vengeance-vocabulary also rests essentially on

[20] Lawson (*op. cit.*, p. 26, 440–2) hardly raises this question and is content to say: "The idea of the Vendetta is essentially primitive"; he insists on the religious nature of the institution, which seems open to criticism as far as present-day data are concerned.

[21] Cf. A. Thumb, "Die Maniaten," *Deutsche Rundschau*, p. 122–3: "Ich habe schon bei anderer Gelegenheit gezeigt, dass das griechische Volk zwar im Mittelalter mit fremden Elementen durchsetzt wurde, dass aber die griechische Nationalität Siegerin geblieben ist. . . . Die Landschaft war in den Zeiten des sinkenden Alterthums in blühendem Zustand, bewohnt von Lakoniern, die, als die 'Freien' bezeichnet, unter den Peloponnesiern eine bevorzugte Stellung einnahmen, . . . welche auch von den späteren Bewohnern gegenüber Byzanz, gegenüber den Venetianern und Türken, ja gegenüber der Regierung des neu erstandenen griechischen Staats gewahrt

the idea of "blood," *gjak-u*. The expressions corresponding to Slavonic *krv*, Greek αἷμα (*παίρνω πίσω τὸ αἷμα μου, μοῦ χρωστᾶ αἷμα*) are in Albanian: *kam gjak*, lit. "I have blood" and *jam me gjak*, lit. "I am with blood," i.e. "I have to take back blood, I have to take vengeance." In studying the Albanian vendetta Ch. Picard (*op. cit.*) was led to comparison with the corresponding institution in the private criminal law of Ancient Greece. But his conclusions are these (p. 287): "In summarizing this evidence concerning a present-day society which, on the outskirts of Greek civilisation, presents a curious case of regression and often reminds one of the primitive times of Greece, the Frankish Middle Ages, or Arabia, I do not wish to abuse comparisons, quite instructive in themselves, in the search for cases of historical survival in order to try to establish a historical relationship between the most ancient Greeks and the Albanians of today." Dareste (*Nouvelles Etudes du droit antique*, p. 54), A. Dumont (*Le Balkan et l'Adriatique*, p. 281, note 4) and G. Glotz (*La Solidarité de famille dans le droit criminel en Grece*, p. 599) all come to the same negative conclusion. The filiation of institutions cannot be established with certainty by simple comparison of the traditions in which they are perpetuated. The most one can do is to assert that societies which emerged out of a patriarchal order have preserved certain identical features, throughout all transformations in unequal conditions.

Examination of the facts in the light of corresponding vocabularies seems to afford some degree of precision.

The terms used in Maina in relation to vendetta reveal on the one hand an ancient tradition based on the idea of *defense and protection*, and on the other a more recent tradition based on the idea of *exchange of blood, of taking back the blood that has been stolen*. Only a comparison of vocabularies enables us to fix certain points of chronology; and since the vocabularies used reveal more accurately the meaning and intention of the customs, it also becomes possible to determine the external elements contributed which have transformed the institution.

It may also be seen from the Maniot evidence, as expressed in

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wurde. . . . Vom Ende des Alterthums bis zum Auftreten des Namens Maina, sind die ethnographischen Vorgänge in der Taenarenhalbinsel in ein geschichtliches Halbdunkel gehüllt. . . ."

its vocabulary, that the religious character, in the strict sense, of the institution has gradually diminished in the course of time. Blood vengeance is a custom which regulates inter-family relations, but (in those places where city legislation has not succeeded in wiping it out) it no longer forms the foundation of the city.

LONDON.

ESSAYS ON BYZANTINE ECONOMIC HISTORY, I
THE *ANNONA CIVICA* AND THE *ANNONA MILITARIS*

By Angelo Segrè

1. A short introduction on the circumstances and the implications of the famous Edict of Diocletian, *De pretiis rerum venalium*

The Edict of Diocletian *de pretiis rerum venalium* was the last great financial provision made by this Emperor to restore the fortunes of the *orbis Romanus* on the verge of its collapse.

Diocletian issued the Edict [1] in the year 301,[2] very unwillingly,[3] and only after the failure of many financial measures. Until the year 301, the date of the Edict,[4] he hoped that the economic situation of the Empire might be restored by the laws of nature. He abided by the classical Roman political traditions, in many ways so similar to the political doctrines of the eighteenth century. His hopes for an improvement in the economy of the Empire, as is

[1] The Edict has the form of an *Edictum ad provinciales* (See Mommsen, *Ber. d. Kais. Ges. der Wissenschaften*, phil. hist. Klasse, 'Das Edict Diocletians de pretiis rerum venalium', p. 52. The original of the Edict is Latin, as was that of the Edict of P. Oxy. 2106 (304 A.D.), see A. Segrè, *Byzantion*, XV, 277; such was probably the case with all the Edicts of Diocletian. The preamble is followed by a *brevis*: 'Placet igitur ea pretia quae subditi brevis scriptura designat etc.' The *brevis*, Greek *βρέβιον* (see Seeck, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v., p. 832) specified the list of the commodities with their prices: in the edict of Aristius Optatus, l. 9, the *μέγα βρέβιον* is the list of the different sorts of land with their *iugatio*.

[2] Mommsen, *ibid.*, p. 50.

[3] The preamble of the Edict shows with probability how reluctantly Diocletian was induced to initiate his sweeping reforms.

[4] The Edict is issued in a period of peace which follows a period of wars. Probably in the mind of the Emperor the wars were in a large part responsible for the economic situation of the Roman world. The most important measures of deflationary character aimed at the restoration of Roman finance were all issued in the second half of the reign of Diocletian. We quote the issue of the *miliarensis* in 295 (A. Segrè, *Byzantion*, XV, 264) the issue of the *follis* of 25 denarii in 296 (*ibid.*, p. 252), the introduction of *iugatio* and *capitatio* in 297 with the edict of Aristius Optatus: A. E. R. Boak, 'Early Byzantine Papyri from the Cairo Museum,' *Études de papyrologie*, II (1934), p. 1 ff.; Preisigke, Sb. 7622 (297 A.D.); our edict of the year 301; the reduction of the *Antoninianus* to half a *follis* or 12½ denarii shortly after the edict.

known, had failed; inflation raged before and after the Edict.[5] Even the Emperor himself seemed not to rely on his own provisions. He tried too earnestly to justify himself in the eyes of the *honestum publicum* and in the eyes of the prospective transgressors, sellers, and buyers who were threatened with the capital penalty: 'nec quisquam duritiam statuti putet cum in promptu adsit perfugium declinandi periculi modestiae observantia.' The Edict itself, in its preamble, shows that the prices rose from day to day, and that hoarders withdrew commodities from the market, in the expectation of higher prices as a consequence of the inflation. It became still worse after the Edict was issued (Lactantius, *De mort. persec.*, VII, 6 and 7). The Edict fixed maximum prices of all commodities, maximum wages of all trades and professions, maximum costs of transportation of commodities.[6] But its aim was not merely to fix prices for the welfare of the common man. The Emperor needed a basis for the calculation of the public expenses, for taxation and, last but not least, for the *annona militaris*.[7]

The Edict became void very soon (see Lactantius, VII, 6 and 7, and P. Oxy. 2106, where the price of gold is 100,000 denarii a pound instead of 50,000 as in the Edict).[8]

The preamble of the Edict declares frequently that the provisions were to be applied to the whole Roman world: 'maxime cum eiusmodi statuto non civitatibus singulis ac populis adque provinciis sed universo orbi provisum esse videatur.' The same statement is made in PSI 965, issued shortly after the Edict, and dealing with a provision referring to the *follis* and to the *Antoninianus*.[9] The Edict, to be effective, had to be applied to the whole Roman Empire. There was no more place for economic particularism under the tetrarchy after the universal introduction of the new coinage, dating from about 296, after the fiscal reform of 297, and after the suppression of the *politeumata* probably shortly before the latter date.[10]

[5] 'Quod expectandum fuit per iura naturae in gravissimis deprehensa delictis ipsa se emendavit humanitas, longe melius se existimantes non ferendas direptionis notas a communibus iudiciis ipsorum sensu atque arbitrio submoveri quos, cottidie in peiora praecipites et in publicum nefas quadam animorum caecitate vergentes etc.'

[6] I suppose the Edict contained also provisions about the rate of interest on loans.

[7] A. Segrè, *Byzantion*, XV, 279.

[8] *Loc. cit.*, p. 275.

[9] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 252 ff.

[10] On the *capitatio*, *iugatio*, suppression of the *politeumata*, see the forthcoming Essay on Byzantine econ. history II.

But although the Edict was to be enforced in the whole *orbis Romanus*, its Greek and its Latin fragments have been found up to now only in the provinces under the direct rule of Diocletian.[11] The Edict, hastily applied to the provinces of Diocletian, very soon became ineffective.[12]

2. The Byzantine *Annona Civica* and Wheat Transportation

A modius of wheat in the time of the Edict of Diocletian cost 100 denarii. The freight of the same quantity of wheat between Alexandria and Constantinople cost 12 denarii or 12 percent of the price of the wheat, according to a new fragment of the Edict found in Aphrodisias in Caria.[13]

[11] Mommsen, *ibid.*, p. 50.

[12] Although Diocletian, until the last years of the tetrarchy, is supposed to have dominated the tetrarchy by his wisdom and his *auctoritas* (See *Cambridge Ancient History*, XII, 329, O. Seeck, *Deutsche Literaturzeit.*, 1894, n. 15), H. Bluemner, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Edictum Diocletiani, supposes that the Edict was published in the Western provinces, because the *Fasti Hydatiani* of the years 276–319, which do not mention any Eastern events, do mention the edict under 302. He believes that the Edict in the Western provinces was not engraved on stone because it became obsolete so very soon. The new fragments of the Edict found after the edition of Mommsen (1851) show that the tariff of Diocletian included in the *brevis* the commodities of all the provinces of the empire. The traditional opinion introduced by Mommsen that Western products exclusively were mentioned in the edict (Seeck, *ibid.*, and Bluemner, *ibid.*, p. 1951) is not correct, as has been shown by Grégoire in his Seminary of the Oriental Institute.

A fragment of the Edict written in Greek on Carrara marble has been discovered recently in Pettorano (Abruzzi). See M. Guarducci, 'Il primo frammento scoperto in Italia dell' Editto di Diocleziano,' *Rendiconti Pont. Acc. Rom.*, XVI (1940), pp. 1–24; also E. R. Grazer, 'The Significance of Two New Fragments of the Edict of Diocletian,' *Trans. Amer. Philol. Ass.*, 1940, pp. 157 ff. I would not consider the fact that the fragments had been written in Carrara marble as a definite proof that the Edict was actually enforced in Italy.

[13] G. Jacopi, "Gli scavi della missione archeologica italiana ad Afrodisiade nel 1937 XV–XVI," *Monumenti Antichi*, XXXVIII (1939); two published fragments from the Edict of Diocletian on maximum prices of wheat and some other commodities. This important text, which was edited with a very scanty commentary, was made known to me through the courtesy of M. M. Jasny of the Department of Agricultural Statistics of Washington before its publication by E. R. Grazer, "The Significance of Two New Fragments of the Edict of Diocletian," *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LXXI (1940), 157 ff.

In the Edict the maximum price allowed for the freight of wheat from Alexandria to Rome is 16 denarii, to Nicomedia and Byzantium, 12 denarii for each *modius castrensis*, i.e., respectively 16 and 12 percent of the value of the wheat (ll. 24, 25, 26).

The transport of 1000 artabas of wheat from Alexandria to Constantinople amounted to 40,000 denarii, equal to four-fifths of a pound of gold. The evidence of P. Oxy. 2113 (316 A.D.) enables us to make a rough calculation how much gold had been levied from Egypt for the transport of the Egyptian wheat from Alexandria for the supply of Byzantium and of Heracleia in 316 A.D.

P. Oxy. 2113 (316) refers to an order emanating from the *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia for a levy on land — an aruratio — for the expense of the transportation of wheat from Alexandria to Byzantium and Heracleia. According to this text, for each arura under seed of whatever kind, and for vineyards, there had to be paid 50 Attic drachmas, for each olive tree 2 Attic drachmas, for each arura of pasture land 100 Attic drachmas (ll. 16–17).[13a]

The rate of exchange between the *solidus* and the *denarius* = Attic drachma in the year 316 was 1 *solidus* = ca. 3500 *denarii*.[14]

The surface of the cultivated soil which in Egypt had reached about 10 million aruras in its best period [15] in the fourth to the fifth century A.D. had been considerably reduced. The extent of the soil at pasture was a small fraction of the whole cultivated soil, and olive trees have a very small importance in Egyptian agriculture.[16] The staple products were cereals and particularly wheat. Pasture land and olive groves, on the contrary, were very important in Africa, which in the fourth century A.D. was also an important grain country. The Edict reported in P. Oxy. 2113 (316 A.D.)

[13a] ll. 8 ff. *ἐκέλευσεν εὐθ[ὺς . . .].ς εἰσενεχθῆναι ὑπὸ τ[ῶν? γεωργού]ντων εἰς λό[γο]ν ναύλο[υ τοῦ προχ]ωροῦντος εἰς μετάθ[εσιν . . .]ματικῶν εἴδων τῶν πε[μφθησο]μένων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρ[είας ἐπ]ὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Ἡρακλε[ίαν ὑπ]ὲρ ἑκάστης ἀρούρης σπορίμη[ς] .[.]. [οἵ]ασδήποτε οὖ[ν] ποιότητος ἔτι τε καὶ ἀμ{μ}πέλου ἀρούρης μιᾶς Ἀττικὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐλαιουδ[ῶ]ν δρυὸς ἑνὸς Ἀττικὰς δύο καὶ τῆς κορταίας Ἀττικὰς ἑκατόν.* The *ἐμβολή* was assessed at 50 *denarii* the arura on land under seed of any kind: the land tax, on the contrary, took account of the quality of the land. See A. E. R. Boak, "Early Byzantine Papyri from the Cairo Museum," *Études de Papyrologie* II (1933), pp. 1–8. For reduction of *naulon* in case of bad crops, see G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, 2 ed. p. 129.

[14] See A. Segrè, *Byzantion*, XV (1940), 250.

[15] According to A. Segrè, "Note sull' economia dell' Egitto Ellenistico," *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, n. 29 (1934), p. 299.

[16] For the percentage of wheat and other cereals cultivated, see A. Segrè, *ibid.*, p. 269. In this article I took the view that Egypt with about 7½ million inhabitants would produce a maximum of 90 million artabas of wheat and 30–40 million artabas of barley and *olyra*. I assumed that the consumption of wheat for each person for a year would amount to an average of ca. 11 artabas. Egypt could export no more

probably was the Egyptian version of another edict which referred not only to Egypt but to the other lands which sent the annona to Byzantium and Heracleia.

Probably the cultivated soil of Egypt in the early Byzantine age covered a surface of ca. 6–7 million aruras. 6–7 million aruras assessed with 50 *denarii* upon each arura would make a total of 300–350 million *denarii*, in gold 34–40 thousand *solidi*, a rather low figure, compared with the 80,000 solidi for the freight of 8 million artabas in *Nov. Iust.*, Edict XIII, 8. Starting with 40,000 *solidi* levied from Egypt for the transportation of the wheat to Byzantium and Heracleia from Alexandria and assuming the cost of the freight in gold to be the same in 316 as in 301, i.e., 4/5 of a pound of gold = 57.6 *solidi* for 1000 artabas, we reach the conclusion that Egypt sent less than a million artabas to Byzantium and Heracleia in the year 316. These figures could even be reduced considerably if we assume, as we should, that the price of an artaba of wheat in this period was almost a *solidus*, while in the Edict of Diocletian it was 2 1/12 *solidi*. As long as the distressed economic conditions of the Empire lasted in the early Byzantine period, we may safely assume that the cultivated area of Egyptian soil was reduced, and that the level of taxation in gold was comparatively high, because the purchasing power of gold in wheat was very low.

We are not surprised that the *naulon* paid for the *embole* in gold was only about half the *naulon* of the age of Justinian, when the wheat conveyed to Constantinople was a much larger amount than in the earlier Byzantine period.[17] The calculation of the amount of wheat sent to Byzantium and Heracleia at a million artabas or less is based on the supposition that the transport of wheat from Alexandria to Constantinople cost 12 percent of the price of the wheat, as in the Edict of Diocletian in 301 A.D., a figure very near to the rate of 10 percent found in the more prosperous period of Justinian. But the price of transportation of wheat in 316 is not necessarily the same as in 301 and in the time of Justinian, and as shown in Code Theod. XIII, 5, 7 (334), which grants the *navicularii orientis* the privileges of the Alexandrian

than about 10 million artabas of wheat (*ibid.*, p. 281). In the Ptolemaic period the exportation to the Greek and Syrian towns together was less than the 6 million artabas sent to Rome in the time of Augustus (*ibid.*, p. 291).

[17] See p. 401 ff.

navicularii, l. 10: 'Et ad exemplum Alexandrini stoli quaternas in frumento centesimas consequantur ac praeterea per singula milia singulos solidos, ut his omnibus animati et nihil paene de suis facultatibus expendentes cura sua frequentent maritimos commeatus.'

The *navicularii orientis* transported the wheat under the same conditions to Byzantium as the *navicularii Alexandrini*, as is now confirmed by ll. 26 and 42 of the first new fragment of the edict of Diocletian. These figures, like those of the Edict of Justinian, also show how wrong is the statement 'et nihil paene de suis facultatibus expendentes.'

The *navicularii* received 4 percent of the wheat they shipped to Constantinople and 1 *solidus* for 1000 modii, i.e., about 3 percent of the wheat with an average price of 1 *solidus* for 10 artabas = 33⅓ modii, which is doubtless much too low in price for this period. But the price of wheat in this period was still much nearer to the level of the time of Diocletian, i.e., 2 1/12 artabas = 1 *solidus*, than to the level of the period of Justinian; consequently, the *navicularii* received about 4 percent + ⅔ percent = 4⅔ percent of the wheat. This rate (and even the rate of 7 percent) is far below the rate of transportation prices in the Edict of Diocletian and Justinian. The *nihil paene de suis facultatibus expendentes* must be taken with more than a grain of salt.

These data [18] on the *navicularii* in Cod. Theod. XIII 7, 2 (334) lead us to reconsider the figure of about one million artabas sent to Byzantium and nearby points in the times of Diocletian and Constantine. It is calculated upon a transport price of 10 percent–12 percent. Assuming a transport price of about 5 percent, we must double the figures of the wheat exported, i.e., we must estimate the amount of wheat sent to Byzantium in the early Byzantine period as not very far from two million artabas. Of course it is not possible to decide whether, in the year 316, Egypt sent one or two million artabas of wheat to Byzantium and Heracleia. But even two million artabas of wheat is a low figure compared with the eight million artabas of the time of Justinian.

The Byzantine economy of the end of the third century and a great part of the fourth was dominated by inflation. Besides the

[18] We know that to be a *navicularius* was not a privilege. See G. Rouillard², *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

debasement of the currency we must take into account in our calculations other difficulties. We cannot say whether the *naulon* of P. Oxy. 2013 (316) corresponded to the entire price of the transport by sea of Egyptian wheat, or how high was the cost of freight in the year 316. We know the amount of the *naulon* only in the sixth century, and in this period the tax of the *naulon* did not cover the entire expense of the freight.

Edict XIII shows that the *apodectes* of the *naula* paid the *navicularii* not only with the *naula* exacted but also with additional taxation. A part of the ἐξαγώγιον was destined for the expenses of the freight,[19] but Justinian lowered the ἐξαγώγιον which could be diverted for the *naulon*.

If we assume that the expenses for the freight were about 10 percent according to the Edict XIII, or about one *solidus* for 100 artabas, we may expect that normally the freight charges exacted were less than one *solidus* for 100 artabas.[20]

We have no way of calculating with the same accuracy the *naula* of the fourth century.

Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 44, assumes that the *naulon* paid for transport by sea of Egyptian wheat was a Byzantine innovation of the fourth century after the grain revenues were diverted from Rome to Constantinople, but P. Oxy. 2016 (316 A.D.) shows that this supposition is not correct.[21]

3. The Meaning of the Figures of the *Annona Civica* in the Byzantine Period

The burden of the *annona civica* was determined by the lack of cereals in the great towns and by the possibilities of supply by the agricultural centres. We may also assume that in the worst period of the Empire Rome and Byzantium needed more wheat

[19] See G. Rouillard², *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff. and particularly p. 144. See P. Oxy. 1908 (VI–VII cent.), l. 3, 1000 artabas *naulon* 8 sol. 23 sil., l. 15, 120 artabas 20 sil. P. Oxy. 1912 (VI cent. end): l. 120, 2025¼ artabas per καγκέλλῳ 16⅓ ν. ζ. ἰδ.; P. Oxy. 1913 (555?), l. 61: 800 artabas 5¼ ν. ζ. 'Αλεξ.; P. Oxy. 2022 (VI cent.), l. 3, 440 art. 109¾ sil.; l. 7, 333¾ art. and 6 choenices 106½ sil.

[20] G. Rouillard², *op. cit.*, p. 126 gives only the evidence of P. Oxy. I 142 (VI cent.) of a *naulon* of 11 sol. 3½ sil. for 1485¼ artabas.

[21] The earliest cases of ναῦλον quoted by Wallace are Wessely, *Pal. St.*, XX, 93 (probably year 334 A.D.) for the amount of money expended for the ναῦλον: l. 2, θαλασ‹σ›ίων καὶ ἀργυρικῶν τ[ίδ]λων, Preis, Cairo 33 (339 A.D.); P. Oxy. 1905

from Africa and Alexandria than they did in the more prosperous years. The life of the population of Rome and later of Byzantium depended to a very large extent on importations from Africa and Egypt.

I think a burden of two million artabas to be sent as *annona* to Byzantium and Heracleia was very heavy for Egyptian conditions in the fourth century.[22] It is quite clear that inflation, dislocation of public finances, and disorganization of public works, taken all together, did great injury to the agriculture of a country which owed its very existence to its system of irrigation. Probably other grain provinces of the Empire and particularly Africa were in a less critical situation than Egypt.

After the foundation of Constantinople in 324, we know that the cereals of Egypt were sent to the new capital and that Rome was fed chiefly by Africa.[23] This arrangement was probably made in the early Byzantine period, when Constantinople was still Byzantium and Diocletian was residing in Nicomedia.[24] The difference in the freight charges between Alexandria and Rome from those between Alexandria and Byzantium was slight: 16 percent of the price of the wheat instead of 12 percent, according to the Edict of Diocletian. The prices of transportation between Africa and Rome and Africa and Byzantium are not indicated. The rate Africa-Rome, l. 45, is not mentioned, and for the other route we have no indication either, but it is probable that the figures were respectively 12 and 16 percent. The possible differences of the price of wheat in the two provinces of Egypt and Africa were normally much higher than 4 percent. Therefore these costs of transport had almost no influence on the distribution of the burden of the *annona* in these two great agricultural provinces of the Empire.

(probably 340–45 A.D. and not late IV or early V century, as the editors suppose), and P. Lips. 64 (368 A.D.) concerning the *naulon πλοίων θαλασσίων*, which shows (l. 21) how this tax was imposed (see the fine introduction of Mitteis, pp. 201 ff.).

[22] The *alimonia* granted to the people of Alexandria in 302 A.D. was a pure measure of necessity and not a political measure, as was supposed by G. Rouillard[2], p. 121 ff.

[23] Evidence collected in Heywood, "Roman Africa," *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, p. 116 f.

[24] In the Edict of Diocletian, the prices of transportation from Africa to Rome and from Africa to Byzantium are not indicated. The rate from Africa to Rome (l. 45) does not bear any figure and for the second rate we have no indication; but probably the figures were 12 and 16 denarii.

The Annona of Rome and Constantinople

The new conclusion that Egypt in the beginning of the fourth century A.D. exported to Byzantium and Heracleia about two million artabas of wheat reopens the question of the amount of wheat sent to Rome and Byzantium for the *annona*. We cannot give any very accurate figures. Moreover we are quite aware that the supply of wheat sent to Rome and to Constantinople varied with the quantity of wheat that was available in the productive areas of Egypt and Africa, and with the number of people who had to be fed.[25] Rome, at the time of Septimius Severus, needed for its population 75,000 modii of wheat daily. Spartian., H.A., *Vita Severi* XXIII: "(Severus) moriens septem annorum canonem, ita ut cotidiana septuaginta quinque milia modium expendi posse reliquit." This figure of 27,375,000 modii yearly, or 8,212,000 artabas, may be considered as the amount of wheat which had to be imported from the whole Empire to make up the *annona* of Rome. We assume that Rome at the time of Severus was a town of about a million inhabitants, and that each person needed one artaba of wheat a month (litres 29.11 = kg. 21.82, calculating the specific weight of wheat at 0.75). The town needed possibly 12 million artabas of wheat, of which amount about 8 million artabas were supplied by the *annona*. The other 4 million artabas came to Rome from other sources.

When Alexandria, in the age of Justinian, sent usually 8 million artabas of wheat to Constantinople, we suppose that Constantinople was a town of about one million inhabitants and that about

[25] See Oberhummer, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Constantinopolis, p. 1004. Andreades, *Περὶ τοῦ πληθυσμοῦ καὶ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, Athens (1918), p. 11 ff. gives the indications available for the population of Constantinople in the Byzantine period. The passage from Chrysostom, *Act. Apost. Homilia*, XI, 3 is of no use for our purpose. The *Notitia Dignitatis Orientis* of 413 A.D. states that Constantinople had 4388 houses, but there is no way of calculating the number of inhabitants (Andreades, *ibid.*, p. 12). Ausonius (309–394, *Ordo urbium nobilium*) in the order of the towns mentions first Rome, then Constantinople, Carthage, Alexandria, and Antiochia. The estimate given of the population of Alexandria (which is too high) by Beloch, *Bevölkerung* (1886), p. 481, of 600,000 inhabitants in the first century A.D. is of very little use. The last and only valuable indication for the population of Constantinople is given by the Edict of Justinian XIII, 8, from which, however, Andreades does not draw any definite conclusion.

two-thirds of the required wheat came there through the ἐμβολή of Alexandria.

The two million artabas sent from Alexandria to Herakleia and Byzantium in 316 A.D. probably had to meet the needs of a population of about 250,000. Possibly Constantinople, in the period close to its foundation, was a town of about a third of a million inhabitants, about two-thirds of whom were fed by the *annona* of Alexandria. This figure would agree fairly well with the estimate of Constantinople as a town of about half a million inhabitants in the beginning of the fifth century A.D.[26]

Probably the ἐμβολή was raised from about two million artabas in the age of Constantine to about 4½ at the beginning of the fifth century and to 8 million in the age of Justinian. This rise in figures followed the enormous improvement in the condition of the Egyptian economic system in the later Byzantine period after the nightmare of the fourth century. Assuming that about 8 million aruras were cultivated at the time of Justinian a burden of one artaba was assessed on each arura for the *embole*, i.e., a burden corresponding to a little more than one-tenth of the whole production of Egyptian wheat.

In the fourth century we believe the population of Egypt was much smaller, and the burden of the two million artabas was then much heavier than the 8 million artabas of the sixth century.

With these figures in mind, we shall now try to analyze the data for the *annona* of Rome.

The fundamental figures are (a) Aurel. Victor, *Epit.*, 1, who says that at the time of Augustus 20 million *modii* (= 6 million artabas) were imported to feed Rome; (b) Joseph., *Bell.Judaicum*, II, 386, where it is stated that Africa in the time of Nero supplied Rome for eight months and Egypt for four months "παρέχει . . . τῇ Ῥώμῃ σῖτον μηνῶν τεσσάρων." The passages of Aurelius Victor and Josephus need not be reconciled. Rome at the time of Septimius Severus needed about 8 million artabas to feed its populace. If the figures of Aurelius Victor are reliable, we can only suppose that there was a period during the age of Augustus when Rome

[26] For Cyrenaica and Morocco the figures given by R. M. Heywood must be doubled. See A. Segrè, *Bull. Soc. Royal. d'Arch.*, n. 29 (1934), p. 295. Half the production of Africa was probably in barley, while in Egypt the crop of barley had a rather limited importance. The statement, *op. cit.*, p. 296, that Africa was less important than Egypt for the supply of the annona in the early Imperial age is inaccurate.

received from Egypt nearly all the wheat it needed and a relatively small amount from other countries, chiefly Africa. Doubtless Egypt in a prosperous period could send to Rome 6 million artabas of wheat, and this is proved by the Edict XIII 8 of Justinian. In the time of Nero, if we can rely on Josephus (and I see no reason why we should not) we can reckon that Egypt sent to Rome about 2⅔ million artabas of wheat, while Africa sent 5⅓ artabas. This seems a very reasonable statement. Egypt was obliged to send to Rome about ⅓ artaba of wheat from each arura, or about 1/20–1/30 of its entire crop. This burden was not very heavy.

How was it with Africa? R. M. Heywood, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, "Africa," p. 42, quoting Rivière et Lecq, *Traité pratique*, p. 222, n. 1, says that the French Government reckoned that the natives of Algeria, who live almost entirely on cereals, consumed about 800 lbs. apiece in a year (about 1 kg. each day). This is about the amount of wheat consumed by the Roman legionary. He reckons further (p. 44) that Roman Africa at the end of the principate of Augustus had a total production of about 12 million quintals, starting from the production of cereals of Tunis and Algeria in 1912. These regions produced in 1912 about 17 million quintals of wheat and barley. But even if we assume that the production of cereals in Tunis and Algeria in the early imperial period had been of ca. 12 million quintals, the figures of Heywood are not accurate.

12 million quintals of wheat correspond to 1,600,000,000 litres or about 184,000,000 *modii* = 752 million artabas, which is about the total production of Egypt. But if we include the whole northern coast of Africa from the Egyptian frontiers to the Pillars of Hercules, i.e., Morocco on one side and Cyrenaica on the other, as we must do, we are confronted with a total production of wheat in Africa far exceeding that of Egypt.[27] Africa had a much greater

[27] For the *frumentum* of the *annona* the résumé of Rostovtzeff in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. frumentum, pp. 132 ff. (1912) is still valuable, although the calculations are impaired by inaccurate metrology. On the most controversial questions of Alexandrian and African imports Rostovtzeff is noncommittal, as well as Oertel (*Cambridge Ancient History*, X, 410, n. 1). R. M. Heywood, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, V, "Africa," p. 42 ff., apparently misled by T. Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*, and Charlesworth, *Trade Routes*, p. 144, starts with an Egyptian *annona* of 20 million *modii* = 6 million artabas, and assumes that Africa exported an *annona* double that of Egypt, i.e., 40 million *modii* = 12 million artabas. The inhabitants

surplus of wheat than Egypt. But while Egypt had low freight prices because her wheat was largely exported by water, Africa could grow its crops for export only where it could be transported easily by sea. We believe that, at the time of Augustus, Rome was fed with Alexandrian wheat in a proportion of about 6 million artabas against 2 million artabas from Africa, and in the time of Nero and perhaps even in the age of the Severi, Rome received about 2⅔ million artabas of Alexandrian wheat and 5⅓ million artabas of African wheat.

In the second half of the third century the shipment of wheat to Rome was probably not very regular, and the population of Rome was also decreasing. At the beginning of the fourth century A.D. its *annona* depended exclusively on Africa.

Freight Charges for Wheat Cargoes on the Rivers

While we are now fairly well oriented on the costs of freight on the sea, we know very little about transportation costs on land. For the study of the market for cereals in ancient times a study of the cost of land transportation would be of considerable interest, in order to ascertain how far staple products could penetrate into the interior of the different countries. Egypt is the only region of the empire which would supply materials for a study in land transportation. Many pertinent data have been collected by A. C. Johnson, *An Economic Survey*, II, "Egypt," p. 400. In P. Oxy. 522 (II Cent. A.D.; Johnson, *ibid.*, p. 402 and p. 418) the grain from the *annona* is sent at the rate of 21 dr., with some extra charges, for 100 artabas from Oxyrhynchos to Neapolis. The distance is about 450 km. or about 300 Roman miles. The freight corresponds to about 3½ percent of the price of the wheat.

In P. Lond. 948 (Arsinoe, 236 A.D., Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 423) the freight charges for 250 artabas of vegetables from the Arbor of the Grove (Arsinoe) to Oxyrhynchos, about 115 km. or some 77 Roman miles upstream, are about 40 drachmas for 100 artabas. If the same freight were paid for wheat it would result in a charge of about 2½ percent of the value of the wheat for a journey of about 77 Roman miles.

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of Rome could not eat 18 million artabas of imported wheat, i.e. about 1½ times as much wheat as was required for all the inhabitants of the town. The calculation that about one quarter of the African wheat had to be sent to Rome is inaccurate.

These figures make us skeptical on the explanations of Jacopi and De Grassi of ll. 23–24 of the second fragment of Aphrodisias. The editor supposes that ll. 23–24 mention the rivers. Downstream, 1 *denarius* for each *modius castrensis* for 20 Roman miles, and 2 *denarii* upstream (see Jacopi, *op. cit.*, p. 146). But in these indications of the Edict in ll. 23–24 there are no names of towns located on the rivers. L. 25 indicates that the freight from Ravenna to Aquileia for 1000 *modii* cost 7500 *denarii*, i.e., 7½ *denarii* for each *modius*. The distance between Ravenna and Aquileia in a direct line was ca. 200 km. or about 140 Roman miles, and it seems that this transportation was calculated at the rate of about 1 *denarius* for each 20 Roman miles, as in l. 24.

For the second fragment, l. 17, l. 18, and l. 20, the interpretation of the editor is not entirely satisfactory, although I must confess I have nothing better to suggest.[28]

Freights and Level of Prices

In normal periods freight charges for wheat between the farthest markets of the Empire to which cereals were supplied ranged between 12 and 16 percent of the price of the wheat. Therefore, as far as political factors, monetary hindrances, and trade restrictions did not interfere, the prices of wheat in the regions of the Mediterranean Sea reached by waterways did not differ to any considerable extent. Doubtless the Edict, while attempting to fix the prices of staple products like cereals, had absolutely no result when it tried to fix prices of products like vegetables. However, we may safely assume on the evidence of the Edict that in the earlier imperial period freight rates of 12 percent between Africa and Rome or Alexandria and Byzantium, and 16 percent between Alexandria and Rome, theoretically at least, brought a sort of balance of prices between Africa and Egypt on one hand and Rome and the towns of the East on the other. All the towns

[28] The second fragment, l. 17–49, seems to indicate that cattle were considered equivalent to a certain amount of *modii* of wheat to make the freight of wheat equal the freight of cattle.

I think these lines mean that (horses), mules, and donkeys were calculated for the freights as *modii castrenses*, asses at 60 *modii castrenses*, sheep at 25 *modii*, pigs at 10 *modii*. This interpretation would be substantiated if we could understand (l. 19) "et burdo et asianu(s) in K M uno X sexaginta" as "in K modios sexaginta scil. imputentur," in l. 20.

located far from the sea which had to rely on land transport were, more or less, closed markets.[29]

The evidence of the Diocletian Edict on the cost of freight enables us to use the figures of the prices of Egyptian wheat to reckon prices in the markets of the other coastal towns of the Empire. We are led to believe that a price of 8 drachmas an artaba in Egypt in normal times [30] would correspond to a price not much higher than 10 drachmas or 3 *sestertii* per *modius* in Rome. This price, however, is considered low in the time of Tacitus, while a more normal price was 1 denarius = 4 *sestertii* for a *modius*.[31]

Doubtless the level of prices in the coastal regions of the Empire influenced indirectly the prices in the interior.

4. The *Annona Militaris*

I. Its Definition and Its Value in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries A.D.

The Roman soldiers in the fourth century A.D. received their allowances in *annonae*, *donativa*, and *stipendia*.[1] The *annonae* were fairly constant rations of food (*cellaria*) and wood for heating delivered out of the *arcarica* of the *praefectus praetorio*, while clothing, weapons, horses, etc., which were also supplied to the army, belonged to the *canonica* of the *largitionalia*, i.e., to the administration of the *res privata*.[2] The *annonae* and the *capita*, the

[29] Edict. Diocl. XVII 4 (Tenney Frank, *Econ. Survey*, V. p. 369, Appendix by E. R. Graser) reads: freight charge for a 600 pound camel load per mile den. 8; XVII 5, freight charge for a donkey-load per mile den. 4. A load of 600 pounds of wheat corresponded to 29.63 *modii castrenses* at the price of 2963 *denarii*. The freight amounted to 0.27% of the value of the wheat for each mile. According to Edict. Diocl. XVII 4 and 5 the freight of a camel-load for about 40 miles would cost as much as the freight by ship from Alexandria to Byzantium.

[30] See Angelo Segrè, *Circolazione*, p. 78 ff.

[31] In the latter part of the first century the regular price of wheat at Antioch in Pisidia was 8–9 asses a *modius* and at a time of scarcity the proconsul in an edict limited it to 1 denarius a modius, M. Robinson, *Trans. Am. Philol. Ass.*, LV (1924), 5–20; *Journal of Roman Studies*, XVI (1926), 116 ff.; T. R. S. Broughton, *Econ. Survey*, IV, p. 879. This price, which corresponded rather well to the Egyptian prices of the same age, does not mean much for the general level of prices in this period, because Antioch in Pisidia probably had to rely on the local market, owing to its position in the interior of Asia Minor.

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[1] Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte* (1920), p. 243.

[2] C. Just. XII 35, 15; Th. I 22, 4, VI 24, 2, VIII 3, 10; C. Just. I 27, 20 ff. and

allowances for horses or beasts of burden, were proportioned to the rank of the soldiers.[3] The *annona militaris* was mostly supplied in kind; in rare cases soldiers received its equivalent in money (*annona adaerata*).[4]

The prices of the *annonae* could oscillate widely.[5] *Annonae* bought on a free market could be ideal measures of the purchasing power of money as far as it refers to food.

The best and most complete evidence on the Byzantine annona, as far as I know, is offered by P. Oxy. 1920 (550–560), by P. Oxy. 2046, and by some minor texts of the same group, all closely connected. Although carefully published with accurate introductions, these texts have not yet been used for the study of the Byzantine *annona*.

P. Oxy. 1920 indicates the amounts of the *annonae* for *στρατιῶται*, *σύμμαχοι*, *cancellarii*, *cursores*, *σύμμαχοι ῥιπαρίων*, *buccelarii*, etc. The prices of the commodities are also indicated: 80 pounds of bread are reckoned as 1 artaba of wheat at 1/10 sol.; in P. Oxy. 1920, l. 16, meat is reckoned at 1/120 sol. per pound; oil at 1/45 sol. per sextarius, wine at 1/25 sol. per *διπλοῦν* of 6 sextarii or at 1/150 sol. per sextarius. A combined allowance of wood per day for the soldiers and the *cancellarii* etc., of two *κεντηνάρια* of wood for the *σύμμαχοι* of ll. 6–7, and an arura of fodder daily for the entire company are further indicated.[6]

The data of the Byzantine military *annonae* are recapitulated in the table on the following page:

These data show how an *annona* was calculated. Not all the soldiers received the same *annonae* (C. VII, 4, 1). In P. Oxy. 1920,

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22 ff. Grosse, p. 243. But the vestes are sometimes considered as annonae, see e.g., De Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico*, s.v. annona (militaris).

[3] Th. VII, 4, 1: "annonas suae congruas dignitati."

[4] See p. 409 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Food was valued according to the season. See, for the Imperial period, SB. 6957–76, quoted by A. Ch. Johnson in Tenney Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, II, 671. In the Byzantine period soldiers in military expeditions, according to C. Th. VII, 4, 6 (360), C. Just. XII, 37, 1; cp. Th. VII, 4, 29, 4, 25; 5, 2, received a biscuit (*buccelatum*) each two days, and each third day bread, bacon every other day (*laridum*) or lamb, wine for drinking, with vinegar, which was used for the customary military drink, the *posca*, as well as salt and oil (Grosse, p. 242). The *annona* of the soldiers serving in Egypt was about the same. See also Grosse, pp. 243 and 246.

42, 36 στρατιῶται received 43 *annonae* and l. 41 a *cancellarius*, a *cursor*, and 2 *ostiarii* (four *persons*) received five *annonae*; the *contubernales* an *annona* each and one *capitum*; in l. 44, 29 *buccellarii* received 30 *annonae* and 27 *capita*; the παιδάρια ½ *annona*. The allowance of a στρατιώτης, $^{43}/_{36}$ of an *annona*, is

	Bread	Meat	Oil	Wine	Daily Allowance for Annona
11. 3–5 στρατιῶται	4 pounds $\frac{1.8}{360}$ sol.	1 pound $\frac{3}{360}$ sol.	$\frac{1}{8}$ sext. $\frac{1}{360}$ sol.	2 sext. $\frac{4.8}{360}$ sol. =	$\frac{10.6}{360}$ sol.
11. 6–7 σύμμαχοι	3 pounds $\frac{1.35}{360}$ sol.	$\frac{1}{2}$ pound $\frac{1.5}{360}$ sol.	$\frac{1}{10}$ sext. $\frac{0.8}{360}$ sol.	1 sext. $\frac{2.4}{360}$ sol. =	$\frac{6.05}{360}$ sol.
11. 8–10 *cancellarius* *cursores*, etc.	4 pounds $\frac{1.8}{360}$ sol.	1 pound $\frac{3}{360}$ sol.	$\frac{5}{48}$ sext. $\frac{0.833}{360}$ sol.	2 sext. $\frac{4.8}{360}$ sol. =	$\frac{10.43}{360}$ sol.
σύμμαχοι ῥιπαρίων	3 pounds $\frac{1.35}{360}$ sol.	$\frac{1}{2}$ pound $\frac{1.5}{360}$ sol.	$\frac{1}{10}$ sext. $\frac{0.8}{360}$ sol.	$\frac{1}{2}$ sext. $\frac{1.2}{360}$ sol. =	$\frac{4.85}{360}$ sol.

valued at 10.6 sol. On this basis we may calculate an *annona* of 8.87 sol., while, should we reckon the *annonae* on the basis of the allowance of the *cancellarii*, *cursores*, etc., the *annona* would be ⅘ of 10.43 sol. or 8.345 sol. These figures are approximate, but on this basis I think we may reckon that an *annona* in P. Oxy. 1920 and 2046 corresponded to a yearly expense for food of about 8½ solidi. Usually in the legal texts the *annona* is reck-

oned much lower because the prices were fixed by the government at a very low level.

Nov. Val. XIII, 3 (445) values the *annona* for a soldier in Africa at 4 solidi. Valentinianus, to ease the supply of the *annona* for the provinciales, allows them to pay it in money: "Has autem militares annonas cum provinciales pro longiqui difficultate itineris in adaeratione persolverint, unius annonae adaeratio quattuor per annum solidis aestimetur."

The prices of this *adaeratio* were very low: Wheat (*triticum*) $\frac{1}{40}$ solidus per modius, wine $\frac{1}{200}$ sol. per *sextarius italicus*, meat (*caro verbericina*) $\frac{1}{220}$ sol. per pound. An *annona* of about four solidi in Africa at these prices could be composed of three pounds of bread, one pound of meat, $\frac{1}{10}$ sext. of oil, and one sextarius of wine.[7] I think that such an *annona* might be considered as a sort of standard for the Byzantine period. In the year 534 the *annona* in Africa and Sardinia was reckoned at five solidi instead of four, and the *capitum* at four solidi (C. Just. I, 27, 1, 22 ff.; 2, 20 ff.).[8] Very often *annonae* were probably forcibly maintained at these prices in Egypt during the age of Justinian, keeping commodity prices for the army very low.[9]

[7] The total of this *annona* would amount to 4,3 sol. yearly. This *annona* is a little smaller than the annona of P. Oxy. 1920 and 2046, which would correspond to about three and a half pounds of bread, three quarters of a pound of meat, one tenth sextarius of oil, one and a half sextarius of wine, or about 4.88 solidi, figured at the prices of Nov. Val. XIII, 3 (445).

[8] Grosse, ibid., p. 246. These texts give the allowance of officers of different ranks and of soldiers in *annonae* and *capita*, for the provinces of Africa and Sardinia. Prices here are still calculated far under the average.

[9] See, as typical cases of *adaerationes* at low prices, P. Cairo 67050, 67320, 67289, 67175. P. Cairo 67050 (VI century), 8750 (*λίτραι*) *οἰνοκρέων ὑπὲρ ἀννωνῶν στρατιωτῶν* 5000 @ $\frac{1}{100}$ sol. each. See Gelzer for the *annona* (*Archiv. f. Papyrusf.*, V, 1913, p. 352). Psates, an *actuarius* of the numerus of Antaiopolis, gives the receipt of the annona to some officers of Aphrodito. See also P. Cairo 67051, both connected with P. Cairo 67020 (541?). See Gelzer, *Byz. Verwaltung*, p. 39–41: The *praeses* of Thebais Inferior gives the order to the villagers, until the *predelegatio* comes, to give 203 artabas of wheat to the soldiers of the *numerus* of Antaiopolis through the *actuarius*, at the *adaeratio* of 40 modii a solidus, and 8750 pounds of *οἰνόκρεον*, probably a part of them, at $\frac{1}{200}$ sol. each pound. We are confronted with another *adaeratio* for soldiers in P Cairo 67145. Wine was then bought by an *actuarius*. An *ἀγγεῖον* equals 6 *ῥόγαι*; 15½ *ῥόγαι* equal 1 siliqua. Oil of raphanus is bought by the *actuarius* at 1 sil. each 372 *ῥόγαι* equal to 74.4 sext., each *ῥόγη* of oil being equal to one fifth sext. For more particulars of the text, see the introduction to Maspero, p. 78 ff.

II. The Annona in the Period of Inflation between 301 and the Fifth Century

The *annona* was reckoned at five *solidi* in the legal texts of the time of Justinian, but at about eight *solidi* in P. Oxy. 1920 and 2046, with prices not very different from those of the free market.[10]

These prices in gold were much below those of the early Byzantine period, when commodity prices in gold were much higher than in the age of Justinian. One of the reasons which induced Diocletian to issue his famous Edict *De pretiis rerum venalium* was the necessity of fixing a basis for his taxation[11] and for the *annona militaris* and the *annona civica*.[12]

A standard *annona* (see p. 408 ff.) which, at the time of Justinian could be reckoned at five solidi, would cost 19.20 *solidi* at the prices of the Edict of Diocletian,[13] and still more in the earlier Constantinian age. In the period about 316, an artaba of wheat was reckoned at a solidus,[14] a sextarius of wine at about 1/50

[10] The great difference in *adaeratio* prices is found in the commodities wine, oil, and meat; the price of wheat was not far from the market price.

[11] See *Byzantion*, XV (1941), p. 279.

[12] In Edict, preamble, Tenney Frank, *Econ. Survey*, V, 314: "Quis ergo nesciat utilitatibus publicis insidi(tricem audaciam quac(umque exercitus nostros dirigi communis omnium (salus postulat non per vicos modo aut per oppid)a sed in omni itinere animo sectio(nis occurrere pretia venalium rerum non quadruplo aut oct)uplo ita extor(quere ut nomina estimonis et facti explicare humanae linguae ratio) non possit; (denique interdum distractione unius rei donativo militem stipendio)que pri(vari et omnem totius orbis ad sustinendos exercitus collationem detest)andis (quaestibus diripientium cedere, ut manu propria spem militiae suae et) emeri(tos labores milites nostri sectoribus omnium comferre videantur, quo depredatores ipsius reipublicae tantum in dies rapiant quantum habere nesciant." The connections between the Edict of Diocletian and the *annona* of the soldiers appear also from Mal. 307, 2 f. For the edict as protection for the interests of the soldiers, see K. Stade, *Der Politiker Diocletian und die letzte grosse Christenverfolgung* (1926), p. 62 ff.

[13] We reckon 3 pounds of bread as equal to $\frac{1}{16\,2/3}$ artaba = 1/5 *modius castrensis* = 20 denarii. 1 pound of meat, *caro bubula*, in Edict IV, 46, at 8 den., pork at 12 den., Edict IV, la. 1 sext. wine, *vini rustici italicum sext. unum*, 8 den. in Edict II, 10. 1/10 sext. of oil at 12 den. if *oleum cibarium*, Edict II, 3 or 8 den. if *oleum raphaninum*, which was used in Egypt in that period for the Army. See e.g., P Cairo 67145 (VI Cent.) of Aphrodito. Using figures of the Edict, and assuming that soldiers consumed the cheapest sort of meat, oil, and wine, the *annona* of a soldier would be 37.20 denarii each day, a sum equal to 1/22.3 aureus of Diocletian per day or 16 aurei of Diocletian for 360 days or 19.2 sol. of 4 grammata.

[14] See *Byzantion*, XV (1941), 261.

solidus,[15] probably very near to the price of a pound of meat.[16]

For the year 316, the yearly *annona* of 13½ artabas of wheat, 360 sextarii of wine, 360 pounds of meat, 36 sextarii of oil, stood at about 30 solidi.[17] Prices of *capita* depended on the price of barley which, in the early Byzantine period, was very near that of wheat.[18] The prices of the annona in the different Byzantine periods are given in the following table:

Source	Year	Approximate Price of *Annona*
Edict D.p.r.v. (Diocletian)	301	19.20 sol.
See p. 410	316	30 sol.
Nov. Val. XIII, 3 (see p. 409)	445	4 sol. but average cost probably 8 sol.
C. Just. I, 27, 1 (see p. 409)	534	5 sol. but average cost probably 8 sol.
P. Oxy. 1920 and 2046	VI Cent.	About 8 sol.

III. The Cost of Maintaining a Soldier in the Imperial and Byzantine Armies

There was a great difference between the Egyptian army of the time of the Empire and the army of the Byzantine age. Roman soldiers in the legion as well as in the *auxilia* were chiefly Alexandrians and *metropolitae*. Outside of Egypt in the East they

[15] In P. Oxy. 2114 (316) of Oxyrhynchos, wine for the *annona* was reckoned at 65 den. the sextarius. Calculating a solidus at ca. 2. tal. (see *Byzantion*, XV, 1941, p. 250) a sextarius of wine cost ca. 1/50 solidus.

[16] A pound of pork was reckoned in Edict D.p.r.v., 4, 1a, at 12 den., beef at 8 den. i.e., 1/60 and 1/90 sol. In P. Oxy. XV 1920 (end of VI cent.), which relates to the *annona* (see p. 408), a pound of meat was reckoned at 1/120 sol. As a rule a pound of cheap meat in the Egyptian papyri was reckoned at a price very close to that of a sextarius of wine. See, e.g., P. Lond. III 934 (end of IV cent.), where wine was reckoned at 33 myr. den., probably about 1/120 sol., P. Oxy. XIV, 1735 (390), where the solidus was at 3900 myr. den. and a pound of meat was at 30 myr.

[17] Prices of these commodities are indicated on p. 410. The sum would be 27.9 solidi plus 36 sext. of oil.

[18] See A. Segrè, *Byzantion*, XV (1941), 261.

were probably citizens of Greek towns or Greeks descended from κάτοικοι living among the indigenous peasants.

In Egypt even Egyptians served, in some cases in the legions, and more frequently in the *auxilia*, but we may safely suppose that until the period of the Severi the Roman Army in the Eastern provinces was chiefly recruited among the ""Ἕλληνες" [19] and the sons of soldiers.

Service in the Roman Imperial Army was as a rule limited to a privileged category of people.

The soldiers of the Byzantine era, on the other hand, were recruited mostly among the peasants, if not actually among the *barbari* and among the *castrenses*. Byzantine soldiers, who as a rule did not belong to the higher classes of Byzantine society, had a lower social position than the soldiers of the Empire. But the moral, intellectual and economic standards of Byzantine society were debased in comparison with Imperial standards.

In the Byzantine period the military career offered a brilliant opportunity for a few enterprising men, but the mass of the soldiers had no other expectation than to become veterans and enjoy the grants of the *praemia militiae*.[20] This difference in the condition of the Imperial and the Byzantine soldier explains why the Roman soldier received relatively high pay in money, but no money for his enlistment, while the Byzantine soldier was rewarded chiefly with his *annonae*, but was in some sense bought by the government when engaged in the military service.

The 30 solidi, plus *vestis* and *sumptus* [21] represented a sort of price, and the soldier's engagement in the army had a character in some ways akin to a *paramone*.[22] Therefore the recruits, if engaged

[19] See A. Segrè, *Rendicont. Accad. Rom. Pont. d'Arch.*, XLVI (1940), 191.

[20] The Roman Imperial Army confronts us with a division of classes. The officer's career was open to individuals of senatorial and equestrian rank, while plebeians had a military career open to them only after the period of Diocletian. The democratization of the army which began with Severus increased greatly with Gallienus and later with Diocletian and his successors. See Grosse, *op. cit.*, p. 12 f. But I think that the reform of the year 297, which abolished the *politeumata*, had no political influence on the recruitment of the army, because as early as the end of the second century A.D. soldiers of the Eastern provinces were no longer recruited solely among the Hellenes.

[21] See p. 421 ff.

[22] The sons of soldiers may or may not have received the 30 solidi. Did the coloni glebae adscripti receive the 30 solidi when recruited or did their landlord?

with the 30 solidi in a sort of *paramone*, served, like most *paramonarii*, not for pay, but for a master who maintained them, paying their living expenses.

These considerations may explain why the Byzantine soldiers received from the Administration the *aurum tironicum* and their living expenses, and not a salary. After these indications we show how the Roman *stipendium* was changed in the third century, little by little, into *annonae* and *donativa*.[23]

Obviously the *annona* represented only a part, although the biggest, of the allowance of a Byzantine soldier. Expenses for clothing and weapons cannot be easily calculated. It seems, however, that the cost of *vestis*, the weapons, and other articles used by the soldiers was paid to the *milites* from the cash of the *largitionalia*, under the same system as the *annonae*, directly from the military administration, as in present-day armies. Officers received a pay which was expected to defray their living expenses, whereas the privates' pay was nominal.

It is known that Byzantine soldiers received *annonae*, *donativa* and *stipendia*.[24] The *donativa*, since the time of the Republic, had been paid to the soldiers at the accession of an Emperor, at festivals, and very often to keep the troops in a good mood. These *donativa* were paid regularly on the first of January, on the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, and the anniversary of the foundation of Constantinople. Eventually the *donativum* in the early Byzantine age was consolidated with the *stipendium*, so that *donativum* and *stipendium* appear to mean the same thing.[25] These *donativa* were probably not very high.[26] But the *immunitates* of the soldiers and eventually even of their wives during military service, the grants of the Emperors, and the *immunitates* of *veterani* were a very important *praemium militiae*.[27] We cannot appreciate some of the fundamental characteristics of the

[23] See D. van Berchem, *Memoires de la soc. nat. des antiquaires de France*, LXXX (1937), 124 ff.; Alföldi, CAH XII, p. 221.

[24] Grosse, p. 243.

[25] See Fiebiger, *Donativum*, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v., Seeck, *Unterg. d. ant. Welt*, p. 254, 280 f., Grosse, *loc. cit.*, p. 243 ff.

[26] The *donativum* of Julian, when he became emperor, of 5 sol. and 1 pound of silver to each soldier (about 20 solidi), see Amm., XX, 4, 18, is doubtless a very unusual donativum.

[27] See, *e.g.*, Th. VII, 20, 3, 8, and Seeck, *Untergang*, p. 539–540.

Byzantine army if we do not compare its condition with that of the army of the first and second centuries A.D.

As is well known, at the end of the reign of Augustus a Roman legionary received 225 denarii yearly, divided into three *stipendia*, and with this sum of money he provided his food, clothing, weapons, and lodging.[28] Domitian added a fourth *stipendium* to the pay of the legionaries, who thus received 300 denarii yearly at the end of the first century A.D.[29] Later emperors had to raise the *stipendium* of the soldiers in proportion to the purchasing power of the denarius.[30]

These data, however, are not completely confirmed by Egyptian evidence. The *stipendia* of the legionaries, instead of 75 denarii, or 300 drachmas, were reckoned at 248 drachmas. For the *stipendia* of the *auxilia* we have no certain evidence, and no data at all are available for the *stipendia* of the soldiers in the third century A.D.[31] But the accounts of the Roman soldiers of the

[28] Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 17: "Denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari; hinc vestem, arma, tentoria, . . . redimi, nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent." We have no evidence that the stipendia of the auxilia in this period were different from the stipendia of the legions. See for the annual expenses of the Roman army and navy in the age of Augustus Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, V, 4 ff.

[29] Suet. Dom. 7. "Addidit et quartum stipendium militi aureos ternos."

[30] Domaszewski, "Der Truppensold der Kaiserzeit," *N. Heidelb. Jahrb.*, X, (1900), 230, assumes that Commodus added a fifth stipendium for praetorians and legionarii (1250 and 375 den. respectively) and that under Severus the legionarii received 500 den., under Caracalla, 750. The stipendium of the *cohortes praetoriae* seems to have been 750 denarii at the death of Augustus (Tac., *Ann.*, I, 17, Festus s.v. *praetoria cohors*); the double of that received by other soldiers in 27 B.C., Dio 53, 11.

[31] The passing of legionaries into the *auxilia* was not felt as a degradation (BGU 696, 156 A.D.). Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 393, and *Chrest.*, p. 538, shows that, at least after the year 156, the stipendia of the auxilia very probably were no smaller than those of the legions. In P. Berl. ined. 6866A (see Lesquier, *op. cit.*, p. 250), a native Egyptian, probably serving in the auxiliary forces as a *lorictitis*, had a deposit of 100 denarii and an allowance of 75 denarii for travelling expenses. His stipendium was given as 84 denarii, 15¾ ob. If the stipendium represents the pay for a term of four months, the annual stipend of a *lorictitis* was approximately 1014 den. 4 ob. in A.D. 180 (Johnson, *ibid.*, p. 671 f.). But probably the stipendium was reckoned for three months. For the different position of the auxiliarii and the legionarii see Angelo Segrè, *Journ. of Rom. Studies*, XXX (1940), 153 f., P. S. I. 1026, Grassi, *Aegyptus*, X 1930 p. 242 and Dessau 2487 referring to the Adlocutio Hadriani to the African army at Lambesis: "eq. coh. VI Commagenorum-Difficile est cohortales equites etiam per se placere, difficilius post alacrem exercitationem non displicere: alia spatia campi, alius iaculantium numerus, frequens dextrator, Cantabricus densus, equorum forma, armorum cultus pro stipendii modo," etc.

first and second centuries are very valuable to us for the purpose of comparison between the conditions in the Imperial and Byzantine troops.

Lesquier (*L'armée romaine*, p. 260) on the basis of P. Gen. Lat. I (80–4 A.D.), reckons the budget of an Egyptian legionary as follows:

3 stipendia		744 drachmas
for *faenaria*	30	
for *victum*	240	
for *caligae* and *fasciae*	36	
for *saturnalicium*	20	
ad *signa*	4	
		330
Balance		414

For the *vestimenta* appears an annual expense of not less than 146 drachmas (p. 256 and 260). Then there were the weapons, which cost 412 drachmas and were paid for by the soldiers. According to Lesquier (*op. cit.*, p. 261) the soldiers were badly paid and had to count on *donativa*. But if we consider the standard of living of the populace of Egypt, the Roman soldiers were not badly remunerated. A Roman legionary in Egypt paid 240 drachmas yearly for his food. These 240 drachmas in the years 81–83 corresponded in purchasing power to a Byzantine annona, and perhaps to the annona of a στρατιώτης (see p. 408) if we reckon with the prices of *adaeratio* in the Imperial period. In wheat five solidi of the annona of Justinian corresponded to about fifty artabas, while 240 drachmas corresponded to about 60 artabas.[32] We may reckon that about 240 drachmas were spent for a soldier's food; to wit, 81 drachmas for bread, 13½ artabas at 6 drachmas each; about 80 drachmas for wine, 360 sextarii at 1.55 oboli each; and about 80 drachmas for meat at about 1.55 oboli a pound.[33] A Roman legionary paid about one third of his entire

[32] Segrè, *Circolazione*, p. 22 ff. For more data on prices of commodities in the Imperial period see A. C. Johnson in Tenney Frank, *Economic Survey*, II: living expenses, p. 301 ff., wages, p. 306 ff., wheat, p. 310 ff., wine, p. 314 ff., clothing, p. 318 ff. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 671, thinks that the average cost of feeding a soldier could hardly have reached the total of 240 dr. a year in the first century, and it is evident that neither food nor clothing were provided at cost.

[33] The price of wine for the annona is confirmed by an unpublished P.S.I. (220 A.D.) of Oxyrhynchus, where the ἐπιμελητής of the *annona* delivers

stipendium for his food. Reckoning his food as one *annona*, a Roman legionary had a *stipendium* which, at the low prices of the *annona*, corresponded to three *annonae*, or to about two *annonae* at the prevailing market prices. The legionary received in addition the *donativa* and the *praemia militiae* when discharged with an *honesta missio*. A Byzantine στρατιώτης, whose rank was equivalent to the legionary's, received one and a quarter *annonae*, and his equipment and new *vestes militares* from the Government each year.[34] The Roman soldier had to buy all his necessities with what remained of his *stipendium* after the cost of his food was deducted. Comparing what a private of the Byzantine period spent for clothing and weapons and maintenance with the similar expenses of the Imperial soldier, we find that the Byzantine apparently needed also about three *annonae*, but as a matter of fact his expenses were lower.[35]

The soldier of the Roman army did not marry, but used to live with his family in the *castra*; his *filii castrenses* were supposed to remain in the army (see A. Segrè, *Rendiconti Acc. Pont.*, XLVII [1941], 167 ff). Legally there was no appreciable change in the condition of the *familiae iuris gentium* in the Imperial period (see

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wine at 2 ob. each *sextarius castrensis*. Prices in Egypt in the beginning of the third century A.D. are, as we know, at a level twice as high as in the first and second. (See A. Segrè, *Circolazione*, p. 26; *Metrologia*, p. 433; *Byzantion*, XV (1940–41), 259 ff.) Therefore the price of a *sextarius castrensis* given by the *annona* in the first and second centuries may be about one and a half to two oboli each sextarius. In this case, reckoning the *ceramion* of 6 *choes* equal to the artaba of 40 choenices, (see A. Segrè, *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIII, (1934), p. 69 ff.) or 53⅓ *sextarii castrenses* (see *Byzantion*, XV, 1941, p. 259) the price of a *ceramion* in the I–II century would be between 10 and 13⅓ drachmas (see *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIII, (1934), p. 72).

[34] The expense of clothing a Roman soldier is hard to calculate. For clothing the individual (Johnson, *Economic Survey*, II, 670) was allowed to consult his personal tastes and needs. Thus Q. Julius Proculus, in P. Gen. lat. I (Johnson, p. 407, A.D. 81–3 ?) spent 206 drachmas in a year on clothing, while Germanus (*ibid.*) spent 246 drachmas, rather extravagant sums in comparison with the amount spent for clothing in Egypt (Johnson, *ibid.*, p. 304 ff. and 318 ff.). If we remember that a Byzantine recruit received six solidi for clothing and minor expenses, the expenses of Proculus and Germanus corresponded to about the whole *vestis militaris* of a Byzantine recruit, a chlamys, a στιχάριον and a pallium (see p. 419) and that therefore they were doubtless higher than the yearly usual expenses for the clothing of a private.

[35] Prices for clothing, if government-fixed rates for the *anabolica* are used as a standard, were lower in the Byzantine period, because in the Roman period clothes were bought mostly in a free market.

A. Segrè, *op. cit.*, p. 173 ff.). Later it was acknowledged that the *annona* was for the benefit of the soldiers and their families (Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, 26, 28). A soldier's children remained in their father's matricula, as *adcrescentes* (Th. VI, 24, 2; VII, 1, 11, 14).[36]

The standard of living of a Byzantine soldier was better than that of an unskilled worker. The *annona* of a private, amounting to four or five *solidi* in the sixth, seventh, and beginning of the eighth century, corresponds to the pay of an unskilled worker in a state of half-liberty (see A. Segrè, *Circolazione*, p. 120 ff.). In the edict of Diocletian, VII, 1 ff., the pay of an unqualified worker, *operarius rusticus*, with maintenance, a *pastor*, a *mulio*, is 25 denarii a day, which corresponds to 7½ *modii castrenses* or 2¼ artabas of wheat per month, or about one gold solidus. The pay of the majority of the workers, *lapidarii*, *fabri*, *calcicoctores*, *fabri ferrarii*, *pastores*, *camelarii*, was twice that of the unskilled worker, or 4½ artabas — about 2 *solidi* a month.[37] The Roman legionary received about 60 drachmas a month, while the average wage of an unskilled Egyptian workman in the same period varied between 20 and 40 drachmas. The condition of a Roman legionary in the second century A.D. was much better than the condition of an unskilled Egyptian workman. But this difference appears greater in the Roman period than in the Byzantine, as is also to be expected. Moreover the Roman soldier legally was supposed to be single, his victuals were very cheap, and he had the opportunity to save a *peculium* during his term of service. When the *honesta missio* was granted he had the privilege of the veterans.[38]

In the Byzantine period the condition of a soldier was also privileged in comparison with that of an unskilled worker. The Byzantine soldier received the *annona*, the *vestes*, the *donativa*, tax-exemption, the *praemia militiae* and later the grants of the

[36] Grosse, p. 205. The *paidaria* of P. Oxy. 1920 and 2026 (see p. 408) might have been sons of soldiers. The *adcrescentes* in the East received an allowance in wheat as *annona* (Th. VI, 24, 2; VII, 5, 1, 4, 17, 28; X, 1, 17; the first case known being in BGU 316 (359 A.D.) of Ascalona, but the disposition was limited to Oriens and Egypt in the year 409 (Th. VII, 4, 31) and forbidden in the West (Th. VII, 1, 11; *Vita Gordiani*, 28, 3; Th. VIII, 5, 1; Grosse, p. 205).

[37] The pay of unskilled workmen with maintenance in the Edict of Diocletian is more than twice the real pay of an unskilled Egyptian workman.

[38] For the condition of soldiers in the auxilia, see Lesquier, p. 252; Johnson, p. 672.

veterans.[39] However it does not appear that peasants were eager to become soldiers, and on the other hand soldiers often turned into robbers.

IV. The Vestis Militaris and Other Land Taxes Levied for Military Purposes

P. Oxy. 1905 gives us an indirect method of calculating the expenses of the soldiers of the Byzantine Army for their vestes and other military equipment. P. Oxy. 1905, which is attributed by its editors to the fourth or fifth century A.D., is a *μερισμός* of the aruras for the 15th indiction. The aruras are assessed as follows:

vestes, 1 *χλαμύς* ..... assessed on 243 aruras
1 *στιχάριον* ..... assessed on 175 aruras
1 *πάλλιον* ..... assessed on 1925 aruras

1 *χλαμύς* $\frac{11}{12}$ *στιχάριον* in price, l. 5

χρυσ. βουρδόνων	each arura had to pay	$\frac{1}{46\frac{1}{4}}$ scruple
χρ. τιρώνων	" " " " "	$\frac{1}{20\frac{3}{4}}$ scruple
ναῦλον θαλαττίων(?)[40]	" " " " "	$\frac{1}{243}$ scruple
[*π*]*ρ*[*ι*]*μιπίλου*	" " " " "	$\frac{1}{1660}$ scruple
ἀμμωνιακῆς	" " " " "	$\frac{1}{4100}$ scruple
ναῦλον Κλήμεντος	" " " " "	7500 denarii
?[*βοῶ*]*ν καὶ ὄ*⟨*ν*⟩*ων*	" " " " "	5000 denarii

These last items are very small.

From some considerations on the *aurum burdonis* and the *primipili*, I suppose that P. Oxy. 1905 belongs to approximately 370.[41] All the taxes of P. Oxy. 1905 belong to the *largitionalia*

[39] Two very instructive series of documents illustrate the prosperous life of soldiers in Elephantine and the oppressed life of peasants of the village of Aphrodito; the former may be found in P. Lond. V and P. Mon., the latter in P. Cairo Maspero I–III. See Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and econ. history*, p. 630.

[40] The meaning of *θαλαττίων* is uncertain.

[41] P. Lips. 87, a receipt for *χρυσὸς βουρδόνων καὶ πριμιπίλου* from the end of the

except the *ναῦλα θαλαττίων*, which would belong to the class of *ἐμβολή* with *ναῦλα* and *τρόφιμον* of Alexandria. We do not know whether the assessment of the *aruratione*s was made separately from the different offices of the Byzantine administration.[42] The contributions of the land tax for the *vestis militaris* are:[43] from each 243 aruras a *χλαμύς*, from each 175 aruras a *στιχάριον*, and from each 1945 aruras a *πάλλιον*. Each *χλαμύς* (l. 6) is reckoned as $1\frac{1}{12}$ of a *στιχάριον*.[44] In the early Byzantine period the *vestis militaris* was supplied partly by handicraftsmen [45] scattered in the villages and partly by the Imperial factories.[46]

IV Century, probably after 370 (see other texts of the same period). The receipt for the *πριμίπιλον* = 7/8 scruples. According to the proportion of P. Oxy. 1905, the *χρυσὸς βουρδ.* had to be sol. $\frac{7}{32 \times 8\frac{36}{37}}$, equal to about 7/288 or 1/41 sol. The amount in P. Lips. 87 seems $\frac{1}{48} + \frac{1}{192} = \frac{5}{192} = 1/38\frac{2}{5}$, corresponding nearly exactly. Very probably P. Oxy. 1905 and P. Lips. 87 are of the same year because it is not probable that the ratio between the *aurum burdonis* and the *aurum primipili* remained constant throughout a long period. Figures in denarii in P Oxy. 1905 indicate a date perhaps still earlier. In P Oxy. 2001, 3 (466) 400 myriads of denarii are paid for *aurum burdonis*, *primipili* and *tironis*. As for the *chrysargyron*, debased money was accepted instead of gold.

[42] For the *vestis militaris* and the *aurum tironicum* see p. 418 ff. In the Edict Just. XIII of the year 538 three great divisions of taxes were recognized (see Gelzer, *Studien zur Byz. Verwaltung*, 1903, p. 37 ff.). (1) *ἐμβολή* with *ναῦλα* and *τρόφιμον* of Alexandria. (2) *εἴσπραξις τῶν δημοσίων φόρων*. These *φόροι* went to the cash of the *praefectus praetorio*. In the time of Justinian there were two funds, the *γενική* and the *ἰδική*. These taxes are called *arcarica* (Nov. Major. II, 1 [458] and VII, 16 [485]). The *annona militaris* was paid to the *arca* of the *praefectus praetorio*, after Constantine (Zosim. II, 33, 4) until the time of Zosimus (about 500 A.D.). See also the provisions of C. Th. VII, 4, "de erogatione militaris annonae." The *annona militaris* refers not only to the *militia armata* but also to the *cohortalis* and *palatina* (Th. VII, 4, 19). (3) *largitionalia*, to which belonged all the taxes which went to the *sacrae largitiones*, actually all the taxation which did not belong to the *embola* and to the *annona militaris* (C. Th. VII, 6, 2, [368]). The *canon vestium* went to the *largitiones* also when it was adaerated (VII, 6, 5, 432) as most of the taxes in money, when they did not refer to the *annona*, adaerated. The banks of the *largitiones* were the *θησαυροί*.

[43] The *vestis militaris* must be deposited in the thesauri of the *praepositus largitionis* (Th. VIII, 5, 48, 386).

[44] I think that this is the correct interpretation of 1. 6.

[45] P. Oxy. 1448 (318) payment of *στιχάρια* and pallia by villages, cp. P. Oxy. 1424 and 1425, both about 318, P. Lond. 1259 III, p. 239 (IV cent.) with payment in fractions of *χλαμύδες*.

[46] See Persson, *Staat und Manufaktur*, 1923, p. 99 ff., which quotes the Imperial factories of C. Th. VII, 65 = C. Just. XII, 39, 4 (423); C. Th. VII, 6, 4 = C. Just. XII, 39, 3 (396) and C. Th. X, 20, 6 (372).

I consider as basic texts for the *vestis militaris* P. Oxy. 1905 and a group of P. Lips. which, I think, enable us to reconstruct the method of the delivery of the *vestis militaris*. The *epimeletes* of the *vestis militaris*, e.g., a βουλευτής of a town, Panopolis in Papyri Lips., received an order with ἐντάγιον for a certain amount of *vestis militaris* through the *delegatio* of the *praeses*, which he had to supply through the διαδότης. This *vestis militaris* was delivered indirectly to Alexandria, for example, by the *diadotes*. The *epimeletes* with his *entagion* distributed the work among the clothiers. I think that all the transactions between the *epimeletes* and the clothiers resulted from the ἐντάγιον. According to PP. Lips. this ἐντάγιον, which certified that the work was accomplished, was exhibited by the *epimeletes* to the competent office of the *Praeses* of the province, in this case the officialis of the τάξις of the *Praeses Thebaidos*. The ἐντάγιον seems to have entitled the *epimeletes* to reimbursement for the expense assigned to his town for the *vestis militaris*. Probably he gave the ἐντάγιον, on which all transactions with the clothiers were recorded, to the *officialis*, and subsequently an order of payment in his behalf was issued by him. The *epimeletes* was probably paid in this case by cash from the *largitionalia*.[47] I assume that the *vestis militaris* was assessed in gold as an *aruratio*; the gold collected from the aruras was used to buy the *vestes*.[48]

P. Lips. 34 (ca. 375 A.D.) and P. Lips. 35 (373) show a more complicated method of managing the *vestis militaris*. Ammonas, ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν διαψηφίσεων of the *praeses* of the Thebais,[49] gives to Fl. Isidoros, *officialis* of the *taxis* of the *Praeses* of the Thebais, 238 *solidi* according to P. Lips. 34, 138 *solidi* according to P. Lips. 35. The money was handed over to Dioscorides, βουλευτὴς

[47] For the delivery procedure of the *vestis militaris*, see P. Lips. 58 (371), P. Lips. 59 (371) and P Lips. 45, 46 and 60, with very accurate introductions and commentaries by Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 362. Mitteis as well as Wilcken supposed that the *vestis militaris* was a contribution levied in kind, while on the contrary it seems to have been assessed with a *jugatio*, and that therefore the *iuga*, in Egypt the aruras, as a rule paid their contribution in money. Mitteis and Wilcken did not realize the last step of the transaction, *i.e.*, the payment through the *largitionalia* on behalf of the *epimeletai* who as *curiales* took the responsibility for the supply of the *vestis*.

[48] P. Oxy. 1136 shows that the *adaeratio* was probably no more than permissive.

[49] According to Gelzer, *Archiv f. Papyrusf.*, V (1913), p. 351, *scrinarius*, Joh. Lydus, II, 68. Rouillard², p. 94.

ἀποδέκτης χρ. τ. of Hermoupolis in P. Lips. 34, πρόπομπος τιρώνων in P. Lips. 35, belonging to the θεῖος κομιτᾶτος. Dioscorides received from Isidoros 61 *solidi* for the *vestis militaris* of the *tirones* — probably for six *vestes militares* because, according to a recent benevolent constitution, the tirones received only 10 *solidi* for their vestis.[50]

The remaining money, 238 −61 or 138 −61 *solidi*, remained in the hands of Fl. Isidoros, who was not anxious to give it back. Later it was stolen, according to both P. Lips. 34 and 35. P. Lips. 35, 1. 10, says that the money which remained in the hands of Fl. Isidoros was to be returned to the people who gave it to him — I suppose to the office of Ammonas, while Mitteis (P. Lips. p. 174) thinks to the taxpayer, an impossible interpretation, in my opinion. The *vestis militaris* and the *aurum tironicum*, once exacted, remained part of the government funds, if it was not used for recruitment. I think that here the ὑποδέκται received the money from the funds of the *praeses*, through some particular manipulation, in order to supply the *tirones* with their *vestes*.

It would be interesting to have an accurate statement of the value of the *vestis militaris*. Our data are incomplete. The troops of Illyricum bought *chlamydes* at ⅔ solidus before 396 and at one solidus later (C J. XII, 38, 3). Prices of *chlamydes* and *sticharia* are to be found in Tenney Frank, *Economic Survey*, V, p. 369 ff. In Diocletian's Edict, "περὶ ἐσθῆτος" XIX, I a, a soldier's mantle (χλαμύς) as in the *indictio*, of the best quality, cost 4000 *denarii*; 2, a shirt (στίχη), as in the *indictio*, 2000 *denarii*; 3, unmarked, 1250 *denarii*. In XXVI, 28 shirts (στίχαι) for soldiers cost 1500 *denarii* for first quality, 1250 for second quality, and 1000 for third quality. The prices of linen shirts for soldiers, according to Diocletian's Edict, XXVI, 28 ff., would be about 2, 1¾, and 1½ *solidi*, which suggests that prices in gold at the end of the fourth

[50] The new constitution, P. Lips. 35, l. 8 ff., θεῖα καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, disposed that the tirones received only 10 solidi for their *vestis*, cp. περὶ τοῦ δεῖν δέκα μόνους χρυσίνους παρασχεῖν τοῖς νεο̣λ[έ]κ̣[τ]οις with P. Lips. 34, V, l. 8, where the 61 solidi were given λόγῳ ἐνδυμάτων τιρόνων. From the two texts it is apparent that the tirones received less under the new constitution. But are we confronted with the ordinary recruits of the protostasia, who received 30 solidi and *vestis* and *sumptus*, or with a different sort of recruits who received vestes and money with another system of recruitment, e.g., the system of the prototypia (see p. 426)? The payment of 10 solidi for the vestis is very high compared with the 6 solidi for vestis and sumptus of C. Th. VII, 13, 7, 2 (375).

century were about half as much (see *Byzantion*, 1941, p. 259 ff.).

If we reckon on the basis of P. Oxy. 1905, comparing a *chlamys* in Egypt costing $^{11}/_{12}$ of a *στιχάριον λεινοῦν* with the price of a *chlamys* at ⅔ of a solidus, the contribution of Egypt for the *vestis* (including only *χλαμύδες* and *στιχάρια*) would be about 45,000 to 65,000 *solidi*. The prices of the *pallia* seem to have been much higher than the *στιχάρια*.[51] The contribution of Egypt for the *vestis militaris* at the end of the fourth century can be fixed at about 80,000 *solidi*. In Th. VII, 6 (377) "per Aegyptum in triginta terrenis iugis annua vestis dependatur," *vestis* means a unity represented by the formula A($^{1}/_{243}$ *χλαμύς* + $^{1}/_{125}$ *στιχάριον* + $^{1}/_{1945}$ *πάλλιον*) in which A means the number of aruras contained in 30 iuga. With a iugum of about 16 aruras (see the forthcoming Essay II) and 30 iuga amounting to about 480 aruras, a *vestis* would correspond to about five *chlamydes*, 6 *στιχάρια* and ½ *pallion*, and A equals approximately 1000. The arable land of Egypt would correspond to about 400,000 iuga (see p. 397) and each thirty iuga would be assessed with about twelve solidi for the *militaris vestis*.

V. The Aurum Tironicum

A great part of the early Byzantine army was levied from the peasantry of the provinces, which also contributed to the Imperial army with tirones or their substitute, the *aurum tironicum*.

In the time of the Empire the provinces contributed to the Imperial army with their *tirones voluntarii* and with the *tirones facti ex paganis*. The provinces supplied recruits as in the Byzantine period, as appears from P. Lond. II, 342, p. 173–174 (185 or 216–17 A.D.) where Sempronius, an elder of the village, hunted for recruits "*τειρῶνας κυνηγῆσαι ὕστερον ἀργυρισθεῖς ἀπέλυσεν*

[51] Evidence on the prices of *pallia* is very scarce. In Wessely, *Pal. St.* XXII, 46 (II Cent. A.D.), a *pallium* is valued at 20 drachmas (Johnson, *Econ. Survey*, II, p. 319). *Pallia*, however, seem to be much more expensive than *στιχάρια* in the list collected in Heichelheim, *Ec. Survey*, IV, p. 186 f. A white pallium costs 100 denarii in Dura Pg 74 (232 A.D.), a pallium 90 denarii in Dura S. E. G. VII, 240 (235–40 A.D.), while a *στιχάριον* costs 10 denarii in S. E. G. VII, 247 Dura. All the prices of Dura of the year 240 and thereabouts are much higher than the Egyptian prices of about the same period. We do not know the price of cereals for Dura, but we have the impression that the level of the prices of Dura is more comparable with the prices of Ephesus in the I–II cent. A.D. (see A. Segrè, *Byzantion*, XV [1940–41], 270) than with the Egyptian prices.

αὐτούς" in order to earn a ransom for their freedom.[52] Doubtless the provinces had to supply a certain number of soldiers. And very probably wealthy people contributed to encourage the young volunteers. Probably the *aurum tironicum* in the Byzantine period developed out of this contribution. The *aurum tironicum*, assessed with an aruratio, was exacted by the curiae of the towns through the ὑποδέκται and delivered to the provincial treasury,[53] where it was used to pay the recruits supplied by the curiae of the towns.[54] The *vestis militaris*, the *aurum tironicum* and the other taxes of P. Oxy. 1905 were assessed in gold as *aruratione*s. Another evidence of an aruratio in gold collected by the ὑποδέκτης is supplied by P. Lips. 62, Col. II, l. 17 ff.[55] But while in Egypt we are con-

[52] See Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 395, and for the character of the recruitment of the Egyptian Army, Lesquier, p. 224 ff. The recruitment of the army confronted the Roman empire with great difficulties under the first emperors. Tacitus says of Tiberius, "dilectibus supplendus exercitus: nam voluntarium militem deesse, ac si suppeditet, non eadem virtute ac modestia agere, quia plerumque inopes ac vagi militiam sumant." In the time of Trajan draftees could give substitutes, Plin., *Ep.*, X 39. In the levies extortions were often used: Tac., *Ann.*, XIV, 18, *Hist.*, IV, 14, *Agricola*, cap. 7 quoted by A. Delbrueck *op. cit.*, p. 197.

[53] The *aurum tironicum* in P. Lips. 62 (384–385 A.D.) assessed as an aruratio (P. Oxy. 1905) was exacted by the βουλευτής of Hermoupolis, Aurelius Philammon, who was an ὑποδέκτης of the *aurum tironicum*. The sum was levied according to the *delegatio* of the *praeses* of the province and paid by the ὑποδέκτης to the χρυσώνης, *monetarius* (Just. Ed. XI, c. 2), the chief financial administrator of the province (Thebais). The money exacted was used by the treasury of the *monetarius* for the engagement of the *tirones*. In P. Lips. 61, Antinoupolis (375 A.D.), the *monetarius* of the Thebais declares to Flavius Isidoros, *officialis* for the *taxis* of the *praeses Thebaidos*, that he paid 72 *solidi* ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος of Hermoupolis εἰς λόγον χρ. τιρ. τῶν παλαιῶν χρόνων. See also P. Oxy. 1103 (360 A.D.), introduction.

[54] The *aurum tironicum* was collected by the ὑποδέκτης Aurelius Philammon, in P. Lips., 62 (384–5 A.D.) and paid to the χρυσώνης of the province (Thebais). The payment made by the ὑποδέκτης to the χρυσώνης according to the orders of the *praeses* was made ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας of the ὑποδέκτης. The payments for the arrears of the 6th–9th indiction were in four receipts, as follows: 30 pounds of gold, 20 pounds of gold, 15 pounds 6 ounces of gold, and 18 pounds of gold. We do not know the aruratio of the nomos of Hermoupolis, but if the nomos of Hermoupolis had to be about one-thirtieth of the arable land of Egypt (see A. Segrè, *J. E. A.*, 1941, p. 177) the *nomos*, according to the *aruratio* of $\frac{1}{20}\frac{2}{3}$ scruple each arura, had to pay about 40 pounds of gold a year.

[55] In P. Lips. 62 (384–5 A.D.) col. II, line 10, Chonis, χρυσώνης, acknowledges to Philammon, ὑποδέκτης χρυσοῦ of Hermoupolis, that he received 38 pounds 3 oz. gold: line 13: διαφόρων τίτλων χωρὶς διαστολῶν ἀκύρων οὐσῶν ἑτέρων ἐνταγίων ἀπὸ ἰνδικ(τίονος) ιγ καὶ ἀπὸ ιδ ἰνδικ(τίονος) καὶ λοιπάδων ἀπ(ε)στάλησαν εἰς τοὺς θείους θησαυροὺς Ἀθὺρ η πεντεκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) εἴδε ἐν σταθμῷ εἴδε ἐν νομισματίοις. In P. Lips. 62, col. II, line 17 ff. the same Philammon pays to the χρυσώνης 10 pounds of gold for the 12th indiction, ἀπὸ λόγου χρυσοῦ ἀρουρατίονος

fronted with a *capitatio terrena* for the *aurum tironicum*, in other regions the *aurum tironicum* appears to have been paid as an alternative to supplying an acceptable recruit, among people who were not *coloni* or attached to compulsory trades, Th. VII, 13, 13, 397: Arcadius and Honorius "damus optionem ut, quod conducibile senatus videtur eligendi habeat potestatem, id est aut tirones aptos officiis militaribus praestiterit, aut pro singulis XXV solidos numerent post initam videlicet sumptuum rationem et vestium et pastus."

In the year 375 (Cod. Th. VII, 13, 7, 2) a *senator honoratus*, a *principalis decurio vel plebeius* had to present a recruit "suo ac sociorum nomine ex agro ac domo propria," and therefore had to pay 36 solidi, 30 to the administration and 6 to the recruit for the *vestis* and *sumptus*.[56]

The *vestis militaris* belonged, I think, to the *anabolicae species*. Ἀναβολικόν did not mean "good for export overseas," as it was understood first by Rostovtzeff, who later (*Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Roman Emp.*, p. 611) connected ἀναβολικόν with ἀναβάλλειν, "to deal out (a portion of a certain kind of goods for export to Rome)." More probably, ἀναβολικόν is related originally to ἀναβάλλειν, *induere*, and ἀναβολικόν with *indumentum vestis* (cf. Liddell-Scott, s.v.). The *annona* referred to the food, the ἀναβολικόν to the *vestis*. The ἀναβολικόν later included commodities which do not have much to do with the *vestis*.[56a]

VI. How Much of the Gold Levied for the Aurum Tironicum and the Vestis Militaris was Actually Used for Military Purposes?

There were approximately seven million aruras in Egypt, each of which was assessed 1/83 *solidus* for the *aurum tironicum*. On this basis Egypt contributed about 90,000 *solidi* for the *aurum*

διγραμμ. . . . The responsibility for collecting the *aruratio* in gold was laid upon the ὑποδέκται. I do not know what the διγραμμ . . . of the *aruratio* may be, but I doubt that it meant half a solidus for each arura, which would be too high a rate of taxation.

[56] The *aurum tironicum* was reckoned at 30 sol. in Africa, Sicilia, Sardinia and Corsica in the year 410 (Th. VII, 13, 20, and Nov. Val. 6, 3, 1 (444). See Kubitschek Pauly-Wissowa, s.v., vol. II, p. 2553 and Grosse, p. 213 ff.

[56a] We deal with the *anabolicae species* in a later Essay on Byzantine Economy, under the chapter χειρωνάξιον.

tironicum.[57] Each *tiro* corresponded to about 30 *solidi.* Therefore, if the *aurum tironicum* corresponded to the number of *tirones* which had to be presented, Egypt gave 3000 *tirones* each year. Since a *tiro* entered the army at eighteen (see Grosse, p. 107) and served twenty-five years before receiving the *missio*, and since the average term of service was not more than fifteen years because of the proportion of those who died or became *inutiles* between eighteen and forty-three years of age, the Egyptian contingent must have numbered about 45,000.[58] This is the minimum figure.[59]

Now, each *tiro* received 30 *solidi.* If we reckon that each thousand aruras, for example, had to supply a *tiro* or pay 30 *solidi*, we may suppose that about 3500 out of the 7000 capitula of 1000 aruras each, that is to say half of Egypt, paid 30 *solidi*, while the other 50 per cent presented actual *tirones.* In that case Egypt supplied 1500 actual *tirones* who received 30 *solidi* each. If the Byzantine Empire paid the price for the actual number of its recruits the number of the *tirones* corresponded to half the number of iuga divided by the number of iuga which had to supply a *tiro.* Therefore each province, theoretically at least, presented actual *tirones* from half its territory, and money for their maintenance from the other half. It is known that there were provinces which supplied actual *tirones* for the most part, and others which paid the *aurum tironicum.*[60] Egypt probably belonged to the second category.[61]

But we do not think that the administration used for the enlist-

[57] This figure is not very accurate because we assume that all the Egyptian landed proprietors contributed equally according to their number of aruras, as it appears from P. Oxy. 1905. We do not know anything about exemptions. And the figures would be still higher if we consider that the *aurum tironicum* might have been paid not only with the jugatio but with the capitatio (personal tax) as it appears from Amm., XXI, 66, where "Omnis ordo et professio" contributes to the *aurum tironicum.*

[58] Grosse, p. 201, reckons that an army of 300,000 men needed 20,000 recruits yearly.

[59] For the recruitment of the *tirones* see Grosse, p. 107.

[60] See Grosse, p. 211. Thraciae, for example, supplied *tirones* for the most part, while the *provinciae suburbicariae* supplied money.

[61] Not all the *tirones* were enlisted with the payment of the *aurum tironicum;* therefore these figures may be used only for a very rough calculation. Moreover, we do not know whether the *Fundi patrimoniales* of the Emperor paid the *aurum tironicum.*

ments the whole of the *aurum tironicum* which had been collected from half the country.[62] It may be that during a certain period A *tirones* were presented by the *possessores* with B *tirones adaerati*, being a larger figure than A. In that case the administration easily converted a part of B into actual recruits. The government could also ask for *tirones* or their equivalent according to the need.

Some considerations may show that a great part of the money levied as *aurum tironicum*, which must have amounted to about half a million solidi at least for the whole Byzantine Empire at the end of the fourth century, was used also for other military expenses.

VII. The Recruitment of the Byzantine Army

Starting from these considerations we shall try to clear up some points concerning the manner in which soldiers were recruited in the Byzantine period.

There were two recruiting systems, the *prototypia* and the *protostasia*.[63] For the recruiting of *tirones*, the whole country, as we know, was divided into *capitula* of, let us say, 30 juga. Each *capitulum*, which had to supply a *tiro* or the equivalent in money, had a president, the *capitularius* or *temonarius*.[64] The *capitularius* was responsible for the *aurum tironicum* of his *capitulum*. This system of recruiting, called the *protostasia*, which was considered as a *munus patrimonii* because imposed on iuga and capita, was in use before the year 293.[65] Under the other system, the *prototypia* (see the first case in Th. VI, 35, 3 [319 or 352], Grosse, p. 213) the *capitularius* had to find the recruits and exact the money from the *capitula* afterwards.[66] The *decuriones* and *senatores* were obliged to serve the *prototypia*, which was rather a *munus personale* than a *munus patrimonii*, until the year 362 (Th. XI, 23, 2). Grosse thinks that in this system the sum paid to the *tiro* was not fixed

[62] If we put the army of Egypt in the Byzantine period at between ten and fifteen thousand soldiers, the number of recruits required yearly would be between 650 and 1000. Only a small amount — probably a third or a quarter — of the *aurum tironicum* was used for the *tirones*. The rest was probably badly needed for the maintenance of the army.

[63] See Grosse, p. 212 ff.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 212 f.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 211, n. 1.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

but arrived at by bargaining, and that the system gave occasion to great frauds (Th. VII, 13, 7 [375]). In my opinion we have not a very clear idea of the *prototypia*, and the *protostasia* also presents some problems to be solved.[67] The papyri supply some data for the *protostasia* but very little for the *prototypia*, so far as I know. They do show new aspects of recruiting problems in the Byzantine army. In Egypt, at any rate, the *aurum tironicum* was probably exacted as an *aruratio* directly from the landowners, who paid it to the fiscus through the *ὑποδέκται* according to the numbers of their aruras. This money, or more properly a fraction of it, was put at the disposal of the curiae, which recruited the *tirones*. They did this through their *ἐπιμεληταί* of the *aurum tironicum* in their territory, paying the *aurum tironicum* fixed by the government and an extra sum for the equipment of the recruits. The *ἐπιμεληταί* of the *aurum tironicum* acted exactly as the *ἐπιμεληταί* of the *annona*.[68] It must be emphasized that each military district [69] was obliged to pay the *aurum tironicum*, or to present recruits. Later a number of *tirones* proportional to the amount paid in was bought in each district with the *aurum tironicum*.

It seems that the recruiting of the *tirones* was not an easy task. As Th. VII, 2, 3 (380)[70] shows, the *tirones* were classified as coming from three groups of people: *vagi*, *veteranorum filii*,[71] and

[67] For all this see O. Seeck, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *capitulum*.

[68] P. Oxy. VIII 1103 and P. Lond. III, p. 228–9. This procedure is shown in many other papyri. In P. Oxy. VIII 1103 (360 A.D., = Wilcken, *Chrest.*, n. 465), Eutrygios, an ex-curator, explains in a meeting of the city council of Oxyrhynchos that he made clear to the dux that the recruits applied wrongly to him "*ὡς μὴ πληρωθέντων τοῦ συμφώνου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτούς*." The town gave them not only the sum (30 sol.) which was decreed by the government from the *ταμιεῖον* (the fiscus) but also a *διάπεισμα*, an extra. (See P. Tebt. II, 34, 27–29, and Wilcken, *Chrest.*, p. 551). In P. Lond. II, p. 228–9 (Wilcken, *Chrest.*, n. 466, fourth century, Heracleopolites) Wilcken understands that the village *Τώου*, instead of presenting a recruit, preferred to pay a sum, usually 30 solidi, to the fiscus (*ταμιακὸς λόγος*), but that actually the village gave the money to Kyrillos, the epimeletes of the *aurum tironicum*, and that Kyrillos, for this money, recruited a tiro from *Τώου*, Papnuthis.

[69] I say military district because we do not know if there were military circumscriptions for the levy of the *tirones*. I think that the *capitularii* also, where the system of the capitula was used, had to pay the *aurum tironicum* first and then purchase the amount of recruits needed.

[70] Grosse, p. 204 ff.

[71] Th. VII, 1, 8 (365) and Th. VII, 1, 10 (367). The sons of soldiers probably did not receive the *aurum tironicum*.

vacantes. Military service was ruled by the principle of corporative organization. Military service became a profession, like that of the *navicularii*, the *pistores*, etc. But outside of this corporative pattern the Empire recruited a large part of its army from barbarian populations. Grosse [72] emphasizes the recruitment of the Roman army from what he calls the deditician *Quasigemeinde*. As we know, in some cases *barbari* of the borders under their respective rulers either served as allies or as recruits. There are a few cases in Ammianus (XVII, 13, 3; XIX, 11, 6–7; XXX, 6, 1; XXXI, 4, 4)[73] of *gentes foederatae* who pledge themselves to give recruits to the Roman army. The *laeti* and *gentiles* were barbarians (Germans) settled in military colonies, chiefly in Gaul, but also in Italy. They became very numerous in the third century A.D. The *laeti*, who were Germans of the free Germany on the other side of the Rhine, were doubtless granted Roman citizenship when they settled in the territory of the Roman Empire, according to the principles of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.[74]

[72] Grosse, p. 206. [73] Grosse, p. 207.

[74] According to the C. A., *laeti* and *gentiles*, who lived in the Roman Empire as Roman citizens, keeping their own organization, were not dediticii. See A. Segrè, *Rend. Acc. Vat.*, XVI (1940), 189 ff.

For the infiltration of barbari into the Roman Empire in the time of Caracalla, see Bikerman, *Das Edict des Kaisers Caracall* (1926), p. 7 ff. Bikerman understands that in P. Giss., 40, I, line 6, *ὁσ]άκις ἐὰν ὑ[π]εισέλ[θωσ]ιν εἰς τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀνθρώπους* refers to *barbari* infiltrating into the Empire, while Heichelheim, JEA, 1941, p. 12, translates "if I lead (as Romans as many myriads) as happen to be my subjects to the temples of the gods," where *ὑ[π]εισέλ[θωσ]ιν* is translated "as happen to be" and in line 6, *μυρίους* is read instead of *ξένους*. Although the interpretation of Bikerman presents many difficulties, e.g., the interpretation of P. Giss. 40, I as a novella, which appears not acceptable, the restoration in Heichelheim, *ibid.*, p. 15, and his interpretation are ingenious but not convincing. Bickerman raised the question of the *status civitatis* of the *barbari* who might enter into the territory of the Roman Empire as refugees, or by invitation of the Emperors (p. 10) and might have had the political position of *foederati* or *gentes* (p. 12) and concluded, doubtless, rightly, that these *barbari* (p. 24) were not *barbari dediticii*, but *tributarii*, *cultores*, *coloni*, *laeti*, and that they became Roman citizens (p. 13).

Heichelheim's interpretation of the C. A., l. 7 f., "I grant, therefore, to all (free persons throughout the Roman) world the citizenship of the Romans (no other legal status remaining) except that of the dediticians," is not convincing. (See A. Segrè, *Rend. Acc. Pont.*, XVI [1940], 193 ff.). *Barbari dediticii* (see Grosse, p. 203 and Bikerman, p. 24) could also serve in the Roman army, as in a few cases slaves did (see Th. VII, 13, 16, 17 (406)). The conclusions of Grosse (p. 200) on the free Germans who were not Roman *cives* in the Roman Army are mostly inaccurate, because Grosse, in 1920, followed the traditional interpretation of the Constitutio Antoniniana given by Mommsen.

Formally[75] the principle of conscription existed until the beginning of the fifth century, but Nov. Val. V. No. 2 (440) shows that in that period *Romani cives* and members of guilds were exempted from the army service. According to Grosse,[76] most of the recruits were volunteers, attracted by the initial payment of the *aurum tironicum*, by the agreeable nature of the military life, and by the many fiscal advantages and exemptions which a soldier received.

VIII. Roman Military Expenses in Egypt in the First and Second Centuries

There are no figures extant for the total expenses of the Roman army in Egypt in the Byzantine period, but, using the data of the *stipendia* during the Empire and the *annonae* in the period after Diocletian, we may collect some figures which will tell us how the expenses expanded and declined in different periods.

The most important data for the first and second centuries of our era have been collected and elaborated by Lesquier in *L'Armée Romaine*, p. 260 ff., and later by Johnson in his *Economic Survey*, II, 620 ff.

Lesquier (p. 112) calculates the strength of troops in Roman Egypt during the first and second centuries as follows:

83 A.D.

	infantry	cavalry
2 legions	5480 x 2: 10960	120 x 2: 240
3 alae		500 x 3: 1500
4 cohortes equitatae	380 x 4: 1520	120 x 4: 480
4 cohortes	500 x 4: 2000	
Total	14480	2220
Total infantry and cavalry		16700

144–147 A.D.

	infantry	cavalry
1 legion	5480	120
4 alae		500 x 4: 2000
4 cohortes equitatae	380 x 4: 1520	120 x 4: 480
cohors 1 Ulpia Afr. eq.	760	240
cohors scutata civ. R.	500	
Total	8260	2840
Total infantry and cavalry		11100

[75] Grosse, p. 202.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

The estimation of the wages paid to the army of occupation is left largely to conjecture.[77]

First century to circa A.D. 81: 2 legions and 10 cohorts of auxiliaries:

11200 legionaries @ 744 dr.	8,332,800 dr.
5500 auxiliaries @ circa 545 dr.	2,997,500 dr.
Total	11,330,300 dr.
From A.D. 83 to circa A.D. 150:	
11200 legionaries @ 891 dr.	9,979,200 dr.
5500 auxiliaries @ circa 654 dr.	3,597,000 dr.
Total	13,576,200 dr.
From circa A.D. 150 to circa A.D. 200	
5600 legionaries @ 891 dr.	4,989,600 dr.
5500 auxiliaries @ circa 654 dr.	3,597,000 dr.
Total	8,586,600 dr.

Severus and Caracalla increased the *stipendia* of the soldiers, but Egyptian evidence of the third century A.D. suggests that, in order to keep the purchasing power of the *stipendia* unchanged, they had to be doubled in the time of Severus.[78] No estimate is available for the pay of higher officers.[79] The cost of maintaining the fleet and yards on the Red Sea is also unknown.[80] There is no evidence that the grain fleet (*classis Alexandrina*) was convoyed, although at times such a precaution was probably necessary.[81]

These data would lead us to reckon the part of the military expenses represented by the pay of the Imperial army in Egypt during the period about 83 A.D. at ca. 25 million drachmas yearly; in the period about 150 A.D., at ca. 17 million drachmas.

But with the Severi the expenses for the army, counted in drachmas or denarii, were higher, owing to the inflation and the increased size of the army. The last figure of 17 million drach-

[77] Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 672, uses the data of Lesquier, p. 260, but with some corrections. He reckons the pay of the auxiliary at five-sixths the pay of a legionary, on the evidence of P. Gen. Lat. I (Johnson, n. 407 (81–83 A.D.?)).

[78] According to Alföldi, C. A. H. XII, 221 ff., soldiers at the end of the third century were rewarded mostly with *largitiones* and *annonae*. For the *largitiones* gold medallions were used as presents accompanying the Imperial festivals, or as bribes.

[79] An attempt could be made to calculate the *stipendia* of higher officers using the Byzantine evidence. See Grosse, p. 111 ff.

[80] Expenses for the horses and beasts of burden were far from being negligible.

[81] Johnson, *ibid.*, p. 672.

mas may have trebled. About 50 million drachmas were probably spent for the Egyptian army at the time of Caracalla.[82]

IX. Some Figures on the Size of the Imperial and Byzantine Armies

The figures on the size of the Imperial and Byzantine armies are not fully reliable. Often most of the effectives indicated in the source existed only on paper.

Starting with the fact that the Roman army, at the beginning of the third century, was composed of thirty-three legions, Grosse (*op. cit.*, p. 253), in agreement with Marquardt, *Röm. Staats.*, II², 241, puts the whole army with the *auxilia* at 300,000 soldiers. According to Zosimus (II, 15, 1), the army of Constantine in Gaul was about 100,000 men, which means, says Grosse (p. 253), that the Roman army was about 400,000 strong at this time. But Lydus (*De Mens.* I, 27) gives for the army of Diocletian 390,000 soldiers and 45,000 sailors, saying that these figures had been doubled by the time of Constantine. Grosse, quite rightly, does not believe Lydus.[83]

Later the Byzantine army was greatly reduced. Agathias[84] says that under Justinian the army was reduced to 150,000 soldiers, while in the time of the undivided monarchy there had been 650,000. This larger figure, also, does not seem reliable. Grosse estimates, on the basis of the *Notitia dignitatum* of the beginning of the fifth century, an army of 194,500 men. He estimates that there were 94 legions with 1000 soldiers each and 108 *auxilia* of 500 soldiers each, making a total of 148,000 men. Then there were 81 *vexillationes* and 12 *scholae* with 46,500 cavalry.

Some calculations of Seeck, according to Grosse, p. 253, would bring the army of the time of Diocletian close to 500,000 men. This figure is generally accepted, but it is not based on reliable

[82] We realize that these calculations are highly conjectural, but I think it better to have a very rough idea of the figures than none at all.

[83] The figures of the army of the IV cent. are discussed by Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, II, 226 ff. Mommsen from the *notitia dignitatum* assumes that the army of Diocletian was of about 500–600 thousand soldiers ("Das römische Heerwesen seit Diocletian," *Hermes*, XXIV, 257), but many of the units of this big army existed only on paper. We do not know exactly how large the units were and whether the *limitanei* were reckoned as soldiers.

[84] *Hist. Min. Graeci*, II, Dindorf (Leipzig, 1871), V, 13.

data. Delbrück (*Geschichte d. Kriegskunst*, II, 216 ff., 311 ff.) doubts even that the army in Constantine's time was bigger than in the time of Septimius Severus. If we assume that Egypt in the age of Diocletian had an army of six legions, with *vexillationes* and *scholae* in the same proportion as found in the *notitia dignitatum*, the Egyptian army of the time of Diocletian could have been about 13,000 men, or 6000 legionaries, 3500 auxilia and 3500 knights.[85] This figure would be near that of the second century A.D. The army of Constantine was bigger than that of Diocletian, but hardly the double.

In Egypt the army at the time of Diocletian was of about the same size as the Egyptian army of the second century, as is shown by the evidence of Egyptian papyri. It is therefore very difficult to admit that in the whole Empire the army of Diocletian could have been much greater than that of the Severi. The assertion of Lactantius, *De mort. pers.*, VII, 5, that Diocletian increased the army to four times its previous size appears therefore to be hardly credible.[86]

Although we know how uncertain the figures are, we would

[85] As we now know, the period of Diocletian was revolutionary in the reorganization of the Army which took place at that time. This reorganization (P. W. XII, p. 1348 ff. Ritterling s.v. *legio*) strengthened chiefly the defense of the borders. Each border province had two legions and the same pattern of formation of even elements was followed with the *auxilia*. Egypt (see p. 1355 f.) was divided into three provinces, Jovia, Herculia and Thebais, and had two legions in each province, but the stations of the legions may have been altered with the change in the administrative divisions of Egypt after Diocletian. Stein (*op. cit.*, p. 107) puts the army of Diocletian at about 60 or 70 legions with auxilia, alae, cohortes and other formations. But many of these legions were old *vexillationes*, and therefore smaller than the average. Stein gives the figure of 500,000 soldiers for the whole Roman army of Diocletian. From 297 A.D. on, the *comitatenses* were preferred, as better troops, to the *limitanei* (A. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 107). To the *comitatenses* belonged the *vexillationes* (cavalry) and legions of infantry and formations of about five hundred soldiers, probably taken from the old numeri, mostly *barbari* who alone were called auxilia at that date. K. Stade, *op. cit.*, p. 59 f., emphasizes that the strengthening of the borders of the empire with fortifications and with the building of strategic roads followed the patterns of the military policy of the earlier emperors (see Ritterling, legio, P. W. XII, p. 1349, Zosim, II 34, 1 and Fabricius, *Limes*, P. W. XII 571 ff). While Diocletian operated with an army distributed mostly at the boundaries (*limitanei* or *riparienses*) with comparatively few *comitatenses*, Constantine transformed the Roman army into an operational army, i.e., increased comparatively the number of the *comitatenses*.

[86] Probably the assertion of Lactantius originated in the fact that the number of legions was increased to 94, but the legions of Diocletian had only about a thousand men each.

suggest for a tentative estimate of the size of the Roman army in the Imperial and Byzantine periods the following figures:

Severus: not more than 300,000 men, but normally less.
Diocletian: —400,000 men.
Constantine: 500,000 men.
Fifth century: About 200,000 men.
Justinian: About 150,000 men.

These figures explain the paucity of the expeditionary forces of the Byzantine armies after the fifth century, which has been noticed by Delbrück.[87] But also in the period of Diocletian the distribution of the Roman army in defensive positions along the borders of the Empire implied that military expeditions were undertaken as far as possible with troops garrisoned on the nearest borders (*riparienses* and *limitanei*). The difficulties of transporting troops from remote regions were of a double nature, economic and psychological: economic, because the transportation expenses were very heavy along the routes (Stuart Jones, *A Companion to Roman History*, p. 45, col. I, 5, 6, Pliny, Epist. V, 6, and this essay, p. 405); psychological, because the soldiers who were used to their life in the garrisons were not willing to leave their families to engage in distant expeditions.

I realize that it is very difficult to compare the military expenses of the first two centuries A.D. with those of the early Byzantine period. However, to understand the financial implications of the military organization in the period of Diocletian and of Constantine we have to show how the expenses for the *annona* at the end of the third century A.D. and of the first half of the fourth century, measured in gold, were comparatively much greater than the expenses of the first and second centuries A.D.

We start from the very conjectural data of Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, V, 4 ff. According to this author, Augustus had about 25 legions, i.e., 150,000 citizen soldiers. Each drew 225 den. per year: in all ca. 32,000,000 den. To these expenses should be added the *donativa* to the soldiers and the rewards at the completion of twenty or more years of service. The total expenses of the annual military budget of the Augustan age may be calculated between 350 and 400 million HS. Many of the items given by Tenney Frank have to be revised: many of the

[87] Grosse, p. 254.

figures are of course highly conjectural. The item referring to the *auxilia* seems to be very doubtful (see p. 414). Reckoning the total expenses for food of the Roman soldier at about one third of his pay we should conclude that in the Augustan period the expenses for the rations of the army would correspond to about one quarter of the total expenses.

The officers would receive	ca. 7,500,000 den.
Food for allied troops (about 50 *modii* to each) of about 150,000 men at 1 den. per *modius*	ca. 7,500,000 den.
Cost of transport and ordnance	ca. 7,500,000 den.
The navy cost very little after Actium	ca. 5,000,000 den.
	ca. 59,000,000 den.
	= ca. 240,000,000 HS
Cost of praetorian and urban cohorts	
9000 praetorians at 750 den. per year	ca. 6,750,000 den.
3000 urban soldiers at ca. 360 den.	ca. 1,080,000 den.
Officers for these troops	ca. 1,000,000 den.
	ca. 8,830,000 den.
	= ca. 35,000,000 HS

We reckon further that the expenses for food of a Roman army of ca. 300,000 men at the end of the second century A.D. might have corresponded to a little more than a third of the entire wages of the soldiers. The administration did not supply the soldiers with *vestis*, *arma*, etc., but did supply of course extraordinary expenses, like transportation. At the end of the second century A.D. the Roman army might have cost ca. 500 million HS yearly, of which the expenses for food would have been about one quarter of the total expenses and one third of the expenses for wages.

In the early Byzantine period, under Diocletian and under Constantine, the expenses for the army for food were proportionally much higher because the prices of food expressed in gold were much higher.[88] In gold, 500 million sestertii in the time of Severus (reckoning an aureus at ca. $1/50$ of a pound) would correspond to ca. 100,000 pounds of gold. In wheat, reckoning a *modius* at one denarius, i.e., nearly double the Egyptian prices of the first and second century A.D.[88a] the expenses for the army would correspond to about 133 million *modii* = $66\frac{6}{7}$ million artabas of wheat.

[88] A. Segrè, *Byzantion*, XV, 259 ff.
[88a] A. Segrè, *Circolazione*, p. 78 ff., *Byzantion*, XV, 259 ff.

X. Military Expenses in the Byzantine Period

It is practically impossible to give figures for the military expenses met by Egypt in the Byzantine period. We do not know how much was spent for each soldier beside the *annona* for *vestis*, *donativa*, for fortifications, for expeditions, horses, non-commissioned officers, officers, etc. We may be sure that about one-third of the army was composed of cavalry, which meant a further expense of *capita*, and in the Justinian period this was not much less than an *annona* (see p. 409). In the time of Diocletian and Constantine also this was very high.[88b] The expenses of the *annona* were, moreover, mounting higher than is apparent from the official prices, because the prices of the *adaeratio* reckoned by the government were much lower than the actual expenses paid by the provincials.

Considering the prices of the *annona* and the expenses for officers, clothes, weapons, etc., a very conservative estimate for the expenses of the army at various times would be as follows:[89]

Diocletian	400,000 x 40 sol.:	16,000,000 sol.
Constantine	500,000 x 60 sol.:	30,000,000 sol.
Fifth century:	200,000 x 16 sol.:	3,200,000 sol.
Justinian:	150,000 x 16 sol.:	2,400,000 sol.

The very conservative figure of 16,000,000 *solidi* for the military expenses of the time of Diocletian corresponds to 222,222 pounds of gold with a purchasing power in wheat, according to the Edict, of 128 million *modii* = 38.6 million artabas.

In the age of Constantine, for a bigger army, we assume that the expenses measured in gold were nearly doubled, while the purchasing power of the amount of gold spent was not much higher than in the time of Diocletian.

These figures are very conservative. The prices in gold at the time of the Edict of Diocletian were probably higher than they appear in the *brevis* (see p. 393) and we did not include in our calculations the expenses of the *aurum tironicum* (see p. 422 ff.). Moreover, the fiscal exemptions of the soldiers and of the *veterani*

[88b] In this period (see p. 411) the expense of feeding a horse with barley was exceedingly high.

[89] We have to reckon with the cost of maintaining the military machinery and with the payroll of the different officers and non-commissioned officers (see Grosse, *op. cit.*, p. 111 ff.) who were paid mostly in *annonae* and *capita*.

in the early Byzantine period have wider implications than the exemptions in the first and second centuries A.D. We think therefore that the military expenses of the last years of Diocletian must be reckoned as three times higher than those of the times of the Antonines. Under Constantine we may probably reckon with expenses five times higher. These figures are, of course, highly speculative, but they give an idea of the crushing burdens of military expenses of the early Byzantine period.

What percentage of the total budget of the emperors is represented by these figures? Sundwall (*Weströmische Studien*, p. 150 ff., followed by Grosse, *op. cit.*, p. 208) reckons the revenues of the Western Roman Empire at the beginning of the reign of Honorius at 22 million *solidi*, and 50 years later at 15 million *solidi*.[90] I think that we have an approximate indication of the revenue, in money and kind, of the Byzantine Empire at the time of Justinian in the accounts of the taxes paid by the village of Aphrodito. On this basis the revenues of all Egypt in the second

[90] These figures are probably about twice the correct amount. They would fit the whole Empire — east and west, better. E. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 509 ff., figures out the budget of the Western Empire on the basis of Nov. Val. III, XIII (445) but his calculations are not accurate. According to E. Stein, the *annonae militares* and the *capita* of the six African provinces amounted to 300,000 solidi. He agrees with Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, p. 50) that the population of the Western Empire was 25 million inhabitants of which six million were in Africa. E. Stein calculates that the *annona* was about half the total taxation and arrives at the figure of about two and a half million solidi for the budget of the Western Roman Empire, a figure which was reduced to about a million and a half about the time of the death of Honorius. The calculations of E. Stein include so many conjectures that they appear very uncertain. Moreover, his results appear very unsatisfactory because it is improbable that Egypt at the time of Justinian could have sustained a taxation of about two and a half million solidi, that is, the same amount as the whole Western Empire, and the military expenses of the fifth century would be extraordinary for so poor a budget as then obtained (see p. 435). I think that if the *annonae* of Nov. Val. III, XIII, are *annonae militares* we are not at liberty to suppose that the *annonae* could be more than half of the entire taxation of the African provinces. For Egypt in the time of Justinian we may perhaps reckon an *annona* of about 80,000 to 120,000 solidi, or about 8 solidi apiece for the army of ten to fifteen thousand men. We do not include in this figure the *vestis militaris*, the weapons, etc., which were paid for as *largitionalia* and not as *arcarica*. The *annonae* in Egypt would have been one twentieth of the total budget. If we reckon the *annonae* of the officers of the *militia non armata* of the civil services we should not come to a total expense of more than one tenth of the entire budget with the *annonae*. Therefore I think that the figure of 300,000 solidi given by E. Stein would mean a total of about three million solidi for the revenue of the African provinces in the fifth century, and not a mere 600,000 solidi.

half of the sixth century were about 2.4 million solidi. Egypt must have yielded not less than one sixth of the entire revenue of the Empire; therefore the Imperial revenues at the time of Justinian probably amounted to about 15 million solidi. These figures are obviously highly conjectural, but much less so than the figures of Sundwall and E. Stein.

The expense for an army of 150,000 soldiers in the time of Justinian (see p. 433) may be reckoned at about 2.4 million *solidi*, i.e., at about one sixth of the entire revenue of the Empire. In the time of Diocletian, according to the most conservative calculations, an army of 300,000 men would have cost about 12 million *solidi*; in the time of Constantine an army of 400,000 men about 24 million *solidi*, and in the fifth century an army of 200,000 men 3.2 million *solidi*. Army expenses for the period in which the currency was stabilized appear to range between 15% and 20% of the total revenue, which is a reasonable figure. On the other hand, the expenses for the inflation period seem incredible, and show how the widely accepted figure of 500,000 for Diocletian's army may have been exaggerated. The crushing military expenses of the time of Diocletian and Constantine are due, not so much to an increase of the effectives of the army, as to the inflation due to the terrible scarcity of production of that age. Doubts may be aroused whether the army of Diocletian reached half a million men, but even a moderate army in the pre-Byzantine period had been a very great burden for the Empire. The military expenses were certainly very high in gold as early as the period from Claudius II to Diocletian. The inflation of the second half of the third century shows that the economic conditions of the Empire under Claudius II were not so different from the conditions of the age of Diocletian.

Obviously, to keep up such a military machine and the construction of so many public buildings the entire budget of Diocletian and Constantine had to be nearly 30 and 60 million solidi. (See e.g. Costa, *Dizionario epigrafico di De Ruggiero*, s.v. Diocleziano, p. 1862 ff., and A. Segrè, *J. E. A.*, 1941, p. 114.) With the later Byzantine budget it is obvious that great military expeditions were impossible.[91]

In the sixth century, military expeditions may have numbered

[91] Grosse argues on p. 269 that when Leo, the Emperor of the Eastern Romans, spent ten million solidi in the year 468 for armament against the Vandals the

15,000 men, but not more (see Grosse, p. 266). The destinies of the Empire were decided by small armies. The legions existed for the most part only on paper (Vegetius, I, 5). People preferred to serve in the *auxilia* because the discipline was looser and prizes were abundant (Vegetius, II, 3). From the time of Theodosius the *barbari*, Germans for the most part, made up the core of the army (see Grosse, p. 266).[92]

The expense of maintaining an army of very moderate size — about the same size as a European army before the French Revolution — was considerable for the agricultural countries which formed the Roman Empire. In Egypt, in the Byzantine period, that is, from the fifth century to Justinian, military expenses were probably not more than ten or fifteen per cent of the entire budget, but in the period of Diocletian the army of 10,000 or 15,000 men could be a heavy burden for the strained economic system of Egypt.[93] In the period of the great inflation, the military budget could have been heavy enough by itself to cause the complete collapse of the Imperial finances. During the inflationary period, soldiers were not only costly but were an element of great trouble, because they did not miss any opportunity of pillaging and kidnapping wealthy citizens for ransom.[94]

XI. The Annona Militaris and Its Exaction

The *annona* was paid in money by the taxpayer and dealt with in terms of gold. This is certainly true for the age of Justinian.[95]

Western Romans no longer had the means to prepare a strong army, still less a fleet. I hardly see how he came to this conclusion.

[92] It may be well worth while to establish how far the Roman army was recruited among the *barbari*, how far among *cives Romani*, and how far among *barbari* outside the borders of the Empire.

[93] See p. 433.

[94] Rostovtzeff, in his *Economic and Social History*, p. 444 ff., quotes the cases of pillage and murder in the cities of the Roman Empire in the third century. He tries to show that the soldiers, having been recruited from the peasantry after the third century, were the natural allies of the country people against the bourgeoisie of the towns. In the struggle between the peasants and soldiers on one side and the bourgeoisie of the provincial towns on the other, the middle class, according to Rostovtzeff, which composed the active citizenry of the towns of the Empire, was crushed. But there is no doubt that the soldiers, who were often *barbari*, made their inroads upon the peasants as much as they did upon the middle classes of the towns.

[95] See, for example, the entire account of the taxes of Aphrodito in P. Cairo

The *annona* was exacted by the ὑποδέκται or χρυσυποδέκται.[96] The *annona militaris* in the Byzantine period may be very easily distinguished from the *annona civica* or ἐμβολή. The *annona civica*, in the time of Justinian, amounts to about eight million artabas of wheat a year, exacted in kind. The *annona militaris*, which I think was exacted mostly in gold, might have covered the needs of about ten or fifteen thousand men and corresponded to the value of about 150,000 to 225,000 artabas of wheat. The other expenses for the *annona militaris*, which in the time of Justinian might have oscillated between 160,000 and 240,000 *solidi*, corresponded to 1,600,000 to 2,400,000 artabas. Doubtless the income of about 800,000 solidi from the *annona* covered many other expenses besides the *annona militaris*. The *annona militaris* was in charge of the *praefectus praetorio*; the *annona civica* in charge of the *praefectus annonae*. The 150–225 thousand artabas of wheat for the army were nearly negligible in comparison with the eight million artabas of the ἐμβολή. As I have already pointed out, the *annona militaris* was mostly bought with the money paid from the *arcarica*.

How the *annona* was exacted is shown by Nov. Just. 128, 1; Nov. Val. 35, 3; C. Just. X, 23, 4; C. Th. XI, 5, 4.[97] The μερικαὶ διατυπώσεις ordered by the *praefecti praetorio* and sent to the governors of the provinces indicated how much wheat, barley, wine, oil and money had to be exacted. The sum of the *annona* was divided among the provinces. Each *praeses* of a province made a further division and ordered the exaction of the *annona* from the towns, which in turn divided the amount required into sums for the villages.

In the Roman period, Wilcken,[98] Lesquier,[99] and Wallace [100] tell us that the method of obtaining supplies for the Egyptian legions was analogous to the method employed to maintain the entourages

67054, cf. Gelzer, *Archiv f. Pf.*, V, 346 ff.; and Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 222, as well as P. Oxy. 126 (A.D. 572), Wilcken, *Chrest.*, p. 180, where all taxes except the ἐμβολή and the ναῦλον are paid in gold. See, for comparison P. Grenf. II, 95, P. Klein. Format 95, 999, 1277.

[96] See Wilcken, p. 363, and my discussion of the exaction of the *vestis militaris* and *aurum tironicum*, p. 418 ff.

[97] See Seeck, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *adaeratio*.

[98] *Grundzüge*, p. 359.

[99] *L'armée romaine*, pp. 350 ff.

[100] *Taxation*, pp. 23 ff., 154 ff.

of *praeses* and prefects during their journeys through Egypt. It seems to me that, if this were so, the regular expense for the army could not have been paid from a specific source of revenue; probably the cases of supplies of *annonae* which we find occurring before the end of the second century A.D. concern troops which were not garrisoned. Wallace says that about the year 185 the *annona*, particularly in grain, was organized in a more regular fashion as a sort of surtax in kind levied upon grain land, and was very small.[101] It may be that in some cases the *annona* of grain was levied as a surtax on grain land, as in BGU I, 336 (216), but we do not have any evidence that it was paid regularly as a surtax, although it could have been added to the land tax without any specification. But while we have no means of checking the amount of surtax levied as land tax in order to find the variations caused by the *annona* in the Imperial period, we must bear in mind that the *annona* was positively paid as a tax, and chiefly as a land tax.[101a]

The *annona militaris* was supplied to the soldiers in kind, the prices being fixed by the administration at a low rate. Therefore soldiers had no interest in receiving an *annona adaerata*, which would have been of advantage to them only in far regions of the Empire where prices were very low, or in cases where soldiers cultivated their own land or where high officials were entitled to large numbers of *annonae* and *capita* which they could not use.[102] *An-*

[101] A surtax *annona* could not be individualized in the land surveys unless characterized as such. If we suppose that each soldier needed about one artaba each, then with an army of 15,000 soldiers each arura would have been imposed only 1/400 artaba.

[101a] Soldiers paid their *victum* with their *stipendia*. In the III cent. A.D. probably under the influence of the inflation the Administration provided that the *stipendium* of the soldiers had to be paid partially *in natura*. The gradual introduction of this sort of *annona militaris* might be connected with the passage of Herod. III 8 4, *τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέδωκε* (Severus) *χρήματα πλεῖστα, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ συνεχώρησεν ἃ μὴ πρότερον εἶχον· καὶ γὰρ τὸ σιτηρέσιον πρῶτος ηὔξησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς χρήσασθαι ἐπέτρεψε γυναιξί τε συνοικεῖν κτλ.*, and with Dio 78 34, where Macrinus promised to the soldiers to give them back their *τροφή* and with Alexander Severus, *Vita*, cap. 15, "annonam militarem diligenter inspexit." These passages are quoted by H. Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 225 f.

[102] Th. VII, 4, 14 (365): "Riparienses milites mensibus novem in ipsa specie consequantur annonam, pro tribus pretia percipiant." Th. VIII, 4, 17 (389?): in Illyricum the *comitatenses* soldiers received payment in kind, the *limitanei* money with an *adaeratio* which seems not unfavorable to them. Th. VII, 4, 30 (409): *Adaeratio* for the *limitanei* in Palestine in their interest and that of the *possessores*.

nonae not drawn upon by the soldiers after a certain time were forfeited.[103]

XII. The Annona and Its Exaction in Egypt

The *annona* of the Byzantine age was the most important land tax of Egypt. It belonged to the χρυσικά, i.e., it was exacted as a rule in gold, as an *aruratio*.[104] It must not be confused with the

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Th. VII, 4, 31 (409): *Adaeratio* for the families of soldiers in Oriens and Egypt in the interest of the soldiers. *Annonae adaeratae* for the officials in Th. VII, 4, 35 (423) and C. Just. I, 52 (439); the officials received many *annonae*. *Annonae adaeratae* of the *tribuni*, of the *comites* and of the *praefecti numerorum* in Th. VII, 4, 36 (424).

The *duces* received their allowances of *annonae* and *capita* (Edict Just. XIII, 11, 1): The *Dux Lybiae* received 1005¼ solidi for 90 *annonae* and 120 *capita* (if the reading is correct), 400 solidi for the 50 *annonae* and 50 *capita* in gold, and for his office 187½ solidi. The *Augustalis* received 1200 solidi for his *annona* (Edict XIII, 1, 14?) out of the ἐξαγώγιον. The *annonae* of the *Dux Lybiae* were equivalent to 5.83 solidi, if the figures are correct.

[103] Th. VII, 4, 18 (393): "Ne quis pro speciebus annonariis pretia temptet exigere, vel si contra legem datam venire temptaverit, nec illud, quod in pretio expetit, permittatur exigere nec illud, quod suo tempore accipere neglexerit consequatur." This passage does not refer to the exaction of *annonae* in money from the provincials, but to the failure of soldiers to ask for their *annonae* from the proper office (de horreis) at the right time, the *annonae* thereupon being forfeited to the fiscus (Th. VII, 4, 17 [377]).

[104] I do not know whether, as seems probable, the *annona* was paid partially with a *capitatio*. In Illyria, according to Th. VII, 4, 32 (412), each *tributarius*, i.e., a *plebeius rusticus* who was a small landowner, had to pay 1/120 *caput* for the *annona*, later 1/60 and still later 1/13. "Nam cum adaerationis aestimatio prius per centum et viginti capita exactione solidi teneretur, per sexaginta recens redigit aviditas exindeque iam nutrita licentia ad tredecim tributarios non dubitavit artare." I understand that the *tributarius* paid on his *capitatio* 1/120, 1/60 and 1/13 of an *annona* of five *solidi*. The sentence of Th. VII, 4, 32: "Quas in dignitatibus constitutis id est rectores provinciarum et comites solent accipere," is not very clear to me. I understand "accipere" for the *annona*, not for their own annona. Th. VII, 4, 32, seems to me not to be related to C. J. I, 52. Perhaps in Numidia too the *annona* was paid as a *capitatio* as well as a *iugatio*, or at least under other titles than *iugatio*. Nov. Val. XIII (445): Numidia had to pay as land tax or under other taxes, 4200 *solidi*, 1200 *annonae* and 200 *capita* from the *gleba privata* and *emphyteutica* and the *perpetuarii* of the *domus divina* had to pay their *argentaria functio*. This figure represents one-eighth of the ordinary taxation paid by the province, because Valentinian granted the reduction of the tax to one-eighth.

This figure shows that the expenses of Numidia were 4200 sol. and 4800 sol. for *annona* and 800 for *capita* and an unknown figure for the *argentaria functio* of the *domus divina*. In Ammianus Marcellinus, XXI, 6, 6, the *annona* is a land tax levied on *iuga* and *capita*. In Egypt, vineyards paid the military *annona* as an *aruratio* in addition to the ordinary land-tax, as is now shown by Princeton III 119 (early IV cent.), l. 20.

annona civica or the *annona militaris*, a confusion commonly made by scholars.

The *annona militaris*, which was the allowance in kind given the soldiers, was bought from the territory where the soldier lived on the basis of the prices fixed by the *delegatio* (see, for example, P. Cairo 67320 [541–2 A.D.]). The *praeses* of the province authorized the *numerarius* to exact from each village so much wheat, wine, oil, etc., according to the *delegatio*, or, if the *delegatio*[105] was not yet on hand, according to a *praedelegatio*. Through this order the villages knew what they had to deliver and the prices they could ask for their supplies.[106] The villagers were compelled to sell a certain amount of commodities, which were paid for by the administration with money collected in the course of ordinary taxation. The *annona militaris* was not always paid exclusively from the receipts of the gold *annona*.[107]

The compulsory sale of their goods could be more ruinous to the villagers than a heavy tax.[108] The principles on which the sales were conducted in the Byzantine age were the same as in the Roman period.[109] The prefect of Egypt would order, let us say, twenty thousand artabas of barley to be bought in the Hermopolites for the Ala Apriana in Coptos. The πραγματικοί of the *nomoi* divided the amount into quantities for each village (ἐπιμερισμός) and the πρεσβύτεροι τῆς κώμης in the village had to deliver the barley. Sometimes they received the money directly from the soldiers, sometimes through the administration of the town, or through the central government.

In P. Grenf., I, 48 [W., *Chrest.*, 416] (191 A.D.) a soldier appointed to exact the *annona* declared to the πρεσβύτεροι of the village that he had received the barley which they were ordered to sell him with the ἐπιμερισμός by the πραγματικοί, and that he had paid the ἀγοραστικὴν τιμὴν ἐξ ἔθους. In P. Amh. 107 (185 A.D.) (W., *Chrest.*, 417), a soldier, a *duplicarius*, received the barley from the πρεσβύτεροι τῆς κώμης, and gave them an *apocha* in which he declared that he had received a number of artabas of barley μετρήσει

[105] For the *delegatio*, see G. Rouillard[2], p. 87 ff., 106.

[106] Gelzer, *Byzant. Verwaltung*, pp. 39–41.

[107] See for example the case of the ἐξαγώγιον in G. Rouillard,[2] p. 112. In Egypt the annona was the most important tax.

[108] Doubtless at the height of the inflation.

[109] Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 359 f.

τῇ κελευσθείσῃ according to the ἐπιμερισμός of the πραγματικοί of the *nomos*. In this case the *duplicarius* did not pay for the barley directly. Probably the πρεσβύτεροι used the *apocha* as an order on the administration of the metropolis, as appears in B.G.U. III, 842 (Hermopolites) where the πρεσβύτερος gave a receipt to the *liturgus*, stating that he had received the price of the commodity, and from P. Amh. 109 (185–86 A.D.), W., *Chrest.* 418, where the πρεσβύτεροι declared to the *strategos* that they received from the *liturgi*, a *cosmetes* and an *agoranomos* of Hermoupolis the price of the barley which was required from the village, according to the ἐπιμερισμός of the πραγματικοί. We suppose that the normal way of paying the *annona*, even before the administrative reforms of Severus, was the following:

A soldier, e.g., a *duplicarius*, exacted the barley from the village, so many artabas at a fixed price. He did not pay, but left a receipt. The elders received their money from the town magistrates, from the treasury of the town. The elders, and probably the *liturgi* of the metropolis, notified the *strategos* of the transaction. The liturgi were very probably paid by the government through the *strategos* and the prefect.

The soldiers did not pay the elders directly; if they did, they had to be reimbursed later by the government. Normally the treasury of the metropolis financed the purchase of the *annonae*.

In the fourth century, the *curiales* had to care for the *annonariae species* of the army. The ἐπιμεληταί of the *annona* were responsible directly to the government, but they were guaranteed by the βουλή. After the *epimeletai* had exacted the *annonariae species* they had to deliver them to the *erogatores*.[110] The *epimeletai curatores*, who collected the *annonae*, delivered them to the *erogatores*. The *erogator* handed over to the curator an *antapochon*, a receipt for *annonae*, and the *curator* an *apocha* to the *erogator*. The *antapochon* remained in the hands of the *epimeletai*, the *apocha* in the hands of the *diadotai*.[111]

The διαδόται brought the *annonae* into the *horrea* (ὅρρια), the

[110] Mitteis, *Sav. Z.*, 1907, 385, P. Lips., p. 286 f., M. Gelzer, *Studien*, p. 50, W., *Grundzüge*, p. 262 f.

[111] For ἀντάποχον and ἀποχή, σύμβολον and ἀντισύμβολον, see Wilcken, *Archiv*, III, 392 ff., and W., *Chrest.*, 85, line 15. Nov. Just. 128, 3, deals with this system of receipts and antireceipts. See the remarks on the ἐντάγιον in Rouillard[2], p. 119.

public storehouses (*θησαυροί*), and delivered them to the *tribuni* and *praepositi* of the soldiers, who brought in their daily requests with a *pittacium authenticum*.[112] When the *annonae* were in the *horrea* the responsibility for them was laid upon the *erogatores*, as appears from Th. VII, 4, 1 [325] (C J. XII, 37).

Curatores and *erogatores* were appointed for single *species annonariae*, e.g., wine, oil, chaff, etc. In the Byzantine period, as well as in earlier times, the City Council financed the business, but sometimes, in the fourth century, this operation proved disastrous. In B.G.U. IV, 1027 (W., *Chrest.*, 424) the *praeses* of the Thebais warned the *exactores* and the council of Hermoupolis because for three years they had not delivered the *annonae* to the soldiers, as was their duty. I do not think that the council of Hermoupolis had to pay the *annona* to the soldiers on its own account, but I suppose that Hermoupolis had to purchase the commodities for the troops at the prices of the *delegatio*, and was unable to do so because these fixed prices, low enough to begin with, had become quite inadequate owing to the prevailing inflation. Under these circumstances the supply of the *annona* inevitably became impossible. The same system of supply was used for the *vestis militaris*, which was also a sort of *annonaria species*, properly an *anabolica species*.[113]

[112] Th. VII, 4, 11 (364?): "Susceptor antequam diurnum pittacium authenticum ab actuariis susceperit non eroget. Quod si absque pittacio facta fuerit erogatio id quod expensum est damnis eius potius subputetur . . . nec pri(us) de horreis species proferantur et maximae capitationis, quam ut dictum est ad diem pittacia authentica fuerint prorogata." Here "capitatio" means "annona."

[113] A minor question, the meaning of the receipts of *annona*, and receipts *ὑπὲρ τιμῆς* of barley: Wilcken, *Ostraka* 679, 698; *ὑπὲρ τιμῆς* of wine and dates: Wilcken, *Ostraka* 1262; or without *annona*, only *ὑπὲρ τιμῆς*, Wilcken, *Ostraka*, I, p. 276, 312 (see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 261, and Lesquier, *L'armée romaine*, p. 358 ff.). Here Wilcken seems to me to understand correctly that the ostraka *ὑπὲρ τιμῆς* are payments of the government treasury for the *annona* paid the individual assessed with the *ἐτιμερισμός*. But I do not think it necessary to suppose, as Wilcken does (on p. 361, following Rostovtzeff, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *annona militaris*), that "unentgeltliche Auflagen in den einzelnen Landesteilen zur Verpflegung der in ihnen stationierten Truppen erhoben seien, zu denen mehr zur Ergänzung jene Ankaüfe hinzugekommen seien." If Wilcken means that an entire province, such as Egypt, may be assessed with an additional land tax for the *annona*, he is right, but if he supposes that an Egyptian nome may be bound to supply *annonaria species* without being paid for it, I think he probably is incorrect.

BYZANTINE LAW IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY AND ITS RECEPTION BY THE GERMANS AND THE ARABS

By R. S. Lopez

The last fifty years have produced a good crop of studies in Byzantine law. Italian and Russian scholars were particularly active in this field: I shall quote only the names of Ferrini, Brandileone, Siciliano Villanueva, Ferrari delle Spade, Vasilevski, Uspenski, Pančenko, Vernadsky. But almost every nation has given its contribution — America with Ashburner, France with Monnier, Greece with Christophilopoulos and Ghinis, Roumania with Spulber, Finland with Mickwitz, Hungary with Darkkó, England with Freshfield, Poland with Berger, and so forth.

Nevertheless, one cannot say that the advance in the history of law has been as great as in other branches of Byzantine studies. We still lack a general manual of Byzantine law to take the place of Zachariae's *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*; and this book, valuable as it was as a pioneer's work, now is outdated. Also outdated is Siciliano Villanueva's *Diritto Bizantino* — rather a history of sources and of their influence in Italy than a complete survey of Byzantine legal thought. The bibliographic materials collected by Albertoni and by Maridakis, with a view to a new general treatise, have not been utilized as yet.[1]

As for individual sources, while most of the smaller law books and many documents are available in good critical editions, the Basilics — the greatest monument of Greco-Roman jurisprudence — can be used only in the century-old edition of Heimbach. This edition was sharply criticized by Zachariae, even when it first appeared. Yet, even now, the growing demand for a new and

[1] K. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts* (3rd ed., Berlin, 1893); L. Siciliano Villanueva, *Diritto bizantino* (an offprint of *Enciclopedia Giuridica Italiana*, Milan, 1906); A. Albertoni, *Per una esposizione del diritto bizantino con riguardo all'Italia* (Imola, 1927); G. S. Maridakis, in *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung, Röm. Abt.*, XLIX (1929), 518 ff.

better edition has found no answer.[2] No wonder, then, if our knowledge of the *Basilics* as a product of the Byzantine mind has made no progress in the last hundred years.

A hundred years ago, Eastern Rome was still considered to have been much like Gibbon's picture, a stagnant or decadent civilization. Accordingly, the *Basilics* were regarded as a concoction of Justinian's *Corpus Juris* — with only a few unimportant accessions from the *Procheiros Nomos* and the *Epanagoge* — and they were studied exclusively as a supplementary source of Roman law. To Heimbach, Zachariae, and their generation, laws of the *Basilics* which could not be found in the extant manuscripts of the *Corpus Juris* were nevertheless to be ascribed to Justinian and his Corpus, as though the later emperors had never issued a law.[3] Yet Leo VI, in his introduction to the *Basilics*, had declared that no enactment deserving of inclusion had been omitted from earlier times "down to our own decrees." Today, however, the prejudice that Byzantine law and civilization practically did not change over a thousand years has been overcome. It is time to apply to the *Basilics* the methods of investigation which have yielded such good results for the monuments of Roman law. In the *Basilics*, as in the *Corpus Juris*, we must look for new laws and for interpolations in old ones, so that the numerous archaisms of this law book may not conceal from us the real evolution of law from the sixth to the tenth century.[4]

On the other hand, we do have a number of Byzantine law books whose independence from Roman sources has never been

[2] Cf., for instance, A. A. Vasiliev, "Justinian's Digest," *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, V (1939), 734; L. Wenger, *Der heutige Stand der römischen Rechtswissenschaft* (Munich, 1927), p. 22; Mitteis, in *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung, Röm. Abt.*, XXXIV (1913), 406 ff.

[3] Cf. for instance, K. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, "Von den griechischen Bearbeitung des Codex," *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung, Röm. Abt.*, VIII (1887), 73 ff.; also Siciliano Villanueva, *Dir. biz.*, p. 77 ff.; P. Collinet, in *C.M.H.*, IV, 713 (a little less sharp). The judgment of Heimbach and Zachariae is also accepted in the most recent works, such as Ferrari's article "Bizantina civiltà, diritto" (in *Enciclopedia Italiana*), and F. H. Lawson, "The Basilica," *The Quarterly Law Review*, XLVI (1930), 486–501 and XLVII (1931), 536–556.

[4] To be sure, Leo VI did not fulfill entirely the promises uttered in his own preface to the Basilics (cf. Lawson, XLVI, 491 ff.) and embodied without revision many laws which had fallen into obsolescence. But of Justinian, too, it was said that "often he modified some texts only, as though he wanted to make a show of his will, and kept the other ones with a historical value," P. Bonfante, *Storia del diritto romano* (3rd ed., Milan, 1923), p. 155. I think that a thorough investigation of the Basilics would prove that the Macedonian Emperors and their lawyers

disputed. The oldest among these, at the time of Zachariae, were ascribed to the Isaurian emperors. More recent studies tend to ascribe all such Byzantine law books, except one, either to the Macedonian dynasty or to the period *before* the Isaurians.[5] At any rate, it is beyond doubt that all these law books embodied customs which had been growing for centuries in tribunal practice.[6] Some of these customs may have been enforced in written laws by emperors of the late sixth and early seventh centuries, though no legal text of this early period comes down to us, except for a few novels, mostly unimportant. Among the emperors of this period, Heraclius deserves the greatest attention as a possible lawgiver. The creation of the themes, which was formerly ascribed to the Isaurian emperors, is now regarded mainly as an achievement of Heraclius.[7] It is most probable that he enacted other reforms in various fields.[8] Therefore, we ought to be on the alert for possible new laws of Heraclius.

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acted much the same way as Justinian, even though their minds were less fertile in innovations and more inclined to archaism.

[5] See the conclusions of G. Ostrogorsky, "Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurier," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXX (1929–30), 394–400. Further bibliography in A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1932), I, 319–30; we must add the essay of D. Ghinis, "Ζητήματά τινα ἐκ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν Ἰσαύρων," Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, X (1933), 43 ff., and numerous works on the Book of the Prefect.

[6] On the part which custom and imperial legislation played in the development of Byzantine law see the excellent general remarks of F. Brandileone, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XVII (1908), 553–8; cf. also A. Andréadès, "Deux livres recents sur les finances byzantines," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVIII (1928), 287–8. Next to the *Basilics*, Leo VI's *Novels* have been regarded down to very recent times as the most archaistic and unoriginal Byzantine law book. Now a more favorable view on the originality of these *Novels* is held by several scholars: See, for instance, G. Ferrari, "Di alcune leggi bizantine riguardanti il litorale marino . . . ," *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, XLII (1909), 590 ff.; C. A. Spulber, *Les novelles de Leon le Sage* (Cernauti, 1934), p. 78 ff. But they ascribe innovations rather to the influence of popular custom than to that of written law, and do not put the problem as to whether Leo VI's novels were influenced by novels of the seventh and eighth centuries which do not come down to us. Ostrogorsky's new suggestion, which makes of Stylianos the real author of the novels (see also C. Kržišnik, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXVII [1937], 489 ff.) seems too sweeping. As a matter of fact, Leo VI's legislative activity continued after the death of Stylianos, with the Book of the Prefect.

[7] The most recent contribution on this subject is that of E. Darkkó, "La militarizazzione dell' Impero Bizantino," *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, V (1939), 90 ff. This essay throws some new light on a development which had been already reconstructed by Diehl, Gelzer and Stein.

[8] That Heraclius may have reformed the University of Constantinople is now doubted by B. Brehier, "Notes sur l'histoire de l'enseignement supérieur à Con-

Unfortunately, it is highly improbable that we discover the original text of any novels of Heraclius other than those which we now have, and which had no durable importance. But in Barbarian law books, or even in Arabic sources of the time of Heraclius, we may find new enactments which have no precedents in Germanic or Arab customs, and appear in those later Byzantine law books which come down to us. There can be no doubt that the civilization of Eastern Rome had a constant and deep influence on the art, religious life, military organization, and administrative machinery of the Barbarian kingdoms. The Arabs developed a stronger and more original civilization than the Germans; but, at first, they borrowed abundantly from Greco-Roman institutions. Hence it may be expected that new laws of Heraclius, if there were any, were not without echoes in the legal courts of the Barbarian states and of the early Caliphate.[9]

If our investigation is successful, we have hit two birds with one stone: we shall have reconstructed a lost Byzantine law, and we shall have proved that such a law was taken over in the codes of other nations.

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I think that reception can be proved at least for the laws dealing with forgery of coins, official seals, and public documents. All of these materials were closely guarded state monopolies under the later Roman Empire. On the one hand, they were regarded as public utilities; therefore, it was a duty of the state to guard its citizens against abuses in this field. On the other hand, the issuing of coins, seals, and special papyrus for documents was regarded as a function strictly connected with sovereign power, — that is, as a *regale*. Thus the crime of counterfeiting these mate-

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stantinople," *Byzantion*, IV (1929). But he probably suppressed the doles of bread (cf. G. I. Bratianu, *Etudes byzantines d'histoire économique et sociale* [Paris, 1938], p. 135 ff.) and was the author of important monetary reforms (see below, n. 37 ff.). Grégoire has discovered that Heraclius assumed a new title, "New Constantine," after his victory over the Persians; he seems to be also the first emperor who officially adopted the title of *Basileus*. See also A. Pernice, *L'imperatore Eraclio* (Florence, 1905), p. 99 ff.

[9] So far, the only attempt at tracing back the direct influence of a Byzantine law on Barbarian legislation was that of E. Stein, "Des Tiberius Constantinus Novelle περὶ ἐπιβολῆς und der Edictus domni Chilperici regis," *Klio*, XVI (1920), 72–4. But of the law of Tiberius we have the original text.

rials was both an offense against public faith and an outrage to the emperor (in other words, a crime of lèse majesté). According to Sulla's *lex Cornelia de falsis* and to Ulpian, such a crime was to be punished by death. For a short time Constantine I reduced the penalty for free men to seizure of goods and deportation or work in the mines; but Constantius II re-established the capital penalty for all money-forgers, regardless of rank, and Justinian dropped the milder enactment of Constantine. Even refusing old coins which bore the effigy of a dead sovereign was regarded as a crime of lèse majesté and punished by death, from the time of Constantius II to that of Justinian.[10] Owing to the sacred character of the later Emperors, lèse majesté was regarded now as an outright sacrilege.

On the contrary, the Germanic peoples at home had no clear notion of the connection of coinage rights with sovereign power. When they established their rule over Roman territory, they did not object to money being struck in their states with the effigy of the Eastern emperors. In their typical wergelds fixed in proportion to different crimes and varying social rank, there was no fine for counterfeiting money or documents. Whatever control of coinage was inherited from Rome fell rapidly into obsolescence in the Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon states. In England, in France, and in Spain public moneyers were allowed to strike coins for private citizens, outside the public mints.[11] The Visigoths, it is true, took over at least the notion that all forgeries of documents and coins are harmful to the public welfare. But these crimes no longer involved a violation of sovereign prerogatives; hence they were no more than common forgeries and thefts, liable

[10] Ulp., *Dig.*, XLVIII, 10, 8–9; 13, 6; Paul., *ibid.*, 10, 19 and *Sent.*, V, 25, 1; *Cod. Th.*, IX, 21, 1–10; 22, 1; 23, 1; XI, 21, 1; XII, 7, 2; *Cod. Just.*, IX, 24, 1–3; XI, 1–3; also Cic., *Verr.*, II, 1, 42; Arrian., *Comm. Epict.*, III, 3; and cf. G. Humbert, "Moneta falsa" in Darenberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire d'antiquités*. I have dealt with this subject in detail in my article "Mohammed and Charlemagne, a revision," *Speculum*, XVIII (1943), 14–38.

[11] Cf. A. Luschin von Ebengreuth, *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* (2nd ed., Munich, 1926), p. 235–288; U. Monneret de Villard, "La moneta in Italia durante l'alto medioevo," *Rivista italiana di numismatica*, XXXIII (1920), 190 ff.; J. De Morgan, "Evolutions et révolutions numismatiques," *Mélanges G. Schlumberger* (Paris, 1924), II, 285 ff.; M. Bloch, "Le problème de l'or au moyen-âge," *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, V (1933), 22 ff. (with bibliogr.); and my article in *Speculum*, cited above.

to the usual punishment for forgery and theft as in Roman law. Similarly, refusing old coins was punished with a fine.[12]

However, in two later laws of the Visigoths ascribed to Chindaswinth and Receswinth by the best manuscripts, a fine was maintained only for persons above a certain rank. A *minor persona* who counterfeited royal documents and their seals, or a slave who forged money was liable to a new penalty, the cutting off of a hand. In one of the laws, a naive explanation is given for the peculiar penalty: the hand to be cut off (it is said) is the instrument which committed the crime.[13]

Nevertheless, forgeries of royal charters seem to have continued. To escape direct conviction, many persons would dictate a false charter to a public notary, who would certify it in good faith. For this particular crime, a third law extended the penalty to all offenders, regardless of rank. The mutilation was to be preceded by flogging and shaving, — a degrading punishment which is found very often in later Byzantine law.[14] Chindaswinth (642–653) and Receswinth (653–672) reigned shortly after the death of Heraclius (641). No other law in the whole Visigothic code, except these three, enforces corporal mutilations; we find only the classic Roman penalties or the Germanic scale of wergelds.

In Italy, the Ostrogoths allowed almost no changes in the Roman legislation on money and public documents.[15] Under the

[12] *Lex Visig.*, VII, 5; 2–8; 6, 3–5. These laws, except for VII, 5, 2, are designated by most manuscripts as "antiquae" — that is, coming from the Code of Leovigild. Cf. the footnotes of K. Zeumer, the editor, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*; H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1887), I, 320 ff.; R. de Ureña y Smenjaud, *Historia de la literatura juridica española* (Madrid, 1906), II, part III (with bibliogr.).

[13] *Lex Visig.*, VII, 5, 1; 6, 2. The latter law is ascribed to Receswinth by four Mss., to Chindaswinth by one, while a late Ms. calls it "antiqua," certainly by mistake. The first law is included with no indication of author by thirteen Mss. (a fourteenth Ms. calls it "antiqua"), but it is evidently of the same author as the following law (VII, 5, 2), which is ascribed to Chindaswinth by the majority of the Mss. As a matter of fact, 5, 1 deals with forgery of royal charters and their seals, and 5, 2 deals with forgery of private documents and their seals; the terminology is almost identical in both laws.

[14] *Lex Visig.*, VII, 5, 9. One manuscript ascribes this law to Receswinth. Other mss. include it with no indication of author. It is evident that this law fills a gap of 5, 1, and, therefore, must be somewhat later.

[15] Cassiod., *Var.*, V, 39; VI, 7; VII, 32; and cf. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards . . . in the British Museum* (London, 1911), p. XXIX–XXXI and 43 ff. (with bibliogr.).

Lombards, on the contrary, all traces of a regular state coinage seem to have disappeared for sixty years; the only extant coins of this period were evidently struck for private citizens, independently of state control.

However, one year after the accession of Chindaswinth and two years after the death of Heraclius, King Rothari gave to the Lombards their first code. Again, in the whole edict we find only Germanic wergelds or, seldom, Roman penalties. But amputation of the hand is the penalty for two crimes only: any offence against the royal monopoly of coinage, and any forgery of charters, — and the rank of the offender, here, is not taken into account. The first of these two laws uses the expression: "let him be *fined* by the cutting off of a hand," as though the legislator tried to reduce the unusual punishment to the indigenous system of fines.[16] Curiously enough, these laws have been pointed out by great scholars as a proof of the influence of Visigothic legislation on Lombard law.[17] But the edict of Rothari is as early as, or earlier than Chindaswinth's laws, and earlier than Receswinth's!

At the opposite end of the Mediterranean, the Arabs were slowly building up the administrative machinery of their state. The models were supplied by the Sasanian and Byzantine administrations, but the Arabs introduced many elements of their own. With them, too, there had been at first no connection of sovereign power with coins, seals or public instruments. But, under Omar I (a contemporary of Heraclius), the great seal of the Caliphate was counterfeited. In doubt as to what kind of penalty should be inflicted, the Caliph asked advice of the bystanders. One suggested the cutting off of a hand; but the opinion of other, more traditionalist advisors prevailed, and the forger was only flogged and imprisoned.[18] The problem occurred again and again in the

[16] *Ed. Roth.*, 242 and 243; see also *Ed. Liutpr.*, 91; *Concordia*, XXIX; *Liber Papiensis*, in Roth., 242, 243; *Lombarda*, I, 28, 1; XXIX, 1–2; and cf. Monneret de Villard, XXXIII, 132 ff.; A. Solmi, *L'amministrazione finanziaria del regno italico* (Pavia, 1932), p. 113 ff.; G. P. Bognetti, "Longobardi e Romani," in *Studi di storia e diritto in onore di Enrico Besta* (Milan, 1937–38), IV, 375 (with bibliogr.).

[17] Cf. N. Tamassia, *Le fonti dell editto di Rotari* (Pisa, 1889); E. Besta, *Storia del diritto italiano, le fonti* (Milan, 1923), I, part I, 37 ff. — A Byzantine influence on the Lombard chancery has been pointed out by several scholars; cf., for instance, G. Romano, *Le dominazioni barbariche in Italia* (Milan, 1910), p. 297 ff.

[18] al-Balādhuri, transl. Hitti and Murgotten (New York, 1916–24), II, 257 ff.;

last part of the seventh century and in the beginning of the eighth, when sovereign monopoly was being extended to coinage. There always were rulers and lawyers open to foreign influence, who advocated amputation of the hand as the proper penalty for money-forgers; but the *fukaha* of Mecca stubbornly opposed this practice, and stood for a bastinado, or even no punishment at all.[19]

In France itself, hand-cutting was enforced first as a penalty against counterfeiters during the short-lived Carolingian-Byzantine entente. In 814 the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle settled the differences between the old Eastern Empire and the new Empire of the West, and established new rules to facilitate commercial intercourse between the two states. Four or five years later, Louis the Pious ordered a new capitulary against money-forgers to be embodied in the Frankish Law. The capitulary enforced cutting off of a hand.[20]

Obviously this law presupposed a clearer notion of royal monopoly of currency than had the Merovingians. Too, the restoration of currency monopoly had progressed along with the progress of Italian and Byzantine influence on the Frankish monarchs. The first step towards re-establishing some control over the moneyers was taken by Pepin the Short immediately after his first Italian expedition and his capture of the formerly Byzantine city, Ravenna.[21] The manufacture of coins, however, remained sub-

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268. Cf. also A. Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung in die Arabischen Papyri* (Vienna, 1924), p. 77 ff.; *id.*, art. "Tirāz," in *Encycl. of the Islam*; N. Abbott, *The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago, 1938), p. 10 ff. More details and bibliogr. in my *Speculum* article.

[19] al-Balādhuri, II, 266 ff. Cf. also H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes . . . de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1887), I, xxxii ff.; J. Karabacek, "Die arabischen Papyrusprotokolle," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie von Wissenschaften*, Vienna, CLXI (1908), 29 ff.; and sources quoted above n. 18.

[20] *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Leges*, sect. II, I, p. 285 ("legibus addenda"). The preceding chapter deals with "his qui denarios bonos accipere nolunt." That a penalty is enforced for the latter transgression, is a point in common with Roman and Byzantine law (see above, n. 10, and cf. *Basil.*, LIV, 18, *rubr.*; *Nov. Leonis* VI, LII; *Eparch. Bibl.*, IV, 3). The penalty for refusing coins of good alloy is not death (as in Roman law) but a fine (as in Byzantine law).

[21] *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Leges*, sect. II, I, p. 32; the capitulary which contains this law has been put in connection on other points with the edict of Rothari and with the laws of Ratchis, another Lombard king. Thus Lombard influence is evident on Pepin's law. Another capitulary of Pepin deals with currency, but we know of it only through a reference of the synod of Reims (year 813).

stantially a private business. Charlemagne endeavored both to outlaw private minting and to oblige his vassals to acknowledge his rule by putting his name on their coins and charters. Still, he did not secure full enforcement of these reforms.[22] In his own mind Frankish traditionalism still conflicted with Roman and Byzantine influences.[23] Even Louis the Pious, in another capitulary, showed some wavering as to the proper penalty for counterfeiters.[24] It is only under Charles the Bald that the amputation penalty for money-forgers wins the day. Charles the Bald is accused by a chronicler (not without reason) of having "spurned Frankish tradition for the Byzantine vanity." [25]

In England both the restoration of royal monopoly on currency and the amputation of the hand as a penalty for counterfeiters go back to Aethelstan (925–941). Aethelstan's charters are the first ones in Western Europe in which a ruler is called with the Byzantine imperial title of *Basileus*.[26] His law against counterfeiters explains the penalty with nearly the same words as those used by the Visigoth law-giver three hundred years earlier: the hand to be cut, it is said, is the instrument which committed the

[22] The history of the monetary reforms of the Carolingians is heavily scarred from old battles of numismatists, historians and economists: cf. especially M. Prou, *Catalogue des monnaies carolingiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1896), intro.; A. Dopsch, *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit* (2nd ed., Weimar, 1922), II; A. Segrè, "La circolazione monetaria del regno dei Franchi," *Rivista Storica Italiana*, XLVIII (1931), with bibliogr. Probably the very disagreement of scholars depends on the fact that Carolingian laws were not absolute (as with the Lombards, the Greeks and the Romans) but rather theoretic statements which fell into an unresponsive atmosphere, and left room for repentance, exception, and privilege. Here is an instance, taken from a capitulary of 806: "Volumus ut nullo alio loco moneta sit nisi in palatio nostro, *nisi forte a nobis iterum aliter fuit ordinatum*."

[23] Cf. E. Sabbe, "L'importation des tissus orientaux en Europe occidentale au haut moyen-âge," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XIV (1935), p. 811; also (despite his abuse of rhetoric) E. Rota, "La consacrazione imperiale di Carlomagno," *Studi E. Besta* (Milan, 1937–9), III, 187 ff.; and see my paper in *Speculum*.

[24] *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Leges*, sect. II, I, 285, 290 and 299; see also the capitulary of Lothar, of 832 (*ibid.*, II, 63).

[25] *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Leges*, sect. II, II, 310 ff. (edict of Pîtres, 864).

[26] Aethelst., II, 14; H. Pierquin, *Recueil général des Chartes Anglo-Saxonnes* (Paris, 1912), II, 60 and 66; III, 91, 92, 93, 96; cf. W. Gray Birch, "Index of the Styles and Titles of English Sovereigns," *Report of the first annual Meeting of the Index Society* (London, 1879), p. 67 ff.; E. E. Stengel, "Kaisertitel und Souveränitatsidee," *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters*, III (1939), 5 ff. At about the same time the king of Bulgaria took up the title of Basileus; but, in Western Europe, there were no other examples outside England.

crime.[27] Before Aethelstan, hand cutting was enforced only for sacrilegious theft, or for thieves caught red-handed.[28]

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To sum up, the amputation of the hand for forgeries of coins, seals and public documents was introduced in two Germanic codes and into Arab legal practice at the time of Heraclius, or shortly after his death. In two other Barbaric codes, its introduction occurred when Byzantine influence was strong. The penalty was foreign to the national Germanic and Arabic customs; in the Barbaric states its enforcement was almost entirely confined to the special field of currency and public documents.[29]

Corporal mutilations were foreign to classic Roman law also. However, in the tribunals of the later Roman Empire, mutilations were some times inflicted instead of the capital penalty. Cutting off a hand was regarded by popular feeling as the proper penalty for crimes of lèse majesté; it was inflicted on three usurpers in the late fourth century and in the early fifth.[30] A law of Justinian implies practical toleration of hand-cutting as a customary penalty, although no corporal mutilations find place in his own laws.[31] Finally, the earliest extant Byzantine law book dealing with criminal law (the Isaurian *Ecloga*) enforces corporal mutilations for nearly all crimes. Cutting off a hand is the penalty for all crimes of lèse majesté, and, in particular, for the counterfeiting of coins.[32] The same punishment is enforced again and again, both for counterfeiting coins and for forging seals and public documents, in all later Byzantine law books — including

[27] *Lex Visig.*, VII, 5, 1: "manum perdat, per quam tantum crimen admisit," Athelst., II, 14, 1: "slea mon of þa hond, ðe he ðæt fúl mid worhte."

[28] Ine, 18 and 37; Alfred, 6. In the second case, a foot might be cut instead of a hand.

[29] Only in the *Lex Gundebadi* do we find hand-cutting enforced for several crimes. But Burgundian legislation was much more directly influenced by Roman law *and Roman customs* than the Anglo-Saxon, Visigoth or Lombard legislation.

[30] In 392 Rufinus, suspected of aspiring to the throne, was killed by the populace and his right hand was severed from his lifeless arm. A few years later John had a hand cut off and was executed; before being raised to the emperorship he had been a *primicerius notariorum*, entrusted with the keeping of state documents. Finally, Attalus had a finger and a thumb amputated, but he was spared the capital sentence.

[31] *Nov. Just.*, CXXXIV, 13. See also *Nov. Maior.*, IV (but this novel was not included in Justinian's Code).

[32] *Ecloga*, XVII, 18; forgery of seals and public documents is not dealt with at all in this law book.

the *Basilics* and the *Book of the Prefect* — and in all private manuals of Eastern Roman law.[33] One of the latter, indeed, words the two laws against forgers of coins and of documents with nearly the same phrases as the edict of Rothari.[34]

Thus cutting off a hand was a popular punishment for forgers of coins, seals and public documents from the fifth century on in Byzantine territory. Justinian tolerated it without giving it official recognition. All the extant Byzantine law books have hand-cutting as the regular penalty, — but no extant law book is earlier than the late seventh century, and Heraclius, Rothari and Chindaswinth ruled in the first half of this century.[35] However, an anonymous scholium of the Basilics apparently supplies us the first link in the transition. It seems that, when the scholiast was writing (perhaps only a few years after the promulgation of the *Corpus Juris*), legal practice maintained the capital penalty for money-counterfeiters (as in Roman law) only if these were slaves. Free men were fined, as in Visigothic law.[36]

But fines did not fit into the Byzantine system of penalties so

[33] *Ecl. priv. aucta*, XVII, 44 and 45; *Proch. Nomos*, XXXIX, 14; *Epanag.*, XL, 17; *Ecl. ad Proch. Mut.*, XVIII, 28; *Basil.*, LX, 41, 8 and 60, 1; *Eparch. Bibl.*, III, 1 and 2; Attaliates, LXXXVI, 1; Harmenopoulos, VI, 14, 3, etc. Besides, according to *Eparch. Bibl.*, II, 5, cutting off a hand is the penalty for goldsmiths who forge *unsealed* metals; we may infer that those who forged metals with seals were punished the same way.

[34] *Ecl. priv. aucta*, XVII, 44 and 45; cf. *Ed. Roth.*, 242 and 243. Scholars have spoken of Italian influences on the *Ecloga privata* (bibliogr. in E. Freshfield, *A revised Manual of Roman Law* (Cambridge, 1927), introd.); but, at least for these chapters, there may have been instead an influence of Byzantine law on Lombard law.

[35] Indeed, the only law book which, in all probability, belongs to the VIIth century and to the Heraclian dynasty (cf. G. Vernadsky, "Sur les origines de la Loi agraire byzantine," *Byzantion*, II [1925], 169 ff.) concerns agricultural life, and, therefore, we cannot expect to find in it anything connected with our subject.

[36] *Schol. ad Basil.*, LX, 41, 8. This scholium, based on Ulpian (*Dig.*, XLVIII, 10, 19), doctors up its text, evidently in order to make it fit a changed situation: the result is a vague and confused statement. As a matter of fact, Ulpian distinguished between slaves (who "summo supplicio affici debent") and free men (who must be thrown "ad bestias"). But the execution "ad bestias" had disappeared afterwards (cf. K. E. Zachariae, *Gesch. des griech.-röm. Rechts* [3rd ed., Berlin, 1892], p. 330 ff.) and the capital penalty probably was no longer enforced in all cases. Therefore the scholiast maintained the extreme penalty for the slaves, but suppressed the words "ad bestias" and replaced them by the words "χρυσοῦ νν′," transposed from the beginning of Ulpian's statement. Thus the free men appear to be liable to a fine of unspecified amount. This was almost a return to the short-lived law of Constantine the Great, which we mentioned above.

well as into the Germanic system of wergelds: indeed, Justinian had worked towards total suppression of fines. Thus another step was taken, and the cutting off of a hand (a milder penalty than death, as Emperor Leo III was to point out) was soon enforced. The fact that the same penalty was introduced in two Barbarian codes and into Arab legal practice just after the accession of Heraclius would suggest that Heraclius was the emperor who transformed the unwritten custom into a law, and that such a law had almost immediate reception in the West as well as in the East.[37] This thesis will be corroborated if we can find other proofs of a special activity of Heraclius in the fields of coinage and seals.

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The *Basilics* contain a regulation concerning the selection of the members of *δημόσια σώματα*, public corporations). This term is found only here; it can only mean colleges (guilds) which were attached to state industries — moneyers, manufacturers and dyers of regalian cloth, and probably arms-manufacturers.[38] We owe the text of the regulation to Cujas, who used a manuscript of the *Basilics*, now lost.

[37] The whole development can be summarized in the following table (which includes only *extant* enactments):

	SLAVES	FREE MEN
Ulpian	"summo supplicio"	"ad bestias"
Constantine	"ultimo supplicio"	seizure of goods, deportation or work in the mines (in proportion to rank)
Constantius II	"flammarum exustionibus"	
Justinian	"flammarum exustionibus"	
Schol. Basil.	"*ἐσχάτην τιμωρίαν*"	"*χρυσοῦ νν' διδόναι*"
Lex Visig.	"dextera manu abscidat"	fine in proportion to rank
Ed. Rothari	"manu incisione multetur"	
Ecloga, Basil., etc.	"*χειροκοπείσθω*"	
Louis the Pious	"manus ei amputetur"	
Aethelstan	"slea mon of þa hand"	

[38] To these colleges both the Codes devoted two titles (*Cod. Th.*, X, 20 and 22; *Cod. Just.*, XI, 7 and 9). But they use no general term to qualify all of these colleges jointly, as distinguished from colleges not working in *state* factories. In the *Basilics* the titles LIV, 16 and 17 correspond to the mentioned titles of the Codes; however, the majority of the laws taken over in the *Basilics* are modified and interpolated. There are also at least two laws which have no parallel in the Codes, and some laws of the Codes apparently were not taken over. See below, n. 42 ff. and cf. R. S. Lopez, "Silk industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum*, XX (1945).

All the editors of the *Corpus Juris* thought that the regulation discovered by Cujas must belong to Justinian's Code also, for it was agreed that there were no laws later than Justinian's in the *Basilics*.[39] Yet the very term, "public corporations" (δημόσια σώματα) would have been meaningless in Roman law. In the late Roman Empire all the colleges — whether attached to state factories or not — were regarded as public corporations, for they all were liable to corvée and responsible for tax-collection. A distinction appeared first in the Byzantine Empire, because the guilds engaged in private enterprises were almost entirely relieved from their obligations towards the state. Thus the numberless regulations enforced on private guilds by the Codes of Theodose II and Justinian were not taken over by the *Basilics*; it was left to the Book of the Prefect to enforce some restrictions on their activity. On the contrary, the *Basilics* did take over the Roman regulations on colleges attached to state factories, although many of the old laws were dropped or modified in harmony with a more liberal attitude towards the working classes.[40]

As a matter of fact, a regulation of 426 concerning the selection of the members of "corpor*a* . . . ad Divinas Largitiones nexu sanguinis pertinent*ia*" (corporations directly managed by the financial department) was dropped by the Basilics. This law, which was included in both the Roman Codes, is quite different from the fragment of Cujas. The aim of the Roman provision was to prevent state workers from shifting to other employment. According to the law of 426, members of the colleges of moneyers, manufacturers and dyers of regalian cloth and of military uniforms were allowed to withdraw from their corporations only if they could find a substitute, and if this substitute was approved by the Count of the Sacred Largesses. Even in this case, their goods were not released and their sons must enter the corporation.[40] In conclusion, although this law does not entirely forbid replacement, it still belongs to the very many provisions by which the emperors of the third and fourth centuries endeavored to keep at a constant and high level the dwindling ranks of college members.

On the contrary, the law partly preserved by Cujas aims at

[39] *Basil.*, LIV, 16, 16; also restored as *Cod. Just.*, XI, 7, 16.
[40] *Cod. Th.*, X, 20, 16 (=*Cod. Just.*, XI, 7, 13).

preventing the number of state workers from growing beyond the needs of the factories to which they were attached. Hence it cannot be ascribed to the same epoch as the law of 426. Nor can it be a law of Justinian's, for, in his time, only the state dye-houses were temporarily overcrowded; as for the other public factories, the problem still was one of insufficient personnel.[41] The earliest evidence that the law of 426 was becoming obsolete comes from a Byzantine city of Italy, Naples. In 599, a corrupt provincial subordinate of the Count of the Sacred Largesses arbitrarily released many members of a corporation working for the state, and hired substitutes for a bribe. The trustees of the guild complained to the Pope, who threatened action by a superior state officer, — not the Count of the Sacred Largesses, but the Prefect of Italy, the highest local authority.[42]

Irregularities of the same kind are denounced in the fragment of Cujas: there was disorder in the "public corporations" because many new members, unskilled and unfit for the profession, had been freely allowed to join the working staff. The new law established a thorough examination, to be supervised by the governors of the provinces (ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν) and by the provosts of the corporations. Admission to the state factories was reserved to the descendants or relatives of members, and no new appointment was allowed unless a vacancy occurred. In another law embodied in the Basilics, the emperor prohibits even himself from accepting new moneyers by overriding the regulation. This law, too, has no parallel in the Roman Codes.[43] Thus the state workers were given the status of an exclusive industrial caste.

[41] *Nov. Just.*, XXXVIII, 6; but *Cod. Just.*, 7 and 9, *passim*. Even in the dye-houses a shortage of workers must have occurred soon after the introduction of the silkworm in the Byzantine Empire, which caused a rapid boost of production. As a matter of fact, the *baphia* and the *gynaecia* (dye-houses and textile factories) of the Roman state were manned by male workers, while the Byzantine factories had to employ women too. Cf. *Basil.*, LIV, 16, 8: this law has no parallel in the Code. The preceding theme in the same title of the Basilics (LIV, 16, 7), while reproducing *Cod. Just.*, XI, 8, 5, modifies the penalty from 5 pounds' fine to 3 pounds.

[42] I am referring to the famous letter of Gregory I to the *saponarii* of Naples (Greg. I, *Epist.*, IX, 5). (This college, as I shall try to demonstrate in another essay, had been put under the officers of the Sacred Largesses like the colleges of state workers, because it sold a kind of "sacred soap" used by the sacred Emperor in his sacred bath.)

[43] *Basil.*, LX, 60, 2. Remarkably enough, the same restriction is enforced in the oldest regulations of the *sacramentum Imperii* and of the *Serment de France*, the

The examination set forth in the "fragment of Cujas" is much like the tests enforced by the tenth century Book of the Prefect.[44] The penalty, too, is the standard Byzantine punishment for guild offenses: flogging. A more precise time indication is supplied by the fact that the fragment of Cujas transfers the control over state corporations from the Count of the Sacred Largesses to the provincial governors. We know that "the title 'comes sacrarum largitionum' vanishes in the seventh century." The last minister whom we meet bearing the title is Anastasius in 608–9, one year before Heraclius' accession.[45] Then, the direction of state factories *at Constantinople* was handed over partly to the *eidikon*, partly to the *vestiarion*, both being central branches of treasury.[46] From the fragment of Cujas we may infer that *in the provinces* the state factories were placed under the provincial governors. With such a development we may connect the fact that Heraclius increased the number of the mints, so that practically there was one in every province.[47]

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great guilds of moneyers which operated all over France, Northern Italy and Southern Germany in the later Middle Ages. The emperor, or the king, may not appoint moneyers foreign to the families of older guild members unless there is a vacancy which cannot be filled by relatives of members.

[44] In order to be appointed a "*ταβουλάριος*" a candidate had to undergo a severe inquiry, to obtain a favorable vote of the corporation and its *primikerios*, and finally to be confirmed by the Prefect of the City. The places were limited to twenty-four. Thus there were the same restrictions as the fragment of Cujas enforces for members of state colleges, except that descent from a member of a college (*ὁμοεθνία*) is not required for a notary (*Eparch. Bibl.*, I, 1–3 and 13; cf. also II, 1 and 4; III, 1; IV, 5; VI, 6; VII, 3; XII, 2). Limitations in the appointment of new members, according to the Book of the Prefect, are in direct proportion to the extent of connections of each guild with matters of state and public utility.

[45] Cf. J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London, 1911), p. 86 ff.; E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des Byzantinischen Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 149 ff.; G. Millet, "L'origine du logothète général," *Mélanges F. Lot* (Paris, 1925), p. 563 ff. (with bibliogr.).

[46] *Kletorologion*, p. 141–2, ed. Bury; cf. Bury, p. 95 ff.; 100 ff.; Stein, p. 178 ff.; F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 39 ff.; G. Millet, "Sur les sceaux des commerciaires byzantins," *Mélanges G. Schlumberger* (Paris, 1924), II, 306 ff.; J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1923), p. 3 ff. and 78 ff. While the textile factories and the dyehouses (*βασιλικὰ ἐργοδόσια*) were placed under the *eidikon*, the mint and the arsenals went under the *vestiarion*. See also Lopez, "Silk industry."

[47] Diocletian had established a mint in each capital of a diocesis, but this correspondence was soon lost. Likewise, after Heraclius the number of mints rapidly diminished, until, in the tenth century, all minting was done in Constantinople.

There is more. If and when the law preserved by Cujas had any practical effect, we ought to notice in the coins a sudden technical improvement after a period of artistic decline due to the hiring of unskilled workers. This is exactly what happened under Heraclius. After a steady decline in quality of the Byzantine coins (ever since the time of Justinian), the reign of Heraclius witnessed a sudden renaissance.[48] Likewise, the weight of coins, which had been rapidly decreasing, was stabilized.[49] This unprecedented wonder — no debasement for more than three centuries, although the Empire went through terrible political and economic crises — did not begin with Anastasius or Justinian, but with Heraclius.[50] A new and heavier silver coin conveyed to the citizens, through its dramatic legend (*Deus adiuta Romanis*), the necessity of conquering the enemies of God and the Fatherland.[51]

We may conclude that, in all probability, Heraclius is responsible not only for authorizing amputation as the legal punish-

[48] Cf. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908), I, xxiii-xxvii. This renaissance covered gold and silver coins only. Coppers were supplied almost exclusively by the expeditious makeshift of restriking old coins. Such an anomaly can be explained only by the reduction in the staff which must have been caused by the "purge" of the college.

[49] It is a mistake to believe that the proverbial stability of Byzantine coinage began with Justinian. He resorted to debasement (Proc., *Anekd.*, 22; Malalas, p. 486, ed. Bonn; cf. Vasiliev, *Hist. de l'Emp. Byz.*, I, 211–2), and was unable to repress sub-standard private and municipal coinage of gold, at least in Egypt (cf. C. Diehl, "Une crise monétaire au VIe siècle," *Revue des études grecques*, XXXII [1919], 158–66). The crisis was aggravated under his successors: in 602, the rate of the *nomisma* in Egypt had fallen to 18 *keratia*. Copper coins had been declining as well. The *follis*, of which we have specimens struck by Anastasius at a weight of about 250–300 grains (and which had even reached a maximum of 363.8 grains in the early reign of Justinian), fell below 200 grains under Maurice, and below 100 grains at the beginning of the reign of Heraclius. Smaller denominations followed the same process (cf. also A. Segrè, "Moneta bizantina," *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, LIII [1920], 311 ff.).

[50] It is particularly remarkable that no chronicler ascribed to Nicephorus I, among his numerous "κακώσεις," debasement of coins. On the other hand, the long-challenged statements of Cedrenos and Zonaras, concerning the debasement of the τεταρτηρόν by Nicephorus II, have been finally proved true by F. Dworschak, "Studien zur byzantinischen Münzwesen," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XXIX [1936], 73–81. Dworschak has found and described the debased *tetarteron*. This should teach us not to doubt statements of chroniclers on the sole ground that their accounts are not yet confirmed by the extant coins!

[51] Cf. Wroth, I, xxiii-xxvii and 184–254; E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 132–3. On the other hand, on the reverse of the African coppers of Heraclius, a Greek legend appears for the first time in the place of the Latin inscription.

ment for forgers of coins and charters, but also for issuing a complete regulation of state factories, under the supervision of the provincial governors. A fragment of this law, coming down to us thanks to Cujas, was embodied in the *Basilics*. Thus another novel of Heraclius is revealed by our investigation.

The topic of this particular essay is of limited scope; the implications, however, may be large. A fruitful field of inquiry would seem to be open in a reevaluation of the laws of the *Basilics* historically considered. Students of Roman Law in checking the *Basilics* against the *Corpus Juris* have assumed that when the *Basilics* contain provisions not in the *Corpus Juris* the *Corpus Juris* is incomplete, and they have used the *Basilics* as a supplementary source on Roman Law. It is here submitted that in doing so one may be ascribing to Justinian and Roman Law what is more properly due to Heraclius and Byzantine Law.

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MEDIEVAL IDEAS OF THE END OF THE WORLD: WEST AND EAST

By A. Vasiliev

Pagan Rome was to exist for ever. She was *Roma aeterna*, and so called by the Roman elegiac poet Tibullus as early as the first century B.C. This pagan concept, however, was unacceptable to the Christians, who were taught by their religion to expect the second Advent of Jesus Christ and the foundation of a new and eternal state on earth headed by Christ himself. Rome as an eternal city was incompatible with Christian ideas and expectations.

Nevertheless the prestige of ancient Rome was so great in the eyes of both pagans and Christians that both alike were thunderstruck and horrified when in 410 the commander of the Visigoths, Alaric, took and sacked Rome. Pagan reliance upon the eternity of the city of Rome was totally destroyed. But many Christians as well were profoundly shocked by the fall of the former capital of the Roman Empire, and they have left traces of their depression and despair in their literary works. In one of his letters Saint Jerome wrote: "I have long wished to attack the prophecies of Ezekiel and to make good the promises which I have so often given to curious readers. When, however, I began to dictate I was so confounded by the havoc wrought in the West and above all by the sack of Rome that, as the common saying has it, I forgot even my own name. Long did I remain silent knowing that it was a time to weep" (Ecclesiastes, III, 4).[1] In another letter of Jerome we read: "A dreadful rumour came from the West. Rome had been besieged and its citizens had been forced to buy their lives with gold. Then thus despoiled they had been besieged again so as to lose not their substance only but their lives. My voice sticks in my throat; and, as I dictated, sobs choke my utterance. The City

[1] Jerome's Letter 126, 2. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXII, 1086. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, LVI (Vienna-Leipzig, 1918), p. 144. *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church.* Sec. series, VI (New York, 1893), pp. 252–253.

which had taken the whole world was itself taken."[2] In the preface to Book III of Jerome's Commentary on Ezekiel, the author writes: "Who would believe that Rome, built up by the conquest of the whole world, had collapsed, that the mother of nations had become also their tomb."[3] As far off as Egypt, in the remote monasteries of the Thebaid, a strict hermit and former Roman noble, Saint Arsenius, who lived under Theodosius the Great and his sons, could not restrain his tears when he told of the ruin of the great city of Rome.[4]

We might also recall that forty-five years later, early in June, 455, Gaiseric and his Vandals from North Africa entered Rome and for fourteen days plundered the city, and carried off to Africa much valuable booty, and the widow Eudoxia and the two daughters of Valentinian III, who had been assassinated earlier in the same year. But in 455 the concept of *Roma aeterna* had already been destroyed, so that Gaiseric's sack of Rome did not produce the powerful repercussion all over the world that Alaric's taking of the city in 410 had.

But in spite of these two heavy blows dealt to Rome in 410 and 455, Western literature from the fourth to the tenth century still contained such references to Rome as *Caput mundi* or *Aurea Roma*; the very expression *urbs aeterna*, incompatible as it is with Christian ideology, occurs in the course of the earlier Middle Ages, but this is exceptional.[5]

In 324 A.D. or at the outset of the year 325, the Emperor Constantine decided to found a new capital on the shores of the Bosphorus; the construction of the main buildings was begun immediately. Towards the spring of 330 the work had progressed so far that Constantine found it possible to dedicate the new

[2] Jerome's Letter 127, 12. Migne, *P.L.*, XXII, 1094. *Corpus Scr. Eccl. Latin.*, LVI, 154. *A Select Library* . . . VI, 257.

[3] Migne, *P.L.*, XXV, 75. *A Select Library* . . . VI, 500.

[4] *Life of Arsenius the Great*, ed. G. Tsereteli (Saint Petersburg, 1899), p. 22 (in the *Zapiski* of the Historico-Philological Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg, vol. L): *Ἡνίκα δὲ καὶ ἡ Σκῆτις πρὸς τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομῆς ἠρήμωτο, συνεξῆλθε καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις πατράσιν· ἀπώλεσε, λέγων, ὁ μὲν κόσμος τὴν Ῥώμην, τὴν δε Σκῆτιν οἱ μοναχοί. Ταῦτα λέγων δάκρυά τε ἠφίει τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἤλγει, τῆς ἡσυχίας περικαιόμενος.* See also pp. 1–2.

[5] See P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, I. *Studien* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1929), pp. 30, 37–38. Also Fedor Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1926), pp. 57–60.

capital officially. The dedication took place on May 11, 330, and was followed by celebrations and festivities which lasted forty days and presented a peculiar mixture of Christian and pagan ceremonies, with the balance perhaps in favor of Christianity. The new city received the name "Constantinople," the city of Constantine, and according to Constantine's original plan was to be an exact replica of ancient Rome. Constantinople became the New Rome, ἡ Νέα Ῥώμη or simply ἡ Νέα.

Byzantine literature, both secular and religious, bestows upon Constantinople an endless number of elaborate, laudatory and pompous epithets. The *Lives of the Saints* give a long list.[6] Perhaps the most magnificent and most concrete glorification of Constantinople is to be found in the unpublished *Life* of Saint Joannes (John) Akatios (Acatius) of Constantinople, some fragments of which Leo Allatius printed in his notes on the Byzantine historian of the thirteenth century, George Acropolita.[7] But so far as I know, the epithet "eternal" does not occur.

Our evidence on the foundation of Constantinople includes an interesting passage describing a religious procession on the occasion of the consecration of the new capital. The passage runs as follows: "Then the city that was called Constantinople was saluted with acclamations, when the priest cried aloud, 'Oh, Lord! Guide it well for infinite ages.' "[8] "For infinite ages" reflects the pagan idea of *Roma aeterna* though in our text the phrase is used by Christian priests.

Another very interesting indication that the new capital will

[6] Many examples of such epithets, especially from the *Lives of the Saints*, are given in a Russian book by A. P. Rudakov, *Outlines in the History of Byzantine Culture based on data from Greek Hagiography* (Moscow, 1917), pp. 110–112.

[7] Leo Allatius' fragments from the *Life of Joannes Akatius* were published in the Parisian, Venetian, and Bonn editions of George Acropolita; in the latter edition they are on pp. 205–207. In his more recent edition of George Acropolita A. Heisenberg did not reprint Allatius' notes. In the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (2 ed., Brussels, 1909, p. 117) there is a mere mention: Joannes Acatius CP. Nov. 1, with a reference to Allatius' notes; neither place nor time of the compilation of the *Life* is indicated. Rudakov (*op. cit.*, p. 112) calls him Joannes Akakios, probably a misprint. Archbishop Sergius does not mention the name of Joannes Akatius in his *Complete Menologium of the Orient* (2 ed., Vladimir, 1901).

[8] *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, I (Leipzig, 1901), p. 57 (§ 56): *τότε εὐφημίσθη ἡ πόλις κληθεῖσα Κωνσταντινούπολις, τῶν ἱερέων βοώντων· εἰς ἀπείρους αἰῶνας εὐόδωσον ταύτην* (*παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί*); ed. Bonn, *Incerti auctoris breves enarrationes chronographicae*, pp. 180–181 (in the

live to the end of the world occurs in the lengthy but extremely important *Life of Saint Andrew the Simple* (*Vita S. Andreae Sali*) who lived in the tenth century and whose *Life* was compiled by a presbyter of Saint Sophia, Nicephorus.[9] This *Life* contains a conversation between St. Andrew and his disciple Epiphanius. We read: "Epiphanius began to interrogate the Blessed One (i.e. Andrew) and said: 'Tell me, please, how and when the end of this world (shall occur)? What are the beginnings of the throes? And how will men know that (the end) is close, at the doors? By what signs will the end be indicated? And whither will pass this city, the New Jerusalem? What will happen to the holy temples standing here, to the venerated icons, the relics of the Saints, and the books? Please inform me; for I know what God said about thee and those who are like thee: It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven;'[10] even more, the mysteries of this world." St. Andrew's answer to Epiphanius' question is very long. For our purposes the first lines are most interesting. They run as follows: "The Blessed One (Andrew) said: 'Concerning our city know that it will in no way be terrified by any nation till the consummation of time (*μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος*), for no one will ever ensnare it (*παγιδεύσει*) or take it; because it has been given to the Mother of God, and no one will tear it from Her holy arms. . . .' "[11] These passages indicate Constantinople as a city destined to endure until the end of the world. Epiphanius calls it the New Jerusalem, i.e., the future celestial Jerusalem, and St. Andrew himself says that it will exist till the consummation of time.

According to the Christian conception the New Rome or Constantinople was to exist down to the Second Advent of Christ, and Constantine, its builder, would be the creator of the Roman-Christian state destined to be the last world power.[12] The idea that the Christian Roman Empire, which we call the Byzantine

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volume *Georgii Codini Excerpta de antiquitatibus Constantinopolitanis*). See D. Lathoud, "La consécration et la dédicace de Constantinople," *Echos d'Orient*, XXIV (1925), 196.

[9] Migne, *P.G.*, CXI, 621–888.

[10] Matthew, XIII, 11.

[11] Migne, *P.G.*, CXI, 853. See Rudakov, *op. cit.*, 111.

[12] See F. Dölger, "Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LVI, 1 (1937), 3, n. 1; 5; 16.

Empire, should end only with the end of the world passed later into Slavonic literature and is echoed, for example, in the interpolated Slavonic version of the so-called *Revelation of Methodius of Patara*,[13] of which we shall speak at the end of this study.

The figure 1000 had special significance in mediaeval chronology, either as the year 1000 A.D. or as 6000 or 7000 years from the creation of the world. This may be explained by the survival of the old error that the temporal reign of Christ would last one thousand years. Some passages in the Apocalypse or Revelation of Saint John the Divine, especially chapters XIX–XXII, were also interpreted as meaning that Christ was to reign one thousand years. In the second century A.D. the unknown author of the Epistle of Barnabas announced that the world would last six thousand years, as indicated by the six days of the Creation. On the seventh day, i.e., at the beginning of the seventh millennium, the Son of God would come to reign over the righteous for one thousand years. In the third century A.D. begins the decline of millenarism or chiliasm, and in the fourth century remnants of this belief are very rare. In the fifth century Saint Augustine held chiliastic illusions for a time, but finally rejected them with decision and by his authority practically put an end to that superstition. After the fifth century millenarism was unheard of except very rarely among some sects of Illuminati.[14] But a hazy tradition of the mystical significance of the year 1000 or the multiples of 1000 survived the Middle Ages and among uneducated men in some places still survives.

At the beginning of the fourth century a Christian writer, Lactantius, who died some time after 317 A.D.,[15] attached much importance to the year 6000. In his work *Divine Institutes* he wrote: "I have already shown above that when six thousand years shall be completed this change must take place, and that the last day of the final conclusion is now drawing near. . . . And al-

[13] V. Istrin, *Revelation of Methodius of Patara and apocryphical visions of Daniel in Byzantine and Slavo-Russian literature* (*Čtenija v Obščestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiskich*), Moscow, 1897, book II, p. 17 (in Russian).

[14] See a brief but very good article by G. Bardy, *Millénarisme*, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, X, 2 (Paris, 1928), coll. 1760–1763 (some bibliography is given). R. Janin's article "Le millénarisme et l'église grecque," *Echos d'Orient*, XXVII (1928), 201–210, deals with modern time and has no reference whatever to the Middle Ages.

[15] We have no information about Lactantius after 317 or about his death.

though they vary, and the amount of the number as reckoned by them differs considerably, yet all expectation does not exceed the limit of two hundred years. The subject itself declares that the fall and ruin of the world will shortly take place." [16] Lactantius probably based his conclusion that the year 6000 was the limit of the existence of the world upon the chronology of the Christian era used in the second and third centuries by the Christian chronicler, Sextus Julius Africanus; his era counted 5500 years from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ. Thus the year 6000 would coincide approximately with A.D. 500, two hundred years after the year 300 in which Lactantius lived and wrote. But the chronology of Sextus Julius Africanus did not come into general use. Lactantius may also have known the Epistle of Barnabas, which, as we have noted above, announced that the world would last six thousand years.

Let us consider the most important chronologies in use in Byzantium.

During the earlier Byzantine period two eras from the creation of the world, those of Panodorus and Annianus, were used. Our scanty information about these two men comes almost entirely from one source, a Byzantine chronicler, George Syncellus, who died in the early part of the ninth century. According to him, both Panodorus, "the well informed successor of (Julius Sextus) Africanus and Eusebius," [17] and his shadow Annianus, "a very bad chronologist and historian but an excellent paschalist," [18] were contemporaries and flourished under the twenty-second Patriarch of Alexandria, Theophilus.[19] Panodorus alone is mentioned by George Syncellus as living at the time of the Emperor Arcadius (395–408) and the Patriarch Theophilus.[20] Without

[16] *F. Lactantii Divinae Institutiones*, VII, 25, 3–5; rec. S. Brandt, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, XIX (1890), 664. Ante-Nicene Christian Library, XXI (Edinburgh, 1871), 481.

[17] H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, II, 1 (Leipzig, 1885), p. 189.

[18] D. Lebedev, "*Sredniki*. On the question of the origin of this Old Believers' sect," *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, May, 1911, p. 114 (in Russian).

[19] Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia*, pp. 61 and 62. Theophilus is given as the twenty-third Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 385–412, in the *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, ed. by B. Evetts, *Patrologia Orientalis*, by Graffin and Nau, I (Paris, 1907), p. 425 (161).

[20] Georgius Syncellus, p. 617. A mention of Panodorus independent of George Syncellus is to be found in Pseudo-Codinus, *Scriptores originum Constantinopoli-*

giving Panodorus' or Annianus' name, George Syncellus in another passage says that from Adam to Theophilus, twenty-second Patriarch of Alexandria, Egypt, and the two Lybias, 5904 years elapsed.[21] Panodorus lived between 395 and 408, i.e. under Arcadius. Annianus completed his work in 412, i.e., at the beginning of the reign of Theodosius II (408–450). Both were Alexandrians. A short characterization of these chronologists is also given by George Syncellus.[22] Annianus entirely depends on Panodorus. Panodorus' era began with August 29, 5494 B.C.; Annianus' with March 25, 5492 B.C.[23] Earlier Byzantine writers, for instance Maximus Confessor (in the seventh century), George Syncellus, and Theophanes (both in the ninth century), used the Alexandrian era of Annianus (*κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς*). This era is still employed by the Copts and Abyssinians.[24]

The most important era in Byzantine history was the so-called "Byzantine" or "Roman" era (*κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους*), which Rühl calls "a chronological idea of true genius."[25] Neither its author nor the place where it originated nor the time of its compilation has yet been definitely fixed. Gelzer confidently attributes the formulation (*ausgeklügelt*) of this era to the clergy of New Rome, i.e., Constantinople.[26] Lebedev believes that the place of its origin was hardly Constantinople, but in all probability, Syria, Mesopo-

tanarum, ed. Th. Preger, II (Leipzig, 1907), p. 228, ch. 34: *καθώς φησιν Πανόδωρος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος*; *Georgii Codini Excerpta de antiquitatibus Constantinopolitanis*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1843), p. 84.

[21] Georgius Syncellus, p. 59.

[22] Georgius Syncellus, pp. 62–63.

[23] Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus*, pp. 190–191. Rühl, *Chronologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Berlin, 1897), p. 191. D. Lebedev, "*Sredniki*," *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, May, 1911, pp. 116–118; 121. *Idem*, "The so-called 'Byzantine' era from the creation of the world. Place and time of its origin," *Vizantiskoe Obozrenie*, III, 1–2 (Yuryev, 1917), 4–6. Both in Russian.

[24] Lebedev, "The so-called 'Byzantine' era," p. 4. G. Ostrogorsky, "Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, VII (Athens, 1930), 1, n. 1. V. Grumel, "L'année du monde dans la Chronographie de Théophane," *Echos d'Orient*, XXXIII (1934), pp. 397–398. *Idem*, "L'année du monde dans l'ère byzantine," *ibidem*, XXXIV (1935), pp. 319–326. Apparently Grumel does not know Lebedev's study. D. Serruys, "De quelques ères usitées chez les chroniqueurs byzantins," *Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, XXXI (1907), pp. 155–157. On Panodorus and Annianus see O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, vol. IV (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1924), pp. 91–93.

[25] Rühl, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[26] Gelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

tamia, or Cilicia. "To indicate exactly the city where this era was invented is impossible."[27] Schwartz thinks that the Byzantine era was already known in 525 to Dionysius Exiguus, but Lebedev refutes this.[28]

This new era was first employed in an anonymous chronicle compiled in the seventh century, *Chronicon Paschale*. The first official use of this era is found in the constitutions of the Council of 691–692, which was held in Constantinople and is known as the Quinisext (*Quinisextum*) Council. In the ninth century Theophanes knew the Byzantine or Roman era as well as the Alexandrian era of Annianus, and towards the eleventh century, the former definitely superseded the latter.

According to the Byzantine or Roman era, the first year from the creation of the world began September 1, 5509 B.C., in other words 5508 years and four months before the beginning of Dionysius Exiguus' era from the incarnation of our Lord.[29]

In Byzantine history the year 6000 after the creation, either according to Annianus' Alexandrian era, which started in 5492 B.C. or according to the Byzantine or Roman era, which began in 5508 B.C., fell within the reign of the Emperor Anastasius I (491–518): this was the year 492 according to Annianus' era and 508 according to the Byzantine era. Byzantine chroniclers and historians do not regard this year as connected with the expectation of universal catastrophe and do not emphasize it at all. Under the year 6000 Theophanes and John Malalas simply mention the construction by Anastasius of the wall against the Persians around the city of Dara in Mesopotamia.[30] The Easter Chronicle (*Chronicon Paschale*) whose anonymous author used the Byzantine era, under the year 6000 (508 A.D.) records no event whatever.[31] All later chroniclers pass over the year 6000 in silence. It may be thought that Byzantine mantic books dealing with all kinds of divination, prodigies, and omens might include some

[27] Lebedev, "The so-called 'Byzantine' era," p. 18 (in Russian).

[28] Schwartz, *Chronicon Paschale*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, III, col. 2467. Lebedev, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14; 18.

[29] On the Byzantine or Roman era see D. Lebedev, "The so-called 'Byzantine' era," 1–52. On p. 52 we read "End follows." But the rest of Lebedev's study never appeared, vol. III, 1–2 of *Vizantiskoe Obozrenie* being the last issue of this journal. See also D. Serruys, *loc. cit.*, pp. 179–189 (*Origine de l'ère byzantine*).

[30] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 150. John Malalas, 399.

[31] *Chronicon Paschale*, 607: Ἰνδ. ιέ . ά . ὑπ' Ἀνασταστίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Ῥούφου.

suggestions concerning the exceptional significance of the year 6000. In this connection there is a very interesting work *On Signs* (*De ostentis*), whose author, John Lydus, lived under Anastasius, Justin I, and Justinian the Great (490–*circa* 565). His book is filled with examples of all kinds of divination, by thunder, by lightning, by the moon. The author is extremely interested in the life of the Empire; all important political, social, and economic questions of the sixth century are treated in his book and are explained by the various signs and omens that predicted them.[32] But there is no indication whatever that the world is to end in 6000.

Two mentions of the seventh millennium appear in a little book on the origin of Constantinople, Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. This book was for long erroneously attributed to a certain Codinus who supposedly lived in the fifteenth century, but according to recent studies the anonymous author of the booklet lived at the close of the tenth century and compiled his work about the year 995 A.D. under the Emperor Basil II Bulgaroctonus (976–1025).[33] Among various monuments that stood on the Hippodrome the author mentions two statues that "give birth to wild beasts (or monsters) and devour men. One is of the tyrant Justinian and represents his acts during his second reign.[34] The other statue is that of a ship; some say that it represents Scylla who is devouring the men whom she takes from Charybdis; and there is Odysseus, whose head she holds in her hand.[35] Others say that the earth, sea, and seven millennia are being devoured by a flood; the last millennium is the seventh or current one." [36] In another place the

[32] See M. A. Andreeva, "The political and social element in Byzantino-Slavonic mantic books," *Byzantinoslavica*, II, 1 (Prague, 1930), 58; II, 2 (1930), 395; IV, 1 (1932), 73 (in Russian). See Fr. Dölger, some critical remarks in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XXXII (1932), 404.

[33] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, recensuit Th. Preger, II (Leipzig, 1907), praefatio, p. III.

[34] This is Justinian II Rhinotmetus, who after ten years of exile succeeded in regaining the throne in 705 and therewith began a tyrannical regime that ended in the revolution of 711 and the massacre of Justinian and his family.

[35] Cf. *Odyssey*, XII, 245 sq.

[36] *Scr. orig. Const.*, II, 190 (ch. 77): *ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅτι ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ αἰῶνές εἰσιν ἐσθιόμενοι διὰ κατακλυσμόν· ὁ περιὼν δὲ ὁ ἕβδομος οὗτος αἰών*. Cf. *Georgii Codini De signis* CP, ed. Bonn, 53–54. See index to *Scr. orig. Const.*, Preger, II, 315: *αἰών* — spatium mille annorum. Cf. also *παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί*, in *Scr. orig. Const.*, I (Leipzig, 1901), p. 60 (ch. 61). M. Treu,

same author writes: "Anastasius Dicorus erected the church of Saint Plato at the beginning of the seventh millennium." [37] But in both these passages the fact that the seventh millennium was the current one is barely mentioned, and there is no indication whatever that people expected the world to end with the coming of that millennium. But at the beginning of the fourth century, as we have noted above, Lactantius attributed great importance to the year 6000 and stated that about this year the end of the world would take place.

If we turn to the Muhammedan world, we see that eschatological ideas had existed among the Moslems from the early time of the Arabian state. In the Koran "the day of judgment," "the day of resurrection," "the day," "the hour," "the inevitable" are repeatedly referred to; the end of the world is represented in the Koran as near at hand, as imminent, but without precise indication of its time; but later Muhammedan tradition, the so-called *Sunnah* (Sunna) is more explicit in this respect and connects the mission of the Prophet with the coming of "the hour." [38] Dadjdjal (Dajjal), a mythical personage of Muhammedan eschatology, corresponding to the Christian Antichrist, must appear towards the end of the world, either in Khurasan or in al-Kufah, or in the Jewish quarter of Isfahan (Ispahan).[39] As we know, the *Sunnah* became, next to the holy Koran, the most important Muhammedan doctrinal source, at first transmitted orally, and later during the second century of the Moslem era (*hegira*), fixed in the form of written *hadiths*. In its technical sense a *hadith* (literally "narrative") is an act or saying attributed to Muhammed or to one of his companions; many of them were fictitious, fabricated after Muhammed's death. Only in the third Moslem century were the various collections of hadiths compiled into six books which have since become standard.

The interesting point must be made that at the very beginning

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Excerpta Anonymi Byzantini (Ohlau, 1880), p. 17. *Incerti Auctoris Breves enarrationes chronographicae*, ed. Bonn, p. 183 (under *Georgii Codini Excerpta*).

[37] *Scr. orig. Const.*, II, 232 (ch. 40): Τὸν ἅγιον Πλάτωνα ἀνήγειρεν Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Δίκορος εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἑβδόμου αἰῶνος. Cf. *Georgii Codini De aedificiis* CP, ed. Bonn, p. 87.

[38] P. Casanova, *Mohammed et la fin du monde*, I (Paris, 1911), p. 31.

[39] See the article *Dadjdjal* in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, vol. I, p. 909. Also Casanova, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 and 46.

the hadiths already dealt with the end of the world; probably they associated the idea of the coming of "the hour" with the taking of Yathrib-Medina by Muhammed, the aim of the first Muhammedans.[40] There was of course no question of any military expedition against Yathrib-Medina. A deputation from the city urged Muhammed to leave Mekka and invited him to make Yathrib-Medina his home. This was in the famous year 622, that of the migration of Muhammed from Mekka to Medina, the year which is frequently but incorrectly called the year of the flight (*hidjrah* in Arabic, distorted by Europeans into *hegira*, etc.). This year has become the beginning of the Muhammedan era.

Later, after their brilliant victories over the Byzantine Empire and numerous conquests in Asia and North Africa, the Arabs devoted all their energy to the taking of the capital of the Empire, Constantinople. At this time the hadiths began to substitute the name of this city for Medina. The change at the beginning was definite political propaganda directed towards the taking of Constantinople; only later did the hadiths associate the coming of Dadjdjal and the final "hour" with the fall of Constantinople. But we know that the two most important Arab attempts to take Constantinople, in 674–677 when the Emperor Constantine IV and the Umayyad Caliph Muawiyah I were reigning, and in 717–718 when the Emperor Leo III and the Caliph Sulayman (Soleiman) were on the throne, were complete failures. We must remember that among some Muhammedans of the earlier period the doctrine existed that Muhammed's mission would last one hundred years. His mission, like that of the last Prophet, could come to its close only with the end of the universe. Originally the predictions of the end of the world most probably concerned exclusively the religious field, and only later *post factum* were connected with political events to come, like the taking of Constantinople, and were adapted to specific purposes. To Muhammed himself, of course, the Byzantine capital had no connection with the "hour." The most ancient hadiths referring to Constantinople must postdate the first great expeditions of the Umayyads. One *hadith* says: "You will certainly conquer Constantinople.

[40] See M. Canard, "Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende," *Journal Asiatique*, CCVIII (1926), 108. H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife Omaiyade Moawia* I (Paris, 1908), 444 = *Mélanges*

Excellent will be the emir and the army who will take it." Another *hadith* very curiously mentions both Rome and Constantinople; the latter was to fall first; Rome's turn was to come later.[41]

But the prediction of the fall of Constantinople was not fulfilled. The capital of the Byzantine Empire continued its independent existence.

"Muhammed's community passed into a new century without any catastrophe to mark the date, under the reign of the most pious Umayyad caliph Umar (Omar) II (717–720) when the directions given by Muhammed and the rights of his descendants to authority were more highly esteemed than ever before."[42] In Persia and Central Asia the people were really convinced that the domination of the Arabs was destined to last only one hundred years and they expected its end in the year 100 of the *hidjrah* (*hegira*).[43] Since Constantinople was not taken, the final "hour" had to be postponed. Exact figures for the end of the world disappeared, and the hadiths began to suggest patience to the victorious Arabs who were disappointed at being unable to take the Byzantine capital; the hadiths proclaimed that the end of the world would be preceded by the fall of Constantinople but exactly when it would happen was unknown. Perhaps "these *hadiths* were put in circulation in order to inflame the zeal of the Arabs for their raids in Romania (that is, against Byzantium). But the example of the Caliph Sulayman (Soleiman) shows how popular under the Umayyads was the enterprise against Constantinople and how much it flattered the pretensions of newly-born Arabian imperialism."[44] In this connection there is a very interesting hadith referring to Constantinople. It runs as follows: "If the world had only one day to live, God would lengthen it to permit one man of my family to bring under subjection the mountains of

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de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beyrouth), III, 1, p. 308. Yathrib is the ancient pre-Islamic name of Medina.

[41] Canard, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–106.

[42] W. Barthold, *On the history of Arabian Conquests in Central Asia, Accounts* (*Zapiski*) of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society, XVII (1906–1907), 0146 (in Russian).

[43] Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 0147.

[44] H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife Omaiyade Moawia I* (Paris, 1908), p. 444 = *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph* (Beyrouth), III, 1, p. 308. See also M. Canard, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

Daylam and Constantinople."[45] According to some hadiths, seven years were to pass between the taking of Constantinople and the apparition of Dadjdjal. At the very moment when the Moslems were busy dividing the spoils the cry would resound, "Dadjdjal is with you." Then they would drop everything and come back to combat Dadjdjal.[46]

Referring to Byzantino-Arabian relations in the eighth century V. Barthold gives some interesting lines on the expectation of the end of the world. "The struggle between Byzantium and the Caliphate," Barthold writes, "assumed the character of a sacred war both for Christians and for Muhammedans; Christianity could not be reconciled to the loss of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. As to the Moslems, the existence of the world city on the Bosphorus constantly reminded them that the aim of victory for the faith as indicated in the Koran,[47] that is, the subjugation of all dissidents from Moslem power, had not been attained. Both sides were disappointed by the outcome of the struggle: the Greeks did not take Jerusalem, the Arabs failed to take Constantinople. In this frame of mind triumph changed to repentance among Christians as well as Moslems, and both expected the end of the world. It seemed to both that only just before the end of the world could their final aims be attained. In the Latin world a legend became current that before the end of the universe a Christian ruler (the Frankish king or the Byzantine emperor) would enter Jerusalem and dedicate his earthly crown to the Savior, while the Moslems expected the end of the world to be preceded by the fall of Constantinople. It is not accidental that the reign of the 'sole pious' Umayyad Caliph, Omar II (717–720), came about the year 100 of the hegira (about 720)[48] when the end of the Moslem state and also the end of the world were expected, and after the unsuccessful siege of Constantinople in the time of the preceding Caliph Sulayman (Soleiman)."[49]

The attitude of the Arabs to the expected fall of Constantinople

[45] See Canard, *op. cit.*, p. 107. The mountains of Daylam (Dailem) are in Persia south of the Caspian Sea. On "one man of my family" see Canard, p. 107, n. 3.

[46] Canard, p. 108.

[47] Koran, IX, 29: "Fight those who do not believe in Allah, nor in the latter day, nor do they prohibit what Allah and His Apostle have prohibited, nor follow the religion of truth . . . until they pay the tax in acknowledgment of superiority and they are in a state of subjection."

[48] See above, p. 473.

[49] V. Barthold in his review of my Russian edition, *Lectures on the History of*

in the eighth century appears in a recent sprightly and popular book on *Imperial Byzantium.* "It was a fixed idea in Islam that the fall of Constantinople would mean the end of the world. Or, to put the matter more crudely, the Mohammedan belief was that if such a catastrophe were possible, then anything might happen." [50] This statement, of course, is rather too positive.

Perhaps in connection with the struggle between the Omayyad (Umayyad) Caliphate and Byzantium for the possession of Constantinople in the seventh and eighth centuries, Messianic hopes appeared among the Oriental Jews. The tremendous assault of Muawiyah on Constantinople in 672–677, though finally unsuccessful, aroused many hopes among the mystically inclined population within Oriental Jewry that the long conflict between Esau or Edom, as the Talmudists named the Roman or Byzantine Empire, and Ishmael or Ismaelites, i.e., the Muhammedans, would subsequently usher in the Messianic age. This Messianic excitement assumed active form during the reign of Abd-al-Malik (685–705) in the movement of Abu-'Isa al-Isfahani and his disciple Yudgan (Yudghan or Judah) of Hamadan, after whom the Jewish sect was named Yudganiyah (Yudghaniyah). The second great assault on Constantinople (717–718) again aroused Messianic expectations. It was sometimes hoped that the Messiah would appear in Rome, that is, New Rome, Constantinople, to witness the mutual destruction of Esau and Ishmael.[51] According to a Christian chronicler of the tenth century, Pseudo-Symeon Magister, the Jews before the Messiah expected Antichrist, who was to be born of a nun,[52] "a curious projection of his own belief in the virgin birth." [53]

Byzantium, in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, I (Leningrad, 1925), 470–471 (in Russian). I have given this passage in the English and French editions of my *History of the Byzantine Empire.* English ed., I (Madison, 1928), 290; French ed., I (Paris, 1932), 315–316.

[50] Bertha Diener, *Imperial Byzantium*, translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul (Boston, 1938), 341. The original German edition of the book, under a pseudonym, was published in 1937. Sir Galahad, *Byzanz. Von Kaisern, Engeln und Eunuchen* (Leipzig, Vienna, 1937). There is a French translation of this work by Jacques Chipelle-Astier (Paris, 1937).

[51] Jacob Mann, *Resumé* of an unpublished study in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 47 (1927), 364. See also H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4te verbesserte und ergänzte Auflage, V (Leipzig, 1909), 212–213.

[52] *Pseudo-Symeon Magister*, ed. Bonn, p. 669.

[53] Joshua Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641–1204* (Athens, 1939), p. 73.

In connection with the expected fall of Constantinople in 717–718 may be mentioned here the Messianic movement in Iraq in Mesopotamia, where about 720 a certain Christian, Serene (Serenus) made his appearance, who after adopting Judaism presented himself as Messiah or his precursor to the Jews of the region of Mardin. This Messianic expectation perhaps shows the Jewish reaction to the news that the Muhammedan conquerors were on the point of taking the very stronghold of the Christian Empire. The imminent fall of Constantinople to the Arabs might have been considered by the Jews of the period a forerunner of the Messianic era.[54] It has been assumed that this movement affected even the Jews in distant Spain, and that these Messianic expectations were clearly the cause of the persecutions decreed against the Jews in Byzantium by Leo the Isaurian.[55] But quite recently J. Starr announced that a fresh study based on additional, as well as better, texts has convinced him that there is no valid basis for supposing that the movement spread beyond Asia Minor.[56]

Let us pass now to the Christian era in use today.

The origin of our Christian era, dating from the year of the birth, or better the incarnation, of Christ, is connected with the name of Dionysius Exiguus. An abbot in Rome, in 525 he composed his *Liber de Paschate*, an Easter table; the work was written at the suggestion of Bishop Petronius, to whom the introduction was dedicated. In the introduction after mentioning that Saint Cyril had begun his chronology with the time of Diocletian and ended it with the year 247, Dionysius, continuing Cyril's work, said: "Beginning with the year 248 of that rather tyrant than emperor, we have not wanted to connect our chronology with the memory of the impious persecutor, but we have preferred to indicate the years from the incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that

[54] *Idem*, "Le mouvement messianique au début du VIIIe siècle," *Revue des études juives*. New series, II (CII), July–December 1937, pp. 91–92; the whole article pp. 81–92. J. Mann in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 47 (1927), 364. H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4th ed., V (Leipzig, 1909), 169–170; note 14, pp. 457–460. Byz. sources: *Theophanes*, de Boor, 401; *Anastasii Historia Tripertita*, ed. de Boor, 260; *Cedr.*, I, 793. Byzantine sources give no name.

[55] J. Mann, *loc. cit.* J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, 92. See also Graetz, *op. cit.*, V, 170.

[56] J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, p. 73.

the beginning of our hope may be clearer to us, and the cause of human reparation, *id est* the passion of Our Redeemer, may manifest itself more evidently." [57] In other words Dionysius continued and improved the Easter tables of Cyril of Alexandria; but first of all he substituted the Christian for the Diocletian era, i.e., he counted the years from the birth or incarnation of Christ, which he placed in 753 *ab urbe condita*. Dionysius died in 540.[58]

It was a long time before Dionysius' era became generally accepted. We need not be surprised, because originally his era, like other eras, was not intended to establish a general system of dates of events, but merely set the time of Easter for a number of years. The first official document that was dated by Dionysius' era was a capitulary of the major-domo Carloman in 742. At the same period this era was used in French private documents, and at the outset of the ninth century in German; it is not to be found in imperial documents before 876. The popes began to use it with John XIII (965–972), but only with the accession to the papal throne of Eugenius IV in 1431 have the years of Christ been regularly employed. These data show us clearly that about the year 1000 Dionysius' era had by no means spread all over Western Europe and was not yet in popular use. In Constantinople this era began to be used among Christians in the sixteenth century, i.e., after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, under the sultans.[59] In Russia Dionysius' era was introduced by Peter the Great in 1700. In this connection a Russian scholar and priest, D. Lebedev, writes that Peter I, who was captivated by Western influences, both good and bad, committed the very great stupidity of introducing into Russia Dionysius' poor and pitiful era in place of the excellent Roman era dating from the creation of the world.[60] In another study the same scholar says: "The calendar

[57] Dionysius Exiguus, *Liber de Paschate, praefatio*, Migne, *P.L.*, LXVII, 487.

[58] On Dionysius see A. Jülicher, *Dionysius Exiguus*, in *Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, V (1905), coll. 998–999. M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, IV, 2 (Munich, 1920), pp. 589–591. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, V (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1932), pp. 224–228.

[59] S. F. Rühl, *Chronologie der Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Berlin, 1897), p. 129; 197–200.

[60] D. Lebedev, "Sredniki," *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, May, 1911, pp. 132–135. *Idem*, Review of A. P. Dyakonov's book on John of Ephesus, *Vizant. Vremennik*, XVIII (1911–1913), 78. Both in Russian.

reform of Peter I made no progress whatever and, from a scientific standpoint, was such another groundless concession to the West as would have been the introduction of the deformed and obsolete Gregorian calendar. The high qualities of the 'Byzantine' era are acknowledged by Western scholars who express regret that it failed to enter into general use." [61]

Dionysius' era leads us now to consider the year 1000. It has been often supposed that there was general expectation of the end of the world in this year, and that as it approached all sorts of terrors manifested themselves among the panic-stricken men of the West. The actual facts, however, are somewhat different. Let us examine our sources.

It is well known that the most important text for the description of the terrors of the year 1000 is the *History* of Raoul Glaber, who lived in the eleventh century and whose book embraces the years 900–1044. In his work we read that in various regions of different countries among uneducated and superstitious men, fear existed of the approaching year 1000. He mentions signs and prodigies, mostly of a fantastic and amusing character, and adds: "These things aforesaid befell more frequently than usual in all parts of the world about the thousandth year after the birth of Our Lord and Saviour." [62] But there is a striking difference between scattered outbreaks of apprehension of the coming end of the world and universal expectation of the last judgment. Relief and increasing activities and energy may be noted after the year 1000, especially in the field of repairing old churches and building new ones. Glaber also says: "On the threshold of the aforesaid thousandth year, some two or three years after it, it befell almost throughout the world, but especially in Italy and Gaul, that the fabrics of churches were rebuilt, although many of these were still seemly and needed no such care." [63] According to the same author, after the year 1000 had passed without catastrophe, some men began to speculate upon the thousandth year after the Pas-

[61] D. Lebedev, "The so-called 'Byzantine' era," *Vizantiskoe Obozrenie*, III, 1–2 (Yuryev, 1917), p. 3 (in Russian).

[62] Glaber, *Historiae*, II, 6, 12. *Raoul Glaber, Les cinq livres de ses histoires* (900–1044), publiées par M. Prou (Paris, 1886), p. 39. An English translation of the passage concerning the year 1000 in G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*. Four volumes in one (New York, 1931), p. 2.

[63] Glaber, III, 4, 13; ed. Prou, p. 62; Coulton, p. 3.

sion of Our Lord, which fell on the year 1033. In Glaber's chronicle we read: "After the manifold signs and prodigies which came to pass in the world, some earlier and some later, about the thousandth year from Our Lord's birth, it is certain that there were many careful and sagacious men who foretold other prodigies as great when the thousandth year from His Passion should draw nigh." [64] When Glaber comes to the year 1033, "that is the thousandth year from the Passion of Our Saviour," he only remarks that several most famous men and representatives of "sacred religion" died "in the Roman world" (*in Orbe Romano*).[65] But in another place Glaber gives the very interesting information that in this same year, 1033, at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem there was such a confluence of pilgrims, both noble and poor, as had never been seen before; "many of them desired to die before regaining their country." [66]

As a monk and chronicler, who lived in Gaul, Glaber had no large horizon to afford him information; he knew something about his own region, his own country, but when he mentions phenomena that occurred "in all parts of the world," his statement has no value. One conclusion only may be drawn from Glaber's chronicle, which is that, as I have already noted, in some places especially among uneducated and simple minded people some superstitious apprehension was felt and recorded.

In this respect the *Letter* of Adso de Moutier-en-Der to Queen Gerberga *On the place and time of Antichrist* is very interesting. Adso, born after 920, was elected abbot of Moutier-en-Der in 967 and abbot of S. Benigne de Dijon in 990. Some time before 980 he compiled this letter addressed to Gerberga, Queen of the Western Franks, daughter of the King of Germany, Henry I, and wife of the French King, Louis d'Outremer. Though this writing itself has no value whatever,[67] it is important as a reflection of the feeling of certain groups of people who around the year 1000 expected the coming of Antichrist, i.e., the end of the world. It is clear that Adso himself did not believe that the year

[64] Glaber, IV, 1; ed. Prou, p. 90; Coulton, p. 6.

[65] Glaber, IV, 4, 9; ed. Prou, p. 99. This passage is not to be found in Coulton's book.

[66] Glaber, IV, 6; ed. Prou, p. 106. Not translated by Coulton.

[67] See M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, II (Munich, 1923), p. 433.

1000 was the term marked by God to the world. In his *Letter* he emphasizes the fact that the time of Antichrist has not yet come, and that nobody knows when Our Lord will come for the Last Judgment. We read: "This time (of Antichrist's arrival) has not yet come, for, although we see that most of the Roman Empire was destroyed, however, as long as the kings of the Franks exist, who must hold the Roman Empire, the dignity of the Roman State shall not entirely perish, because it will stand in its kings." [68] Another passage reads: "What space of time is to elapse until the Lord comes for the Last Judgment, nobody knows; and this remains at the disposal of God, who will judge men at that hour which was fixed (by Him) for judgment centuries ago." [69] But these quotations show plainly that enough popular apprehension of the Last Judgment existed just before the year 1000 to make it necessary that the Abbot should reassure the people by proclaiming that neither the coming of Christ for the Last Judgment nor that of Antichrist, His precursor, was definitely dated. It should be mentioned that Adso compiled his *Letter* at the request of Queen Gerberga herself.[70]

The Apostle Paul in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians writes: "Be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition" (II, 2–3).

The first writer to mention the idea that the end of the world would take place immediately after the year 1000 was Cardinal Baronius at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in his Ecclesiastical Annals. He referred to the passage from the Apostle Paul quoted above and wrote under the year 1001: "A new century starts. The first year after the thousandth one begins . . . by vain assertion of some people it was announced as the last year of the world, or nearly so: in that year the man of sin, son of perdition, called Antichrist, should be revealed. This was pro-

[68] *Epistola Adsonis ad Gerbergam Reginam de Ortu et tempore Antichristi*, E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), p. 110. This letter was also printed in Migne, *P.L.*, CI, 1291–1298 (among Alcuin's works). On Adso see Sackur, *Introduction*, pp. 99–104. Manitius, *op. cit.*, II, 432–440.

[69] Sackur, p. 113.

[70] Sackur, p. 113.

mulgated in Gaul (*in Galliis*), first predicted in Paris, and then proclaimed over the world; it was credited by many; indeed, the simpler ones accepted it with fear; to more educated people it seemed unacceptable." [71] Baronius' sources were two mediaeval chroniclers, Sigibert and Glaber.

In 1633 a French scholar, Le Vasseur, after paraphrasing in French Baronius' passage, which was written in Latin, and giving the same references to Sigibert and Glaber, wrote: "The year expired . . . fraud was recognized," . . . and life began again, in every field, especially in the building of new churches.[72] Both Baronius and Le Vasseur, though explicitly stating that the idea of the destruction of the world in the year 1000 or 1001 was an error and a fraud, believed that a number of people at the time were certain that the end of the world was at hand and acted accordingly.

In the eighteenth century an English historian, William Robertson (1721–1793), who made one of the first successful attempts in England at historical generalization on the basis of a vast knowledge of factual material, wrote: "The thousand years, mentioned by St. John (XX, 2, 3, 4), were supposed to be accomplished, and the end of the world to be at hand. A general consternation seized mankind; many relinquished their possessions; and, abandoning their friends and families, hurried with precipitation to the Holy Land, where they imagined that Christ would quickly appear to judge the world." [73]

It is most surprising that Voltaire in his numerous writings, if I am not mistaken, gives no description of the terrors of the year 1000. One would think that to picture the imaginary turmoil and distress of that year would have exactly suited his biting and sarcastic style. Neither in his *Essai sur les moeurs* nor in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* are the terrors of the year 1000 described. He mentions the "idea of a resurrection after ten centuries,"

[71] Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XVI (Lucca, 1644), 410 (under 1001); ed. Barri-Ducis, XVI (1869), p. 386. The first edition came out in Rome, in 1588–1607.

[72] Jacques Le Vasseur, *Annales de l'église cathedrale de Noyon*, I (Paris, 1633), pp. 131–132.

[73] William Robertson, *The History of the reign of the Emperor Charles V. With a view of the progress of society in Europe: from the subversion of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the sixteenth century.* I used the complete work in one volume, ed. in New York (1836), p. 16.

names the sect of millenarians,[74] and quotes several times from the Annals of Baronius, to whom I have already referred as the originator of the idea of the terrors of the year 1000; but he does not deal with the year 1000 specifically.[75] In one of his minor writings, however, I have run across the following passage: "(Before the First Crusade) the opinion long spread among Christians, that the world was going to end, had, for about a hundred years, turned the faithful away from pilgrimage to Rome to pilgrimage to Jerusalem. . . . The world did not come to its close, and the Turks are masters of Jerusalem." [76]

In the thirties of the nineteenth century the French historian Michelet, with appealing literary power, gave an eloquent and most effective description of the terrors and despair of the year 1000, which greatly impressed the imagination of his numerous readers.[77] A little later another French historian, Sismondi, wrote of the medieval world that the closer it approached that fatal term, i.e., the year 1000, the more the terror of the catastrophe overpowered its imagination. "This terror kept all the faithful feeling like a condemned man whose days are numbered and whose execution is approaching. . . . The belief in the approach of the end of the world may be considered one of the elements of the important revolution that was accomplished in the eleventh century." [78] A French man of letters, Paul Lacroix, writing in the middle of the nineteenth century, declared that towards the close of the tenth century all Christendom was struck with stupor and affright. "The end of the world being at hand" were the opening words of all deeds and contracts; and the vanities of the world being forgotten in the near approach of the supreme and inevitable catastrophe, every one was anxious to start for the Holy Land, in the hope of being present at the coming of the Saviour, and of

[74] Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs*, ch. XXI. *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*. Nouvelle éd. XI (Paris, 1878), p. 66.

[75] Cf. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, under the name *Fin du monde:* This idea of the end of our little world and of its revival struck especially the peoples subjected to the Roman Empire, in the horror of the civil wars of Caesar and Pompey. *Oeuvres complètes*, XIX (Paris, 1879), p. 142.

[76] Voltaire, *Quelques petites hardiesses de M. Clair à l'occasion d'un panégyrique de Saint Louis. Mélanges*, VII. *Oeuvres complètes*, XXVIII (Paris, 1879), p. 560.

[77] Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France*, 2d ed., II (Paris, 1835), 132–147.

[78] C. J. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, II (Brussels, 1846), pp. 342–343.

finding there pardon for his sins, a peaceful death, and the salvation of his soul.[79]

These French writers may have been betrayed by the brilliance of their literary talent into drawing a colorful and thrilling picture of the terrors of the year 1000, without realizing that it was greatly exaggerated. But it is surprising that in 1841 a German scholar and the first serious historian of the First Crusade, H. Sybel, shared their error. He wrote: "As the first thousand years of our calendar drew to an end, in every land of Europe the people expected with certainty the destruction of the world. Some squandered their substance in riotous living, others bestowed it for the salvation of their souls on churches and convents, wailing multitudes lay by day and by night about the altars, many looked with terror, yet most with a secret hope for the conflagration of the earth and the falling of the heavens." This passage is to be found in its entirety in the second edition of Sybel's book, which was printed in 1881, and of course in the third edition in 1900, an unaltered reproduction of the second.[80]

In the second half of the nineteenth century a reaction against the "terrors" of the year 1000 manifested itself among historians. In the seventies Plaine wrote that the terrors of the year 1000 were only a myth,[81] and Rosières called them pure legend imagined probably in the sixteenth century.[82] In 1883 the German historian H. von Eicken entitled his study *The Legend of the Expectation of the Destruction of the World and of the Return of Christ in the year 1000*, though he admitted that in sporadic circles such a belief might have existed.[83] In 1885 a delightfully written book in French by J. Roy appeared, entitled *The Year 1000. Formation*

[79] Paul Lacroix, *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages and at the period of the Renaissance* (New York, 1874), pp. 106–107.

[80] H. Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1881), p. 150.

[81] Dom Fr. Plaine, "Les prétendues terreurs de l'an mille," *Revue des questions historiques*, XIII (1873), 164; the whole article pp. 145–164.

[82] R. Rosières, in *La Revue Bleue*, 2-e série, XIV (1878), no. 39, March 30, pp. 919–924. This article was reprinted in his *Recherches critiques sur l'histoire religieuse de la France* (Paris, 1879), pp. 135–163. *Idem*, *Histoire de la société française au moyen âge* (987–1483), 3d ed., II (Paris, 1884), p. 21, with reference to his second study just quoted.

[83] H. von Eicken, "Die Legende von der Erwartung des Weltunterganges und der Wiederkehr Christi im Jahre 1000," *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, XXIII (1883), p. 318; the whole article, pp. 303–318.

of the Legend of the Year 1000. Roy's main point is that European political life was the same before and after the year 1000. In Spain the terrors of the year 1000 failed to affect the superstitious imagination of the Arabs or to check their conquests. In France, King Robert was so little afraid of the general destruction of all things that he defied anathema. Not only did the Pope inflict upon him a penitence of seven years, but by common accord almost all the bishops of Gaul excommunicated both the King and the Queen. Thunderbolts of the church threw everywhere among the people so great a terror that many men kept away from Robert's company, and his servants regarded as defiled all the vessels from which the King ate or drank and cast into the fire the remnants from his table. The Emperor Otto III, like his famous contemporary Pope Sylvester II, believed in the duration of the world. There was not the least allusion to final catastrophe; no general fright or universal panic. The terrors of the year 1000, Roy concludes, are only a legend and myth of rather recent invention.[84] In 1887 after a careful study of sources and not overlooking Rosières' and Roy's contributions, P. Orsi concluded that Roy's results were almost identical with his own. "The terrors of the year 1000 are only a legend and a myth." [85] In 1891 E. Gebhart said that a legend had been created around the year 1000 whose historical element seems today very slight, and ended his elaborately written sketch with the following words: "It seems that Glaber lived at the bottom of the crypt of a Roman cathedral, by the glimmer of a sepulchral lamp, hearing only cries of distress and sobbing, his eye fixed on a procession of melancholy or terrible figures." [86] In 1901 the American historian, G. L. Burr, who died recently (1938), sharing of course the view of his predecessors on the legend of the year 1000, published a very clear survey of previous literature down to Orsi's study, and following A. Giry's book, whose title he does not give,[87] concluded:

[84] Jules Roy, *L'an mille. Formation de la légende de l'an mille. État de la France de l'an 950 à l'an 1050* (Paris, 1885), pp. 192–193, 194, 199, 204, 324 (Bibliothèque des merveilles publiée sous la direction de M. Ed. Charton).

[85] P. Orsi, "L'Anno Mille (Saggio di critica storica)," *Rivista Storica Italiana*, IV (1887), p. 56; the whole article, pp. 1–56.

[86] Emile Gebhart, "L'État d'âme d'un moine de l'an 1000. Le chroniqueur Raoul Glaber," *Revue des deux mondes*, October 1, 1891 (vol. CVII), pp. 600; 627–628; the whole article, pp. 600–628.

[87] A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), pp. 89–90.

"Nor may one forget that the Christian Calendar itself was yet a novel thing in the year 1000. The monk Dionysius had no authority to impose its adoption and it crept but slowly into use. Monkish chronicles had early begun to employ it; but the first pope to date by the Christian era his official letters was John XIII, scarce thirty years before the year 1000; and 'its use,' says the latest and highest authority, Arthur Giry, 'did not become general in the west of Europe till after the year 1000.' In Spain it was not used until the XIV century, and by Greek Christians not until the XV." [88] In 1908 a French writer, F. Duval, in his booklet *The Terrors of the Year 1000* reconsidered the question. Pointing out once more that our sources say nothing definite about the nearing destruction of the world in 1000, he wrote that the proximity of this year failed to stop activity or business, that the world did not tremble, and hence the conclusions concerning that period are false. "If the terrors of the year 1000," Duval says, "are a myth, who spread the legend? It is in the sixteenth century that the first mention of it appears." He refers here to Baronius and Le Vasseur. In conclusion Duval stresses his dispassionateness. "We have examined the texts without prejudice or bias. We have omitted none of them, and we do not believe that so large a collection (*un tel faisceau*) of facts in favor of the thesis that we considered, had ever before been collected." The terrors of the year 1000 are only a legend.[89] In his book *The Mediaeval Mind* (1925) H. O. Taylor dismisses the question of the year 1000 with a brief note: "For the early Middle Ages, in the decades just before and after the year one thousand, the mechanically supernatural view of any occurrence is illustrated in the five books of *Histories* of R. Glaber, an incontinent and wandering but observing monk, native of Burgundy." [90]

H. Pirenne, the famous Belgian historian, even ascribes to the tenth century the renewal of cooperative activity on the part of the people and the first symptoms of commercial renaissance. He writes: "From now on (from the tenth century), in feudal as well as in episcopal principalities, the first traces could be seen of an

[88] G. L. Burr, "The year 1000 and the antecedents of the Crusades," *American Historical Review*, VI (1900–1901), 436–437; the whole article, pp. 429–439.

[89] Fréderic Duval, *Les terreurs de l'an mille* (Paris, 1908), pp. 49; 70; 90. In his bibliography on the subject (pp. 91–92), Duval mentions neither Sybel nor Burr.

[90] H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (4th ed., London, 1925), I, 504, note.

organized effort to better the condition of the people. Dark though the prospect still was, the tenth century nevertheless saw in outline the picture which the eleventh century presents. The famous legend of the terrors of the year 1000 is not devoid, in this respect, of symbolic significance. It is doubtless untrue that men expected the end of the world in the year 1000. Yet the century which came in at that date is characterized, in contrast with the preceding one, by a recrudescence of activity so marked that it could pass for the vigorous and joyful awakening of a society long oppressed by a nightmare of anguish. In every demesne was to be seen the same burst of energy and, for that matter, of optimism." [91] A little later Pirenne says: "In the tenth century, the first symptoms of commercial renaissance are noted." [92] A French historian, A. Fliche, after repeating most of Pirenne's first passage, adds: "There is indeed a real renaissance about this time (the year 1000). It does not commence at the same moment in all countries; it differs in the intensity with which it affects various branches of human activity, but it touches (*effleure*) all of them and announces the beginning of a new era. To the descending curve which the Occidental world had previously followed, succeeds, here from the end of the tenth century, there at the beginning of the eleventh, an ascending curve." [93] In the revised edition of his *Guide to the Study of Medieval History*, which was published in 1931, L. J. Paetow inserted a special section, *Legend of the year 1000*, in which he gives a list of previous publications on the subject.[94] In K. S. Latourette's *The Thousand Years of Uncertainty* there is no mention of the year 1000.[95]

Perhaps it is worth mentioning that the question of the year 1000 as "the fiction of a great catastrophe" was discussed with references to previous writings in a recent American textbook on Mediaeval History. The author, E. M. Hulme, says that previous studies have dispelled all doubts as to its legendary character, and

[91] H. Pirenne, *Medieval Cities. Their origin and the revival of trade* (Princeton, 1925), pp. 79–80. Idem, *Les villes du moyen âge* (Brussels, 1927), pp. 71–72.

[92] Pirenne, *Les villes du moyen âge*, p. 96.

[93] A. Fliche, *L'Europe Ocidentale de 888 à 1125* (Paris, 1930), p. 597.

[94] L. J. Paetow, *Guide to the study of medieval history* (revised ed., New York, 1931), 396.

[95] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Thousand Years of Uncertainty, A.D. 500 to A.D. 1500* (*A History of the expansion of Christianity*, vol. II), New York, 1938.

that no such widespread and paralyzing terror afflicted the people of that time.[96]

There can be no question that the terrors of the year 1000 which supposedly overwhelmingly affected the entire European West are mere fiction. Dionysius' era at that time was not yet accepted by the masses. As we have noted above, official documents began to be dated according to this era in the middle of the eighth century, and the popes started to use it in the second half of the tenth century, not long before the year 1000. Of course here and there this era was already known by groups of people who were aware of the approach of the year 1000, and this unusual date may have aroused uneasiness, doubts, and even fear among some uneducated people and rude monks. In several places outbursts of restlessness and despair may have occurred. But these scattered manifestations are a far cry from the general hopeless and distressing situation so dramatically and effectively described by many writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

I wish to emphasize here that the most important historical figures in the West at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century were not at all apprehensive of the end of the world and paid no attention to the coming of a new millennium. In the year 1000 at Aix-la-Chapelle the Holy Roman Emperor and young enthusiast, Otto III, did not hesitate to open the tomb of Charlemagne, in which he placed the famous silk textile of Byzantine production. In the same year Pope Sylvester II, one of the most learned men of the Middle Ages, conferred upon the first Christian King of Hungary, Saint Stephen, the title of Apostolic Majesty.

Since in the Christian East Dionysius' era was not used during the Middle Ages and was first introduced only after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the year 1000 after the incarnation of Christ according to Dionysius' era was simply ignored. But we have a very interesting passage in the history of Leo the Deacon compiled just before the year 1000. He gives a detailed description of the comet that appeared in August, 975;[97] shortly after, on January 10, 976, the Emperor John Tzimisces died. Leo the

[96] E. M. Hulme, *The Middle Ages* (revised ed., New York, 1938), p. 339.

[97] Leo Diaconus, X, 6; ed. Bonn, p. 168. Leo the Deacon used the Roman or Byzantine era.

Deacon relates: "Seeing the unusual portent, the Emperor asked those who were engaged in observing the heavenly bodies what such an extraordinary phenomenon meant. They explained the appearance of the comet not as science would interpret it but according to the Emperor's desire, promising him victory against enemies and length of days. These interpreters were the Logothete and Magister Symeon and the Archbishop of Nicomedia Stephen, the wisest men among the sages of that period. But the appearance of the comet intimated not that which they explained to the Emperor to please him; (on the contrary it portended) disastrous revolts, invasions, civil wars, emigration from cities and country, famines and plagues, terrific earthquakes, and the almost utter destruction of the Roman Empire, as we have seen from subsequent events." [98]

Leo the Deacon wrote his history at the end of the tenth century, probably before 991, when the Emperor Basil II was beginning to overcome the hitherto victorious Bulgarians [99] and when a new era of Byzantine military successes and glory was inaugurated. In other words, the pessimistic and despairing picture of the situation in the Byzantine Empire which Leo the Deacon so drastically described in the passage quoted above was drawn just before the year 1000; and in the long list of various disasters that fell upon the Empire at that time, none was interpreted by Leo as foreboding the final world catastrophe.[100] On

[98] Leo Diaconus, X, 6; ed. Bonn, pp. 168–169. I give the last words of the translated passage: *καὶ πανωλεθρίαν σχεδὸν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐπικρατείας ἅπερ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκβάσεως εἴδομεν* (p. 169). The passage was translated into Russian by V. Vasilevski, "From the history of the years 976–986," *Works*, II, 1 (St. Petersburg, 1909), pp. 56–57; into French by G. Schlumberger, *L'Epopée byzantine*, I (Paris, 1896), 768. This comet is also mentioned but without interpretation by the younger contemporary of Leo the Deacon, the Armenian historian Stephen Asokhik of Taron. According to him, the comet might have predicted the Emperor's death. *The Universal History of Stepanos of Taron surnamed Asohik*, translated into Russian by N. Emin (Moscow, 1864), p. 130. *Des Stephanos von Taron Armenische Geschichte*, III, 10, translated by H. Gelzer and A. Burckhardt (Leipzig, 1907), p. 137. *Histoire Universelle par Etienne Asolik de Taron*, III, 10, trad. et annotée par Fr. Macler. Sec. part. Book III (Paris, 1917), pp. 48–49 (*Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, vol. XVIII *bis*).

[99] On the question when Leo the Deacon wrote his history see M. Suzumov, "On the Sources of Leo the Deacon and Scylitzes," *Vizantiskoe Obozrenie*, II, 1 (Yuryev, 1916), pp. 136–139 (in Russian).

[100] In a recent Russian novel Leo the Deacon's passage given above is paraphrased with the addition of the following words, "perhaps foreboding the end of the

the contrary the year 1000 may be regarded as the turning point in the military history of the Byzantine Empire, when, after the repression of the revolts of Bardas Phocas and Bardas Sclerus, Basil II succeeded in winning over the Bulgarians and ended his triumphant campaigns by the annexation of Bulgaria in 1018. Plaine, whose article on the year 1000 has already been mentioned above, shows an amusing misconception on this point. "In Constantinople," Plaine writes, "the imperial dignity was very precarious; ambitious men, however, did not fail to covet it, even at the approach of the year 1000." [101]

Let us see now what the attitude was among the population of the new capital of the Byzantine Empire towards its future.

In 330 under Constantine the Great the new capital of the Empire was officially dedicated on the shores of the Bosphorus; Christian Constantinople was superimposed upon pagan Byzantium. The new Christian Byzantium had no illusions concerning her eternity. From the early times of her political existence and through the Middle Ages she was concerned about her end and was convinced that her historical life was limited and her eventual ruin certain. "Such a pessimism is rarely seen in a people," writes Ch. Diehl, "especially when it manifests itself, as is the case with the Mediaeval Greeks, at the most brilliant moment of their history, at the epoch of the great Macedonian emperors or that of the Comneni. . . . This sentiment of pessimism knew and accepted, without resisting or complaining, a limited destiny for the capital and monarchy, and stoically awaited the final day." [102]

A Byzantine legend of the twelfth century relates that after the foundation of Constantinople, according to the usage of the founders of cities, Constantine consulted the famous astrologer and mathematician, Vettius Valens,[103] as to how long the new city

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world," A. Ladinsky, *A Dove over the Pontus* (*Golub nad Pontom*), *Tallinn* (Reval), 1938, p. 8.

[101] D. F. Plaine, "Les prétendues terreurs de l'an mille," *Revue des questions historiques*, XIII (1873), 162.

[102] Ch. Diehl, "De quelques croyances byzantines sur la fin de Constantinople," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXX (1929–1930), 192–193, 196. Cf. F. Dölger, "Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LVI (1937), 3, n. 1.

[103] There were several doctors and astrologers of the name of Vettius Valens. See A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris, 1899), p. XIII. But Vettius Valens, whose legendary prediction is connected with the founding of Constanti-

would exist. Valens cast a horoscope and prophesied that the city would last 696 years; this placed the end of Constantinople in the year 1026 (330 + 696). The Byzantine chroniclers of the twelfth century, Cedrenus, Zonaras, and Michael Glycas (Glykas),[104] who told the story, of course realized that in spite of Valens' prophecy the city was continuing to exist and prosper in the twelfth century, over a hundred years after the fatal year 1026. It is interesting to observe Zonaras' attitude on this point. He writes: "Either it is to be supposed that Valens' prediction and his science are false, or it is to be thought that he meant those years when the institutions of the Empire would be maintained, preserved, when the Senate would be honored, the citizens flourish, the imperial power law-giving; when there would be no manifest tyranny in which rulers regarded public things as their private affairs and used them for their own, not always pure, enjoyments; in which they granted public means to whomsoever they wished, treating their subjects not like shepherds who shear superfluous wool and drink milk sparingly, but like brigands who kill their own sheep and devour their meat and even squeeze out the very marrow." [105] In his chronicle Michael Glycas plainly says that Valens' prediction was false and therefore his science was proved false.[106] Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180), who was fond of astrology, wrote a defense of it in the form of a *Letter* to a monk of the monastery of the Pantokrator in Constantinople, who had "disparaged astronomic science and called its study impiety." [107] In order to show that astronomy — astrology to his mind — was quite consistent with Christianity, Manuel in his *Letter* reminded the monk of the fact that Constantine, "the

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nople, lived probably under the Antonines, in the second century A.D. See *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, II (Brussels, 1900), 86; also I (Brussels, 1898), 79; V, pars prior (Brussels, 1904), 118, n. 2. F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (New York, 1912), p. 62 (under the Antonines).

[104] Cedrenus, I, 497. Zonaras, *Epitome*, XIII, 3, 6–9; ed. Bonn, III, 14–15. Michael Glycas, *Annales*, IV; ed. Bonn, 463. See D. Lathoud, "La consécration et la dédicace de Constantinople," *Echos d'Orient*, XXIV (1925), 191.

[105] Zonaras, XIII, 3, 6–9; ed. Bonn, III, 15 . S. Diehl, "De quelques croyances," *Byz. Zeitsch.*, XXX (1929–30), 193.

[106] Michael Glycas, IV, ed. Bonn, 463. See Diehl, *ibidem*.

[107] The text of the *Letter* in the *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, V, pars I (Brussels, 1904), pp. 108–125. On Manuel's interest in astrology and his writings on the subject see *ibidem*, 106–108.

father of the emperors and Apostle," willing to found "this our New Rome" and being anxious that the new city might remain impregnable for ever (μέχρι παντός) and increasing in religion, he used that science; he had asked "the wisest Valens" to draw an appropriate horoscope. "If (Constantine) had known that this science was heretical, that Christ-loving Emperor, the Apostle among Apostles and zealous follower of piety, as well as the most pious emperors who followed him and the archbishops . . . would not have used it at important moments. . . . We set ourselves against your crude and uneducated pronouncement." [108] Since Manuel of course realized that Valens' prediction had failed, he does not mention the exact figure of 696 years supposedly fixed by the famous astrologer and in his energetic defense of astrology points out Constantine's desire to see his new capital impregnable for ever; or, as Diehl says, "Some, like Manuel Comnenus, escaped the difficulty by interpreting the prediction in a broader sense and endeavoring to find in it at all costs a promise of eternity for the capital." [109]

Besides his chronicle Michael Glycas wrote *A Special Apology in reply to the writing of our powerful and holy Emperor Manuel Comnenus that was sent to a certain monk who had cast great blame upon (the Emperor) for the study of astrology, and where the latter eagerly contended to justify such a study by physical and written proofs* (φυσικαῖς καὶ γραφικαῖς ἀποδείξεσιν).[110] In this *Special Apology* in a lengthy and intricate passage, Glycas tells the story of Valens' supposed (ὥς φασιν) prediction, but concludes that since the prophecy was not realized, astrological science must be considered false.[111]

But it must be noted that the scepticism of Zonaras and Glycas failed to affect the belief of the people in general. In the twelfth century, as before, the masses continued to believe that Constantinople and the Empire would end; and they based that conviction

[108] *Cat. cod. astr. gr.*, V, 1, pp. 118–119. [109] Diehl, *op. cit.*, 193.

[110] This apology is printed in *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, V, 1, pp. 125–140. On Glycas' writings against astrology see *ibidem*, 107–108, 140–141. See also K. Krumbacher, "Michael Glykas," *Sitzungsber. der philos.-philolog. und histor. Cl. der Akad. der Wiss. zu München*, 1894, pp. 437–438. *Idem*, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 1897, p. 384.

[111] *Ibid.*, 131–132. The exact date of the compilation of this letter is unknown. It was probably written in the last years of Manuel's reign. Manuel died in 1180. Krumbacher, "Michael Glykas," p. 438.

not only on the stars, but also, and perhaps more strongly, on the inscriptions on numerous monuments that adorned their city. Additional information on this subject may be gleaned from a source that has only recently begun to be studied, that is, Byzantine mantic books.

In a very interesting study on Byzantino-Slavonic mantic books (1930) M. A. Andreeva characterized our knowledge of these sources as "discouraging." She wrote: "Of numerous Byzantine brontologia, seismologia and lunaria nothing has been published, although enormous numbers of them are preserved in the Libraries of Western Europe and the Orient. It is sufficient to run through the catalogue of the manuscripts preserved on Mount Athos to realize this." [112] At that time Miss Andreeva was not yet acquainted with the nine volumes of the precious *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, although they were published before the year 1930. If she had been, she would not have been so discouraged. In her later studies on the same subject she used volumes I–XI of the Catalogue (1932) and derived from them much interesting and important data.[113] According to Miss Andreeva, the mantic books or books of divination were compiled during the Hellenistic period on the basis of information from still more ancient sources. They were collected and a little modified according to the taste and political and social interests of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D., and they underwent a new transformation in the seventh to twelfth centuries. This process may be summarized as the popularization and abridgment of ancient mantic books. The editors continued to compose new prognostics adapted to the political and social life of the epoch and these sometimes reflected historical facts. It is to this second epoch of the evolution of Byzantine mantic books that the composition of brontologia and seismologia falsely attributed to Heraclius and Leo the Wise belongs. The third and last stage of evolution of

[112] M. A. Andreeva, "The political and social element in Byzantine-Slavonic mantic books," *Byzantinoslavica*, II, 1 (Prague, 1930), 49 (in Russian with a French résumé). She refers here to Sp. Lambros' *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I–II (Cambridge, 1895–1900).

[113] Volumes I–VIII and X of the *Catalogus* were published in 1924. If I am not mistaken, vol. IX has never come out. Vol. XI, part I was printed in 1932; XI, part II in 1934, and vol. XII in 1936. M. A. Andreeva's latest study, "On the history of Byzantino-Slavonic mantic books," came out in *Byzantinoslavica*, V (1933), 120–161.

Byzantine mantic books may be approximately dated from the outset of the thirteenth century to the end of the Byzantine Empire. During this time in addition to the types of mantic books that had existed in earlier periods some new types appeared. The prognostics added under the Palaeologi have a strongly marked social character. In addition to the brontologia based upon the Zodiac prognostics often appear according to the Calends of some month (*Calandologia*), which indicates Roman influence.[114]

Let us turn now to Constantinopolitan monuments.[114a]

To embellish the new capital Constantine and his successors removed masterpieces of art from many pagan sanctuaries and transferred them to Constantinople, which became a most wonderful museum. In the superstitious popular imagination these masterpieces, especially the statues, possessed mysterious meaning, serving as talismans that guaranteed the security of the city and particularly as presages that announced its ruin.[115] In this connection a little book on the origin of Constantinople, *Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, which was quoted above, contains interesting material. Its text is full of descriptions of many Constantinopolitan monuments which, according to the interpretation of the superstitious masses of the capital, referred to its future and unavoidable ruin. Mysterious inscriptions and obscure bas-reliefs on the monuments announced the last days of the city, *τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλεως, τὰς ἐσχάτας ἱστορίας τῆς πόλεως*.[116] On the statues of various animals which decorated the quarter of Artopolia, "hieroglyphic and astronomical" signs foretold "with names" all the future fortunes of the city.[117] On the forum of Taurus was an equestrian statue that had been brought from "Great Antioch." In the rider some identified Bellerophon, others Joshua the son of

[114] M. A. Andreeva, *loc. cit.*, V (1933), 120–131; 159–160.

[114a] A. Kirpichnikov's Russian study "Miraculous Statues in Constantinople," *Letopis* of the Historico-philological Society of the University of Novorossisk, IV, Byzantine section, II (Odessa, 1894), 23–47, fails to mention the question of the end of the world.

[115] See Ch. Diehl, "De quelques croyances," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XXX (1929–1930), 192. *Idem*, "La société byzantine à l'époque des Comnènes," *Revue historique du sud-est européen*, VI (1929), 261; separate edition, 70.

[116] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, recensuit Th. Preger, II (Leipzig, 1907), 176–177. See also Diehl, *loc. cit.*, p. 194.

[117] *Ibid.*, p. 175: *ἱερογλυφικὰ καὶ ἀστρονομικὰ ὄντα τῶν μελλόντων δηλούσας τὰς ἱστορίας πάσας σὺν τῶν ὀνομάτων*. Diehl, *loc. cit.*, p. 194 and n. 8.

Nun; but everybody agreed that the bas-reliefs sculptured on the pedestal of the statue foretold "stories of the last days of the city when the Russians should destroy Constantinople." [118] The prediction that the Russians would destroy Constantinople is very interesting. It shows that at the close of the tenth century when the *Patria* was compiled danger from Russia was stronger in the popular imagination than danger from Bulgaria. In spite of the peaceful visit of the Russian Grand Princess Olga to Constantinople in 957, the marriage of the Russian Prince Vladimir to Anna, sister of the Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII, and the conversion of Russia to Orthodox Christianity, nevertheless the victorious attack upon Constantinople of the Russian Prince Oleg in 907 and Sviatoslav's brilliant though temporary military successes in the seventies of the same century were not yet effaced from the memory of the Empire. It should be remembered that the unsuccessful expedition of the Russian Prince Igor upon Constantinople in 941 was recorded in Byzantine mantic books, showing once more how deeply danger from Russia affected the imagination of the masses.[119] To return to other monuments in the capital. The column at Xerolophos was inscribed with the announcement of "the last destinies and captures of the city." [120] On a column in Philadelphion were bas-reliefs and inscriptions predicting the end of the Empire.[121] The four statues set up in the harbour *αἱ Σοφίαι* had inscriptions predicting the future.[122] On various statues of the Hippodrome could be read "the truth about the last destinies." [123]

Volume X of the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*

[118] *Ibid.*, p. 176: *ἐγγεγλυμμένας ἱστορίας τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς πόλεως, τῶν Ῥῶς τῶν μελλόντων πορθεῖν αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν.* Diehl, *loc. cit.*, p. 195.

[119] *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, III. *Codices Mediolanenses*, ed. A. Martini et Domenico Bassi (Brussels, 1901), p. 26, 1. 21 sq. See M. A. Andreeva, *loc. cit.*, p. 138 (in Russian).

[120] *Ibid.*, pp. 176–177: *τὰς ἐσχάτας ἱστορίας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς ἁλώσεις ἔχουσιν ἐνίστορας ἐγγεγλυμμένας.* Diehl, *loc. cit.*, 195. See also *Scr. orig.*, 180, 16–18.

[121] *Ibid.*, p. 178: (*Κωνσταντῖνος*) *ἐποίησεν δὲ εἰς τὸν κίονα ἐκεῖνον ἱστορίας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἐνζώδους καὶ γράμματα Ῥωμαῖα τὰ ἔσχατα σημαίνοντα.* Diehl, *loc. cit.*, 194. I prefer the version of the Bonn edition (p. 44): *ἐποίει δὲ καὶ τὸν κίονα ἐκεῖνον, ἱστορίας ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνζώδους, καὶ γράμματα Ῥωμαίοις τὰ ἔσχατα σημαίνοντα.*

[122] *Ibid.*, p. 184: *εἶχον δὲ γράμματα τῶν μελλόντων.* See also p. 230, 24.

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 189, 20: *ἔχωσιν τὸ ἀλάθητον τῶν ἐσχάτων.* Concerning the word *ἀλάθητον* Preger remarks: "eodem sensu ni fallor quo *τὸ ἀληθές*." See also *Scr. orig.*, 191, 14–15: *τῶν ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων εἰσὶν πᾶσαι αἱ ἱστορίαι.*

contains several predictions concerning Constantinople, which is called mostly ἡ Πόλις. Two oracles incorrectly attributed to Leo the Wise mention the coming desolation and restoration of Constantinople.[124] Some brontologia predict the strength of Constantinople, the might of its men and chiefs, and the destruction of the locusts.[125] One brontologion foretells a famine in Constantinople,[126] others joy in the capital,[127] or even great joy over the whole world.[128] A seismologion falsely attributed to the Emperor Leo the Wise prophesies distress and oppression in Constantinople.[129] One brontologion bluntly foretells the capture of Constantinople.[130] None of these examples indicates any expectation of the end of the world; many of them, indeed, are hazy and vague.

Of course all these mysterious bas-reliefs and inscriptions were obscure to the populace. Only men experienced in the art of interpreting oracles were able to understand them; and the book Πάτρια calls such men either *οἱ πεπειραμένοι* or *οἱ ἔχοντες δοκιμὴν τῶν στηλωτικῶν τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων* or *οἱ στηλωτικοὶ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων*, who understand all these things (*ταῦτα πάντα συνιᾶσιν*).[131] It must be admitted, however, that these interpreters in spite of their experience explained the oracles only after the events had happened. The testimony of a Western historian of the Fourth Crusade and the conquest of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204, Robert de Clari, is very interesting on this point. He writes: "Still another great marvel. There were two columns. . . . On the outside of these columns there were pictured and written by prophecy all the events and all the conquests which have happened in Constantinople or which were going to happen. But no one could understand the event until it had happened, and when it had happened the people would go there and ponder over it, and

[124] *Cat. cod. astr. gr.* X. *Codices Athenienses descripsit Armandus Delatte* (Brussels, 1924), p. 27. These two oracles are printed in Migne, *P.G.*, CVII, 1129–1138 and 1149.

[125] *εἰς τὴν* Πόλιν *στερέωμα, ἐξουσία ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἀρχόντων, ἀκρίδων φθορά*, p. 61, 6–7; also pp. 130; 141.

[126] P. 61. Another brontologion (p. 131) predicts a famine and destruction of the people (*ἀπώλειαν δηλοῖ*) in Constantinople.

[127] P. 141: *εἰς τὴν* Πόλιν *χαρά*.

[128] P. 130: *ἐὰν βροντήση . . . χαρὰ πολλὴ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἔσται.*

[129] P. 135: *στενοχωρία καὶ θλῖψις τῇ* Πόλει.

[130] P. 141: *Ἐὰν βροντήσῃ, ἅλωσις* Πόλεως.

[131] *Ibidem*, pp. 179, 191, 206. Diehl, *loc. cit.*, p. 195.

then for the first time they would see and understand the event. And even this conquest of the French was written and pictured there and the ships in which they made the assault when the city was taken, and the Greeks were not able to understand it before it had happened, but when it had happened they went to look at these columns and ponder over it, and they found that the letters which were written on the pictured ships said that a people, short haired (*haut tondue*) and with iron swords, would come from the West to conquer Constantinople." [132] Another famous French historian and participant in the crusade, Villehardouin, wrote on the same subject: "Now hear of a great marvel! On that column from which Mourzuphles fell were images of divers kinds, wrought in the marble. And among these images was one, worked in the shape of an emperor, falling headlong; for of a long time it had been prophesied that from that column an emperor of Constantinople should be cast down. So did the semblance and the prophecy come true." [133]

The Crusaders took Constantinople twice, in 1203 and in 1204; in the latter year they not only took but mercilessly sacked the city and pillaged it of all the treasures which had been collected there for many centuries. In spite of this tragic fall of Constantinople to foreigners — the first fall in its history [134] — the world failed to end, and fifty-seven years later Constantinople became once more the capital of an empire restored though on a very reduced scale.

Recently a young Greek scholar, D. Xanalatos, referring to the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders in 1204, wrote: "The end of the Empire was expected, i.e., according to the view of that time the end of the world as well, and we cannot be surprised that in the year 1204 the number of the defenders of the capital against the Franks was very small, so that the Frankish assailants could

[132] Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), p. 89 (ch. 92). *The Conquest of Constantinople.* Translated from the Old French of Robert of Clari by Edgar H. McNeal (New York, 1936), pp. 110–111. See L. Oeconomos, *La vie religieuse dans l'empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges* (Paris, 1918), pp. 98–100. Ch. Diehl, "De quelques croyances," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XXX (1929–30), 195–196.

[133] Geoffroi de Ville-Hardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, éd. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1872), p. 133 (ch. 308). See also Robert de Clari, ed. Lauer, p. 104 (ch. 109); translation by McNeal, p. 124. See Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[134] In 1203 the city was returned to the Greeks.

easily seize the capital."[135] This rather sweeping statement, I believe, has little solid basis, because there is no serious ground for presuming that the fear of general catastrophe before 1204 was so overwhelming that it could affect the number of the defenders of Constantinople. Moreover we have an account of the siege and capture of the city written by an eyewitness, the famous French historian Villehardouin. I give his statement here, but we must bear in mind that he may very possibly have exaggerated in order to emphasize the valour and strength of the crusading armies. He writes: "Then the Emperor Alexius issued from the city, with all his forces . . . and so many began to issue forth that it seemed as if the whole world were there assembled."[136]

One hundred and ninety-two years later, in 1453, the final catastrophe occurred. The Turks conquered Constantinople. The world still continued to exist, but the idea that it would end some time within human calculation still survived.

In later Greek literature after the fall of Constantinople the end of the world was generally expected in 1492 or sometimes in 1493–1494, which was the year 7000 from the creation of the world according to the Byzantine or Roman era. This era, as we know, counted its first year from September 1, 5509 B.C. to September 1, 5508; 5508 added to 1492 gives 7000.

On this subject the works of Gennadius Scholarius are significant. Gennadius Scholarius (his secular name was George), the last great polemist of the Byzantine church, a great scholar in theology and philosophy, and the first patriarch of Constantinople under the Turkish power, "the last Byzantine and the first Hellene,"[137] was the author of a very great number of various works that were recently published in eight volumes, averaging about 530 pages each.[138] In several of his writings he deals with

[135] D. Xanalatos, *Wirtschaftliche Aufbau- und Autarkiemassnamen im 13. Jahrhundert. (Nikänisches Reich 1204–1261), Leipziger Vierteljahrschrift für Südosteuropa*, III, Heft 2 (1939), 131. No references are given in this article.

[136] Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, § 177; ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1872), p. 101; ed. Edmond Faral, I (Paris, 1938), pp. 178–179. See also the second appendix of Faral's excellent edition of Villehardouin, where he gives from various sources many interesting figures on the troops before Constantinople in 1203 (I, 221–226).

[137] C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, IV (Paris, 1883), p. VII and note 7.

[138] Among recent essays on Gennadius Scholarius, see M. Jugie, "Georges

the idea of the approaching final catastrophe. In his *Panegyric of the Holy Apostles*, written in 1456, he warns his listeners: "Behold, brethren, the form of this world has past; the fixed time for its end is at hand." [139] In his sermon at the feast of the Decollation of Saint John the Baptist, delivered in 1466, Gennadius Scholarius says: "The beginning of the second advent of Christ is clearly seen. . . . Before long, as we may well conjecture, He will return to the world in glory in order to judge and put an end to all human matters." [140] In his brief *Apology of the Antiunionists*, he writes: "The end, that is, the change of this world is at hand, as one can see from circumstances." [141] In his work on *Miracles* he says: "All signs of the end are now manifestly at work." [142] He tells more precisely of the coming end of the world in the year 7000 in his *Refutation of the Judaic Error*, written in 1464, where we read: "They said that this seventh chiliad was really already near its completion . . . and, as is stated in the Divine and Holy Scripture, it is true that the whole world of mortal and corruptible matter shall be entirely destroyed by fire." [143] In his writing on the *Second Advent of our Lord and the Resurrection of the Dead*, Gennadius Scholarius after indicating signs predicting the Last Judgment, once more emphasizes that

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Scholarios, professeur de philosophie." *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, V (Roma, 1939), pp. 482–494. Ἀδ. Διαμαντοπούλου Γεννάδιος ὁ Σχολάριος, ὡς ἱστορικὴ πηγὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν χρόνων, Ἑλληνικά, IX (1936), 285–308. A detailed study of Gennadius Scholarius' biography, activities, and literary achievement is urgently needed.

[139] *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios* publiées pour la première fois par L. Petit, X. A. Sideridès, M. Jugie, I (Paris, 1928), p. 184: Ἰδοὺ, ἀδελφοί, τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου παρῆλθε· ἡ προθεσμία τῆς συντελείας ἐστὶν ἐγγύς.

[140] *Oeuvres*, I, 211: τῶν δὲ προοιμίων τῆς δευτέρας τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας ἐναργῶς φαινομένων . . . μετ' ὀλίγον, ὡς εἰκάζειν ἐστὶ καλῶς, ἐνδόξως ἐπανήκειν μέλλων τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ κρίσιν καὶ τέλος τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πάντων πραγμάτων.

[141] *Oeuvres*, III (Paris, 1930), 94: Τὸ τέλος εἴτουν ἡ μεταβολὴ τοῦ δε τοῦ κόσμου ἐγγὺς, ὡς ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔστιν ὁρᾶν. This text is also printed in Migne, *P.G.*, CLX, 713–732.

[142] *Oeuvres*, III, 383, 10: τὰ δὲ σημεῖα τῆς καταπαύσεως νῦν ἐνεργεῖται πάντα προδήλως; see also p. 388, 14.

[143] *Ibid.*, p. 288: Τὸ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἑβδόμην χιλιάδα ταύτην εἶναι ἐγγὺς ἤδη τοῦ τελειοῦσθαι τυγχάνουσαν ἀληθῶς εἶπον ἐκεῖνοι . . . καὶ τὸ διὰ πυρὸς ἀφανισθήσεσθαι τὴν περὶ τὴν γῆν φύσιν πᾶσαν τῶν γεννητῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν παντάπασίν ἐστιν ἀληθὲς, ὡς τῇ θείᾳ καὶ ἱερᾷ Γραφῇ βεβαιούμενον. See Franz Cumont's note *De septem mundi aetatibus*, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, IV (Brussels, 1903), 113–114; also VIII, 3 (Brussels, 1912), 199.

the world will be destroyed by the fire of a universal conflagration.[144] Among his pastoral and ascetic works, there is the *Personal Apology*, written in 1464 and addressed to his intimate friend, Theodore Branas; in it Gennadius Scholarius says that every one knows well the prophecies of the end of time.[145] A versatile theologian and scholar whose numerous works embraced almost all branches of literature, Gennadius Scholarius wrote in 1472 a brief historical essay, a curious *Chronography*, published for the first time in 1935 from his own autograph manuscript, which is preserved in Paris (*Parisinus 1289*). This very brief *Chronography*, which occupies only nine pages of printed text, goes from Adam to the year 1472 A.D. and announces the end of the world in the year 1493–1494, which, according to his computation, coincides with the end of the seventh millennium from the creation of man.[146]

We read:[147] "In all probability, indeed, the close of the seventh chiliad (millennium) will be the completion of the works of God, that is the end [148] of mortal things and the close of their activities according to divine providence. Now the completion of the seventh chiliad is drawing near and the end of the last and seventh empire; so that, indeed, very soon will begin the eighth and everlasting age and the eighth and true empire which are expected by those who are very familiar with the Scriptures, where all this matter has been explained; and with pious faith they devote themselves to the Scriptures. According to the Septuagint [149] twenty-one years from now . . . will complete the seventh chiliad; according to Joseph, twice as many, that is, forty-one. The Lord knows the future. But relying more on the record of the Septuagint and observing the signs of the end (of the world) that have already been given, we prefer of these two (periods) the shorter, that is the twentieth . . ." (here the manuscript breaks off).

[144] *Ibid.*, p. 333 (§ 3), 334–336 (§ 4).

[145] *Oeuvres*, IV (Paris, 1935), 270 (§ 5): *οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων καιρῶν προηγορευμένα.* On Gennadius' friend, Theodore Branas, s. p. XVI–XVII.

[146] See *Oeuvres*, IV, XXIX; the *Chronography*, pp. 504–512.

[147] *Ibid.*, pp. 511–512.

[148] In the printed text *ἡ λέξις*. I read *ἡ λῆξις*.

[149] *κατὰ μὲν τοὺς Ἑβδομήκοντα*, i.e., those seventy (or seventy-two) competent scholars who, according to tradition, translated the Old Testament into Greek in Egypt in the third century B.C.

The idea that the world would end in 1492 travelled from Byzantium to Russia, where the Byzantine era, which begins with September 1, 5509 B.C., was in general use. At the outset of the fifteenth century the Metropolitan of Moscow, Photius, wrote an encyclical letter to the Metropolitan of Kiev on the illegal ordination of Gregory Zamblak by a Lithuanian bishop; in this letter (1415–1416) he wrote that the end of time was at hand.[150] In the interpolated Slavonic version of the so-called *Revelation* of Methodius of Patara, or of Pseudo-Methodius, we discover the same idea of the end of the world in the year 7000 of the creation of the world, that is, 1492 A.D.[151]

On this subject A. V. Kartashov recently wrote: "Antichrist is at the door. The seventh millennium, which corresponds to the seventh day of the creation, is nearing its end. The beginning of the eighth millennium, the year 1492, may be in fact the end of history and beginning of the celestial reign of glory. One must be on guard against the last temptation of Antichrist. It is necessary that the Orthodox world empire should not succumb before the advent of Christ, as the last resort, as an impregnable stronghold of Holy Orthodoxy." [152] In this passage Kartashov refers to the Byzantine Empire before its final fall in 1453 but after it had unfortunately deviated from its orthodoxy at the Council of Florence (1438–1439) thereby bringing down upon itself the wrath of God. In Russia under the Grand Prince Ivan III (1462–1505) there was a very interesting religious movement known as the "heresy of the Judaizers." An important feature in the struggle between the Judaizers and their opponents was polemics concerning the end of the world, which was expected in the year 7000 (1492 A.D.). Since the world did not end in this year, the Judaizers did not fail to laugh at the Christians. At that time the question arose of a new *Paschaliya*, or schedule of dates for Easter

[150] *The Russian Historical Library*, VI (St. Petersburg, 1908). *Monuments of Old Russian Canonical Law*, part I (sec. ed.), p. 318 (in Old Russian).

[151] V. Istrin, *Revelation of Methodius of Patara and apocryphical visions of Daniel in Byzantine and Slavo-Russian literature* (*Čtenija v Obščestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiskich*), Moscow, 1897, book IV, p. 121 (in Old Russian). See H. Schaeder, *Moskau das Dritte Rom. Studien zur Geschichte der politischen Theorien in der slavischen Welt* (Hamburg, 1929), p. 36.

[152] A. V. Kartashov, "The conversion of Russia by the Holy Prince Vladimir and its national and cultural significance," *Vladimirsky Sbornik* (Belgrad, 1939), pp. 49–50 (in Russian).

of each year. The Church Fathers had compiled the *Paschaliya* only up to the year 7000. Under Ivan III, a new *Paschaliya* for one thousand years more or for the eighth millennium (chiliad) was compiled by the Metropolitan of Moscow, Zosima.[153] The title of his *Paschaliya* runs as follows: "The exposition of the *Paschaliya* for the eighth millennium, by the order of the Lord Great Prince Joann Vasilyevich of All Russias (compiled) by the Most Reverend Zosima, Metropolitan of All Russias: in it (i.e. in the eighth millennium) we expect the Universal Advent of Christ." [154] In the document itself, which "the new Tsar Constantine" (i.e., Ivan III) addresses "to the New City of Constantine, Moscow," we read: "The humble Zosima, Metropolitan of All Russias, has laboriously endeavored to compile the *Paschaliya* for the eighth millennium, in which we expect the Universal Advent of Christ. As to its day and hour, no one knows." [155] Since the date previously fixed for the Advent of Christ, 7000 (1492), had passed without any significant event, the Second Advent was anticipated during the eighth millennium but its date was not established. The year 8000 according to the Byzantine or Roman era corresponds to the year 2492 of our era from the incarnation of Christ. This year is too far distant to cause immediate concern. Since one thousand years is so long a time, the approach of each new century brings some superstitious uneasiness among uneducated people, the figure 100 being also rather uncommon in our current chronology. I remember that before the year 1900 signs of nervousness, uneasiness, and religious exaltation were observed in Russia in some regions, especially among the peasants, linked with the expectation that the world would end in 1900. But these scattered outbursts of superstitious awe, of course, are of no importance from a general point of view. To a certain extent they remind us of the "terrors" of the year 1000, but they are probably on an even smaller scale.

As we have emphasized above, the expectation of the final day has been connected in history not only with the approach of a

[153] See G. Vernadsky, "The Heresy of the Judaizers and Ivan III," *Speculum*, VIII (Oct., 1933), 440.

[154] *The Russian Historical Library*, VI (St. Petersburg, 1908), pp. 795–796.

[155] *Ibid.*, pp. 799–800. S. H. Schaeder, *Moskau das Dritte Rom* (Hamburg, 1929), pp. 36–37.

new millennium or a new century but also with some unusual or striking event, such as the fall of Constantinople and the destruction of the Roman or Byzantine Empire. Such superstitions survive in our own days. A few months ago the Russian Soviet newspaper *Bezbozhnik* (Atheist) related that recently mysterious preachers of the nearness of the supreme day and Last Judgment had disturbed the peace of many families of communist workers; children were distrusting their parents and paying too much attention to talks and whisperings heard in the streets on the nearness of the last day, the coming of Antichrist, and other premonitions of the end of the world.

The mediaeval history of the Near East shows that to the masses of its inhabitants, concerned as they were with predictions and expectations, Constantinople often personified the entire Empire and was the center of interest. To the overexcited imagination of the mediaeval mind, the fall of Constantinople must mean the fall of the Empire; that must mean the fall of the last world Empire to give place to a new eternal reign of Jesus Christ on earth with Constantinople as the new celestial Jerusalem. Political fluctuations during the course of the thousand years' existence of the Byzantine Empire caused the people to feel more or less apprehensively expectations of the final catastrophe. But upon Constantinople were always focussed universal attention, attraction, and admiration.

A proud modern Greek proverb adequately expresses the mediaeval attitude towards Constantinople: *Ὅλος κόσμος δώδεκα κι ἡ Πόλις δεκαπέντε.*[156] This proverb may be roughly translated as follows: "Twelve is to fifteen as the whole world is to Constantinople."

MADISON, WISCONSIN

[156] K. Krumbacher, "Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter," *Sitzungsber. der phil., philolog. und histor. Classe der Akad. der Wiss. zu München*, 1893, II, 253, n. 1.

A GAY CRUSADER [1]

JAMES LEA CATE

> Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us. . . . Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms and were men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding. . . . Such as sought out musical tunes, and set forth verses in writing. . . . All these were honored in their generations and were a glory in their days.

This is of the Wisdom of Jesus Bar Sirach, the Ecclesiasticus of the Vulgate. It defines an attitude toward history as old as the craft itself, but one which enjoys little repute today. History has become with many of us an impersonal matter of institutions which are described with hardly a backward glance toward a more forthright age when ours was an art dealing with particular acts of particular men, and too often biography is left to the literary folk. But surely before such a group as yourselves, steeped in the tradition of medieval chroniclers and hagiographers and *jongleurs*, I may offer my simple story of a crusader with only a passing plea for indulgence.

It is not that I shall have much praise for my hero. Famous he was and renowned for power, but not for understanding. Sometimes called the "First of the Troubadors," he is now remembered for the verses he set forth, but even these were seldom honored by those clerics of his generation who have preserved his memory. In confining myself to his crusading activities I wrong him gravely,

[1] This paper was read at the dinner of the Medieval Academy of America at Chicago, December 29, 1941. The nature of the occasion for which the paper was prepared may excuse, in part, its form: I have added none of the argumentation on which generalizations have been based, and I have limited the documentation largely to references to direct quotations. The paper was not presented as a biography of William IX nor as a complete history of the Crusade of 1101. There have been many biographies, though none has been both full and critical; the crusade has received scant enough attention in the general crusading histories of Kugler, Röhricht, Bréhier, Grousset, etc., and has never, I believe, been the subject of a special work. This neglect I hope to remedy by a larger treatment, in which a juster emphasis will be given to the Lombard-Frankish army which was perhaps more important than that of the Aquitanians with which this paper is primarily concerned.

for one might as fairly damn Frederick the Great for the verses he perpetrated as this poet for his generalship. But it does no harm occasionally to remind ourselves that not all crusaders were "Iron Men and Saints," to borrow a popular title, nor were they all like that Fulcher of Chartres whom Dana C. Munro once described to this Academy as a typical crusader;[2] and indeed, from the misfortunes of my hero we may be able to learn some of the weaknesses inherent in the early crusading movement.

On October 22, 1071, a son was born to Gui-Geoffroi Guillaume, lord of Aquitaine and Poitou. The boy was first-born and was called, after the fashion of his family, William — the ninth in Aquitaine to bear that name and in Poitou the seventh. His was an illustrious lineage, numbering iron-fisted dukes who had tamed the turbulent baronage of the south, but numbering also princes like William the Pious, who had founded Cluny, and like William V, who had passed for a learned man, a collector of books who read himself to sleep of nights. By marriage the family was allied to several royal lines and the boy was own cousin to Philip I of France and the emperor Henry IV.

The mother was Audéarde of Burgundy, grand-daughter of Robert II of France. Of her character and her influence on the boy the records tell nothing, and indeed there is so little information about his formative years that a cautious historian dare not toy with those repressions, complexes, and frustrations which should illuminate the work of a modern biographer. Mother and son appear formally in a few charters; that is all. Family tradition, the state of letters in Aquitaine, and William's later literary achievements suggest that the boy may have received some formal education but we do not even know if he had any Latin.[3] In several documents he is referred to as a lad of parts, but the complimentary phrases are only the *clichés* of medieval *dictamen*.

When Gui-Geoffroi died in 1086, William was hardly fifteen.

[2] "A Crusader," *Speculum*, VII (1932), 321–35.

[3] Some familiarity with Latin has been argued from his prosody; J. W. Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1939), p. 129. The only reference to Latin in William's poems is inconclusive, since it pertains only to prayer; *Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz*, ll. 23, 24, in *Les Chansons de Guillaume IX*, ed. A. Jeanroy (Paris, 1913), p. 28:

> Et ieu prec en Jesu del tron
> Et en romans et en lati.

Poitevin custom would have suggested tutelage of his mother, and it may be a token of her political ineptitude that the magnates turned instead to the dangerous expedient of investing the boy forthwith with full ducal powers. Though dangerous, this expedient was not a novel one; men matured early and died young in the Middle Ages and in some regions fifteen might be accounted legal age. When Louis VII was crowned at seventeen, Innocent II is reported to have said: "The King of France is a child, and must be educated and prevented from acquiring bad habits";[4] but for the young duke there was no Suger, no wise and loyal guardian under whose counsel he might have grown strong through early responsibility. Later Urban II wrote of having often admonished the youth to imitate his father's piety, but in spite of papal solicitude, William early fell afoul of the church. For at his accession, barons who had been cowed by the stern rule of Gui-Geoffroi turned joyously to the pastimes of their kind — private war and encroachments on ducal prerogatives and on church lands — and to purchase the support of one Eble of Châtelaillon William himself became accessory to the seizure of certain properties of La Trinité of Vendôme by that unruly vassal. Urban became interested in the case in 1094 (that was soon after abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme had loaned him 12,000 sous); first from Rome and later in Aquitaine the pope hurled anathemas at the vassal and threats at William until in 1096 the properties were restored. William's charter of restitution contains, among its legal clauses, an ingenuous apology: "When my father migrated from this world I was left, as many know, a mere boy (*satis puer*). Then my barons who should have supported me, withdrawing from my fealty, began gravely to injure me." He goes on to relate how he had sinned through lack of wisdom, "as is the wont in youthful estate, having contemned God's counsel and accepted human advice, at that time fearing more to offend man than God."[5] It was the age-old excuse of youth in trouble, here perhaps advanced with some justification; nothing vicious had yet appeared in William's character, and his charters show that he had not been ungenerous to the church. The waywardness and instability which he later exhibited may have

[4] Quoted in *Cambridge Medieval History*, V (Cambridge, 1929), 605.

[5] J. Besly, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou et ducs de Guyenne* (Paris, 1647), *Preuves*, p. 412.

stemmed in part from his lack of guidance during the troubled years of his youth, and the soubriquet *Junior* (*le Jeune*) which clung to him throughout life seems descriptive of his character as well as of his age at accession.

One common misfortune of young feudal princes, attack by bellicose neighbors, he was spared. If he was versed in family annals he might well have anticipated some passage at arms from the count of Anjou, but none came, and about 1089 Fulk le Réchin gave his daughter Ermengarde in marriage to the young duke. Ermengarde was beautiful and charming (what medieval princess was not?) but like others of her family she was a bad matrimonial risk, and within a year or two the marriage was on the rocks. Whether policy or taste dictated marriage or separation does not appear, but William did not tarry long for consolation.

In July, 1094, Sancho Ramirez of Aragon died at the siege of Huesca, leaving a young widow Philippa, daughter of William IV of Toulouse. Before the end of the year she had exchanged widow's weeds for bridal veil as spouse of William of Aquitaine. It were churlish to deny that this second bride too was beautiful, but it must be said also that she had more substantial charms. Her father had just died on pilgrimage without male issue and while his brother Raymond of St. Gilles had already succeeded to the rich countal inheritance, the daughter's claims might be pressed by an enterprising husband. William's enterprise in this respect proved greater than his crusading zeal.

In August, 1095, Urban II entered southern France and for twelve months travelled widely within that region, holding councils, settling ecclesiastical disputes, confirming grants, dedicating churches. His most important business was, however, the crusade which he inaugurated at Clermont in Auvergne. From the wake of charters and letters Urban left after him we can trace his itinerary and name his companions with a precision unusual for the period.[6] During much of his journey the pope was within William's territories, and two of the latter's most important prelates, Amat of Bordeaux and Peter of Poitiers, were in the papal entourage. Urban visited William's most important cities: he was at Clermont and Limoges and Saintes; twice he stopped in the duke's northern

[6] Given in detail in René Crozet, "Le voyage d'Urbain II en France (1095–96) et son importance au point de vue archéologique," *Annales du Midi*, XLIX (1937),

capital, Poitiers, once in the southern capital, Bordeaux. At several abbeys befriended by William's family the pope confirmed privileges, and at Montierneuf, a house founded by Gui-Geoffroi, he consecrated an altar and the church, the completion of which had been made possible by William's generosity. And "Wherever he was," says a Poitevin chronicler, "the pope ordered men to make crosses and proceed to Jerusalem and liberate it from the Turks and other nations."[7] Under these circumstances it would seem highly probable that Urban and William met and that the pope tried to enlist the young prince for the Jerusalem way by a personal appeal as well as by sermon. Indeed, some of William's modern biographers have named him as the sole great noble at Clermont and have pictured him entertaining Urban at Poitiers and Bordeaux. However likely it is that a meeting occurred, I have seen no contemporary evidence of it, and we are left with alternate possibilities: that William's name was inadvertently omitted from the numerous documents (which abound with clerics but name few lay folk), or that their silence in this respect may indicate that he consciously avoided the pontiff.[8]

42–69; "Le voyage d'Urbain II et ses négotiations avec la clergé de France, 1095–96," *Revue Historique*, CLXXIX (1937), 271–310.

[7] *Chronicon Sancti Maxentii Pictavensis*, an. 1096, in P. Marchegay and E. Mabille, eds., *Chroniques des Eglises d'Anjou* (Paris, 1869), p. 412.

[8] L. Palustre, in his "Histoire de Guillaume IX . . . d'Aquitaine," *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 2nd ser., III (1880/1) claims credit for first discovering William's presence at the Council of Clermont. He bases his theory on a statement in an undated letter of Geoffrey of Vendôme's (Migne, *P.L.*, CLVII, 203) which has no apparent relation to the council. A. Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou* (Paris, 1903), I, 408 says that William received Urban at Clermont, but gives no citation. He was evidently following Palustre, though elsewhere (I, 500) he gives another dating to the letter. I think it highly unlikely that William attended the council. Richard says (I, 409) that William preceded Urban to Poitiers where "lui fit une réception splendide," but again gives no citation. Two chronicles of the region, both written later, assert that William invited Urban to come to Montierneuf, but neither mentions a meeting. These are: (1) *Fragmentum Historiae Monasterii — Novi Pictavensis*, by one Martin, a monk of that house; written after 1125 and published incompletely in Martène and Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, III, 1219, 20; the section on the dedication was published in de Chergé, "Mémoire historique sur l'abbaye de Montierneuf de Poitiers," *Mém. soc. antiq. Ouest*, XI (1844), 258. (2) *Fragmenta Chronicorum Comitum Pictaviae*, in Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XII, 408; A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1902), I, No. 1437, dates this as late sixteenth century. Richard (I, 411) bases his assumption that William met Urban in Bordeaux on the fact that the duke issued charters in that city on March 22 and 25, 1096, and that the pope was there on May 1!

At any rate, when Urban left William's lands in May, 1096, to confer with Raymond of St. Gilles, the pope had failed to raise any important contingents in Aquitaine. William's refusal to enlist seems out of character. He was young and spirited and already a soldier of some experience, and there was a family tradition of pilgrimage and of war against the paynim in Spain. It may be that his crime against La Trinité made him ashamed to meet the pope, but his interest in the properties of that house was not particularly strong — in fact the case was soon to be settled. The real impediment was more likely to have been his wife's claims to Toulouse. Raymond of St. Gilles' early enlistment in the crusade must have won Urban's support for his cause against any claims William might advance, and the duke may have felt constrained to remain at home and profit by his neighbor's absence. It was neither a generous nor a wise choice, but it was not unique in crusading history.

Anyhow Raymond rode off to a more or less glorious career in the East, leaving his lands to his son Bertrand, and William bided with his wife and her claims. To these claims he soon gave substance. By July 1098 Toulouse was in his hands and he was subscribing documents as count of Poitou and Toulouse. His actions were not without danger. Philippa's rights may have been as good as those of Raymond and certainly a number of magnates accepted William as lord, but Urban had placed the estates of crusaders under special protection of the papacy and despoilers were threatened with excommunication. Many Christians must have felt like the bishop of Cahors, who complained in a charter that "the count of Poitou has attacked and violently seized the city of Toulouse, preparing to subjugate to himself the whole honor of count Raymond, who by order of Pope Urban . . . has gone crusading . . . to conquer heathen nations that they may no longer hold the holy city of Jerusalem." [9] But whatever papal or public displeasure there may have been, no excommunication came; William continued to rule in his wife's name, and two sons were born to him at Toulouse. The second he named Raymond; it was only common courtesy.[10] For two years William's acts are

[9] C. Devic and J. Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, V (Toulouse, 1885), *Preuves*, col. 753.

[10] *Chron. Sancti Maxentii Pictavensis*, an. 1099; *loc. cit.*, p. 419. The elder son

but ill-attested; presumably he must have spent some time in his new territories, but he found time in 1098 to join William Rufus in an attack on their common suzerain Philip of France. It was a desultory and bootless campaign of the sort common to feudal warfare; its causes and its issues are long forgotten, and it brought William nothing but an evil and dangerous associate. Then in 1099 or 1100 occurred a change in William IX's policy toward the crusade that inaugurates the central theme in our story.

Urban II had not ceased to work for the crusade after the departure of the armies in 1096. He had written to north Italian cities, urging their participation, and in several councils — at Rome and Chieta in 1097, at Bari in 1098, and at Rome again in 1099 — he had continued to push crusading business. Well-informed by letters of the progress of the armies, he realized the need of additional manpower, and even before the crusaders reached their goal he was planning a new expedition, perhaps even considering seriously the invitation of the crusading chiefs to come out and assume command himself. But this new Moses was denied even a glimpse of the Promised Land, for he died a fortnight after the capture of Jerusalem without hearing of that triumph.

The news came soon after, first by official letters and then by word of mouth of returning pilgrims who tarried not long after fulfilling their vows, and the reports spread with a rapidity and thoroughness unusual in that age. Hardly a chronicle, however jejune and parochial its outlook, but what records the victory of the church militant, and often enough you will find a scribe dating a charter not only by the incarnation, indiction, epact, concurrent, pontifical and regnal year, and all those redundant phrases which are the trade secrets of diplomatics, but also by some such clause as "in the year when Jerusalem was besieged and captured by our Christians." [11] You have only to recall the return of the A.E.F. in 1919 to picture the reception the heroes met, the tales they told, and the trophies they exhibited. There was no note of disillusion-

was later William X of Aquitaine (1126–37), father of the celebrated Eleanor. Raymond was later (1136–49) prince of Antioch. It is not clear whether the two sons were born in the same calendar year, or whether Raymond was born when William IX again held Toulouse in 1114.

[11] *Cartulaires de l'église cathédrale de Grenoble*, ed. J. Marion (Paris, 1869), B, no. II.

ment such as followed later crusades. Christendom exulted in its achievement and even sluggish knights were stirred. There must have been many like that Henry of Grandpré, a notorious vexer of the church at Verdun, who "having heard of the wondrous deeds done by Godfrey and his comrades for Jerusalem, planned a second expedition to follow them and came to Verdun and there took the cross." [12]

There was still glory to be won. The land was but half-conquered and the return of the great majority of crusaders left but a few hundred men to complete the task. Letters from the East, however triumphant in tone, were urgent in their appeal for recruits. Thus when Paschal II ascended the throne of St. Peter in August 1099, he inherited a situation calling for a new crusade, a Europe more favorably inclined than in 1095, a plan already partly formulated, and a well-proven technique for implementing the plan. Trained in the court of Gregory VII and of Urban II, Paschal was dedicated to the new crusade by the dead hand as in a later century Honorius III was committed to the Fifth Crusade by the plan of Innocent III.

So Paschal wrote encouragingly to the crusaders in the East and turned to the task of raising a new army. He could hope for no aid from the monarchs of the West: Philip of France was living in open sin with the wife of a vassal; Henry IV was excommunicate; the king of England anxiously waited the return of a wronged crusading brother, and the Spanish kings had been enjoined to do their Saracen hunting at home. The new army must be led by feudal lords and must be raised from regions which had been little stirred in 1096, and from the laggards of the earlier movement. Paschal sent an encyclical to the prelates of France, ordering them to preach the crusade and to press with renewed threats of excommunication for the departure of the many who had earlier taken the cross but who had never gone to Jerusalem, and ordering also that returning crusaders should have seizin of all rightful properties. To implement these commands, a synod was held at Anse in the Lyonnaise; the crusade was preached and Paschal's threats of excommunication were published.

Then the pope sent two legates into William IX's territories; they were at Limoges and then at Poitiers where they convoked a

[12] *Laurentii Gesta Episcoporum Virdunensium, M.G.H., SS.*, X, 497.

council on November 18, 1100, fifth anniversary of Urban's council at Clermont. A large number of French prelates attended. They settled a number of ecclesiastical quarrels, enacted new canons and reaffirmed those of Clermont, and passed on to what had become routine church agenda — excommunication of King Philip for adultery. The several accounts of the meeting are not wholly in agreement as to the actual circumstances, but it seems that William IX was present at one session; that he objected violently to the anathema against his sovereign; that some ill-bred layman precipitated a riot by heaving a rock at the legates; and that order was restored only by the firmness of a few courageous prelates. One account reports a speech of William's filled with sentiments of feudal loyalty ill-matched with his recent attack on his suzerain;[13] another interprets his actions as those of one whose marital status was as bad as Philip's.[14] But they indicate a quick repentance by the duke, and a penance imposed by the legates. In these accounts, no word of the crusade, which may have been obscured by the melodrama and the special interests of the narrators. The *Chronicle of St. Maixent* reports, under 1100, that William took the cross at Limoges, and then passes to a brief account of the events at Poitiers.[15] But one other account, that of Geoffrey of Châlard, must be considered; its author was an eyewitness, and since he is called "Blessed," his testimony should be good. He says that the legates came to Limoges and thence to Poitiers, where "they celebrated a council, violently exciting the people that they should quickly aid the faithful in God's war. In this council *I was present* when William of Aquitaine and other counts and leaders and innumerable flocks of the faithful . . . assumed the sign of Christ's cross." [16]

The exact site of William's public enlistment can have little interest for us save as it touches on his motives. Two reasons have been advanced for his action: that the crusade was a penance assigned by the legates for his disorderly conduct at the council; and that he was forced to go by threat of excommunica-

[13] *Vita B. Hilarii*, in Bouquet, *Recueil*, XIV, 108.

[14] *Vita B. Bernardi Abbatis de Tironio*, *ibid.*, p. 166.

[15] *Loc. cit.*, p. 420.

[16] *Beati Gaufridi, Castaliensis prioris. Dictamen de primordiis ecclesiae Castalienses. Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens occidenteaux*, V, 348. Hereinafter references to this set are abbreviated *R.H.C.*

tion for his seizure of Raymond's lands. There is a suggestion in William's own verses that he went as a penitent, but so did all others, and these specific reasons seem not wholly probable. He had already arranged to finance his expedition by mortgaging his patrimony to William Rufus, who hoped to engulf Aquitaine as he already had Normandy. Negotiations had been ended only by the death of the English king on August 2, 1100, so it is evident that William IX's plans had been maturing months before the affair at Poitiers. As for Toulouse, it does not appear that William had ever been personally censured by Urban or Paschal, and a blanket threat was but a soft rod to his sort; after all, his was a legalistic age and he did have an actionable claim. Be that as it may, by the early months of 1100 Bertrand was again ruling the Toulousain. Later English chroniclers, not wholly unpartisan, say that William mortgaged that territory to Bertrand to finance his crusade.[17] This story may contain a kernel of truth. Nowhere is there a hint of sudden repentance by William, nor of a successful attack by Bertrand. William was well supplied with funds on his crusade yet we hear of no other loans, and it is quite possible that he relinquished claims to Toulouse in return for a lump sum. Perhaps modern interpretations have been too subtle; contemporaries give no hint of papal threats for either of his alleged crimes, and they do indicate that William was caught in the wave of general enthusiasm. When one chronicler says that the duke, wishing "to exhibit his prowess and extend his fame, collected a great army of his subjects," [18] he may well have given the real clue to William's crusading interest.

Certainly that was the spirit in which many enlisted. True, the church put special pressure on slackers, of whom there were many. Men who had taken the cross but had remained at home, or had quitted the armies in Italy or elsewhere, or worst of all, those

[17] Robert de Torigni, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard* (R.S.; London, 1889), IV, 202; William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, II, x; *ibid.*, I, 121, 2. These passages are concerned with Henry II's expedition against Toulouse in 1159, and both authors attempt to justify Henry's claims through Eleanor of Aquitaine. It has been suggested that William IX may have raised some funds by the granting of municipal privileges; E. Audoin, ed., *Recueil de documents concernant la commune et la ville de Poitiers* (Poitiers, 1923), I, intro., p. xxxiii. Most of the 12th-century sources indicate that his expedition was amply provided with funds.

[18] *Ex Historiae Francicae Fragmento*, Bouquet, *Recueil*, XII, 6.

"rope-dancers" who had fled from Antioch — these were loudly denounced and were threatened. Public sentiment was often more potent than fear of excommunication in moving notorious deserters like Hugh of Vermandois, or like Stephen of Blois, whose spirited wife, unable to face her neighbors, nagged her husband until he went back to an eastern grave. Still Ekkehard's statement that the armies consisted principally of those whose vows had been hindered by fear or diffidence, poverty or weakness, must have been exaggerated.[19] There was an enthusiastic response from regions which had contributed little to the First Crusade — from Aquitaine and Burgundy, Lombardy and Germany, where the propaganda techniques of 1096 were repeated. Popular preachers like Robert d'Arbrissel and Raoul Ardent may have spread the enthusiasm in Poitou, and the recruiting was sped by a fine lot of prodigies in Germany, and by a proper display of holy relics in many regions.[20]

Of the size of the armies we know nothing — or too much. Figures are given, but with that gay insouciance characteristic of medieval chroniclers and of official communiqués from Tokyo. If we accept the repeated statement of the soberer accounts that in size this new expedition was not inferior to that of 1096, we have a comparative if not an absolute estimate. What boded ill for its success was the fact that, in spite of the advice of the leaders in the Holy Land, there was a large proportion of non-combatants, of clerics and of women.

Information concerning the Crusade of 1101 is fragmentary.

[19] Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, c. XXII, 3; ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Tübingen, 1877), pp. 223, 4. All other references to this work are to this edition.

[20] Robert d'Arbrissel, founder of Fontevrault, had so impressed Urban II with his eloquence at Angers in 1096 that the pope had commissioned him apostolic preacher. He was an active participant at the Council of Poitiers in 1100; see J. de Petigny, "Robert d'Arbrissel et Geoffroi de Vendôme," *Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 3rd Ser., XV (1854), 1–30. Raoul Ardent, a learned and eloquent orator, was attached to the court of William IX and is said to have accompanied him on crusade. He is supposed to have written a crusading history but whether of that of 1096 or 1101 is not clear; *Hist. litt. de la France*, IX, 254–65. These men then were closely associated with crusading figures and were among the most celebrated preachers of their time, but so far as I know there is no direct evidence that they preached the crusade.

For the prodigies, see Ekkehard, *Hierosolymita*, c. XXII, 1, 2, pp. 221–3. For relics, see *Sigeberti Gemblacensis Chronica*, *Auctorium Aquicenense*, *M.G.H.*, *SS.*, VI, 395; and especially *Chron. S. Maxentii*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 416, 419.

From local chronicles we know the names of many participants, and their fate; from charters we can learn something of the financing: how, for instance, Harpin of Bourges sold his city to Philip I, or how one Chatardus made gift of his lands to Savigny for 250 sous and a mule.[21] Several historians of the First Crusade give brief narratives of this later expedition, but there is no eyewitness account comparable to those of the Anonymous or Fulcher of Chartres. History, we are often reminded, is written by the survivors; these were not many in the Crusade of 1101, nor was there much to be proud of. The historian Ekkehard of Aura was a witness of part of the events, but his account is disappointingly meager. The fullest account is that of Albert of Aachen, and Albert, in spite of his partial rehabilitation is still not wholly respectable. Nevertheless I am inclined to value his evidence highly in general, if not always in detail.[22]

None of these accounts has described the general strategy of the crusade, but Paschal's plan seems to have been modelled

[21] M. Prou, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ie* (Paris, 1908), Nos. CXLV and CXLVI, and p. 368, n. 1; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Savigny*, ed. A. Bernard (Paris, 1853), No. 867.

[22] Of the western historians who wrote accounts of the First Crusade, the following give some treatment to the Crusade of 1101: Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913); Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, in *R.H.C.*, *Occ.*, IV; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. A. Le Prevost, IV (Paris, 1852); William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Wm. Stubbs (R.S.; London, 1889); Raoul of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, in *R.H.C.*, *Occ.*, III; William of Tyre, *Belli Sacri Historia*, in *R.H.C.*, *Occ.*, I. The minor historians and the continuators add little to these accounts.

Ekkehard of Aura was an original source for the journey of one German band as far as Constantinople; after that he depended on reports from refugees from defeated armies. His account consists only of half a dozen short chapters. The account in Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (*R.H.C.*, *Occ.*, IV) is much longer, constituting all of Bk. VIII and about one-fourth of Bk. IX. He speaks of getting some of his materials from survivors, but we do not know the source of most of his details. Albert's account of this crusade was attacked as erroneous and inconsistent by H. von Sybel, but defended (effectively, I think, in the main) by B. Kugler, *Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart, 1885), pp. 309–24.

Many local sources give details about the various contingents. For the Aquitanians, the most useful are: *Chronica Prioratus de Casa Vicecomitis* and *Chronicon S. Maxentii Pictavensis*, both in Marchegay and Mabille, *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou; Gesta Ambaziensium Dominorum*, in L. Halphen and R. Poupardin, *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou* (Paris, 1913); and *Narratio Floriacensis de Captio Antiocha et Hierosolyma*, *R.H.C.*, *Occ.*, V.

Of the non-Latin sources, the most useful are: Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, *R.H.C.*, *Hist. Grecs*, I, ii; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, *R.H.C.*, *Doc. Armeniens*, I; and Ibn-Alatyr, *Kamel Altevarykh*, *R.H.C.*, *Hist. Orient.*, I.

closely after that of 1096. Hugh de Die, ambitious archbishop of Lyons who had taken the cross in 1096 but had failed to leave, had renewed his vows at Anse and Paschal had offered him a legateship in the East, perhaps intending him for the role earlier played by Ademar of Puy; but we hear nothing more of him until he turns up in 1102 at Jerusalem. It was left to the several bands of recruits to find their way to Constantinople as best they might, and making their rendezvous there, to march in a single body across Asia Minor and Syria. It becomes necessary then to follow each band separately for a while.

The Lombards went first, in September, 1100.[23] Led by Anselm, archbishop of Milan and many lay nobles, they marched through Carinthia and Hungary, wintered in Bulgaria, and reached Constantinople in early spring. The new armies constituted as much of a problem for the emperor Alexius as had those of 1096. The Lombards had been a scourge in Bulgaria and encamped in the suburbs of Constantinople they became a positive menace. For two months they awaited the arrival of other bands, but after much rioting and one serious attack on the Greeks, they were forced to cross over to Nicomedia late in April. There they were joined by new contingents, some Germans under the constable Conrad and a large army of West Franks led by Stephen of Blois and Odo of Burgundy. Prudence would have suggested waiting for other reinforcements known to be en route, but the armies, rash and impatient, soon departed. Raymond of St. Gilles had recently returned to Constantinople to treat with Alexius, and at the urgent request of the crusaders, Raymond and a troop of Turcopoles were sent along as guides. Raymond and Stephen of Blois, experienced campaigners, wished to follow the route of the First Crusade, but the unruly Lombards insisted on turning northward into Khorasan in a wild scheme to rescue the captive Bohemund. Of their disastrous journey Albert gives a detailed account, but we need say only that after suffering from privation and constant attack from Turkish cavalry, the army was cut to pieces near

[23] Albert of Aachen gives a very full account of this expedition. Accounts other than those listed above may be found in Cafaro, *Liberatio Civitatum Orientis*, *R.H.C.*, *Occ.*, V; in Landulphus de S. Paulo, *Historia Mediolanensis*, L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, V, iii (new ed.: Bologna, 1934); and a brief note in *Catalogus Archiepiscoporum Mediolensium*, *M.G.H.*, *SS.*, VIII.

Amasia early in August. Many leaders escaped to Sinope and thence to Constantinople, but few of the lesser folk survived.

Albert of Aachen tells of a second Frankish army, led by William of Nevers, which left in early spring of 1101, marched through Italy, crossed from Brindisi to Valona, and thence went overland to Constantinople where they arrived during the first half of June. Their conduct along the way had been admirably disciplined, and Alexius received them graciously, but after three days he ferried them over the straits. There they camped for a fortnight, and after June 23 set out in a vain attempt to overtake the Lombards, changed their plans at Ancyra and turned toward Iconium. Harassed by the same Turks who had defeated the Lombards, weakened by hunger and thirst, the Christians were finally annihilated near Eregli; only William and a handful of leaders escaped. Albert's account of this separate expedition under William of Nevers is not substantiated by other sources and the chronology of its march is hard to fit into the general picture, but the story is very circumstantial, and I am inclined to credit it in a general way.[24] At any rate, the fate of the earlier armies presaged and to some extent determined the fate of the Aquitanians.

William IX had completed his preparations in the winter of 1100–1101. His large army included Herbert, vicomte of Thouars, Geoffrey, count of Vendôme, Hugh of Lusignan, half-brother of Raymond of St. Gilles, Hugh of Vermandois, and other barons. William's forces included also many clerics of all ranks, and many women of varying degrees of honesty. Some leaders took their wives, but William left his Philippa to manage his estates, which she seems to have done well enough. It was not that William had full confidence in that lure of beautiful Greek women which is said to have been part of Alexius' propaganda; being in this one respect a provident man he took with him a bevy of charming girls.[25] His going was not without the pious donations appropriate

[24] Several accounts speak of William of Nevers as participating in the crusade, and there is supporting evidence in a number of charters. But Ekkehard and Matthew of Edessa speak of only *two* armies marching through Asia Minor, and some have thought that William of Nevers joined the Aquitanians at Constantinople (Hagenmeyer in his ed. of Ekkehard, p. 240, n. 5). But see also Kugler, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

[25] Guibert of Nogent is responsible for these details; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, v and VII, xxiii; in *R.C.H.*, *Occ.*, IV, 133 and 243.

to the occasion, and there is a touching picture in one charter of the duke's giving to St. Jean d'Angely an old female serf, and kissing her before the assembled monks in token of his affection. His departure was also the occasion of the only poem of William's which is useful to us.[26] It is a plaint lamenting the beautiful land he was leaving, the gaiety, the silks and the robes furred with vair and gris; and lamenting most of all the little son he left at the mercy of rapacious neighbors. Of dangers to land and heir, who could have been more aware than the despoiler of Toulouse? At any rate, it is a song of a reluctant pilgrim rather than of a stalwart athlete of Christ; but we must remember that William was a poet and we must not forget his bevy of girls.

The host left the Limousin on March 13. They joined, according to plan, various German contingents under the leadership of Welf IV of Bavaria and Countess Ida of Austria, and together they went through Bulgaria. Discipline was bad, and because of their pillaging the crusaders were dogged by Patzinak and Cuman mercenaries of Alexius. The westerners were allowed to buy provisions at market towns, but not to enter in force, and when they found their way into Adrianople barred, the Aquitanians in their wilful pride fired the suburbs and attacked the defenders. There were casualties on either side, including a kinsman of William's, but a peace was patched up, markets opened, and the Bulgarians furnished an escort to the capital. The vanguard, in which Ekkehard seems to have marched, reached Constantinople about June 1, but it took fifteen days for all the troops to assemble. These dates are hard to reconcile with Albert's account of William of Nevers, for his army should have been at Constantinople during that fortnight, but unless Albert's circumstantial account is wholly wrong, the two forces must have failed to meet. Whatever resentment Alexius may have felt for the attack on Adrianople he hid, receiving William IX and his fellow leaders as "sons" (a ceremony which apparently had some symbolic importance), lavishing gifts on them and exacting from them the customary oath of fealty. The armies remained in the environs of Constantinople for five weeks, the leaders alone being allowed to enter the city to confer with Alexius. Several chroniclers speak of William's haughty mien toward the emperor, and Matthew of Edessa says that "though

[26] The poem *Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz*, cited in note 3 above.

the count was only a young man of twenty or so, he spoke with sovereign hauteur to Alexius, according him not the title of emperor but only of eparch." [27] This over-long sojourn allowed the crusaders to purchase supplies for the journey, but it became the occasion of vague fears of impending treachery. The crusaders could not yet have heard of Lombard disasters, but in panic many Germans forsook the army and sailed for Tarsus. Ekkehard, evidently considering that his duty was to write history rather than make it, was among this group. The others were finally forced by Alexius to cross the Hellespont, and near harvest time (perhaps late July) they set out with a guide of Turcopoles. Electing the route of the First Crusade, they passed through Nicomedia and Nicaea, and thence turned toward Iconium. Their provisions, originally plentiful, eventually began to fail. The Turks, adept at the scorched earth policy, burned the ripe crops and destroyed water supplies, and the Christians suffered greatly. They took two towns, Philomelia and Ismil, by-passed Iconium, and pushed on toward Eregli. There the crusaders expected to slake their thirst in the river, but even as they drank they were attacked by a large Turkish army. This included the combined forces of the sultan Kilidj Arslan, and of the emirs Malik Ghazi, Karadscha of Harran, and Ridwan of Aleppo; it was the same army which had recently defeated the other Christians, and their blunted swords, says a chronicler, were still warm with Lombard blood. Pouring a hail of arrows over the stream, the Turks crossed and assailed the Christians. Weakened by famine and thirst, relaxed and off-guard and probably dismounted, caught in a narrow and swampy valley, the crusaders were doomed. Small bands resisted, but the army as such dissolved and was cut up in detail. The slaughter was terrible; a few escaped, but most of the warriors were killed, and the women were either massacred or carried off into slavery as age or beauty might dictate. Welf of Bavaria and William of Aquitaine were among the fugitives. A chronicler pictures William seated on a little hill at the end of the day like Xerxes at Salamis and weeping at the destruction of his army.[28] With a single squire he made his way to Longinath near Tarsus, and was honorably received by the Frankish governor, Bernard the Stranger. Tan-

[27] *Chronique*, II, xxii, *R.H.C.*, *Doc. Armen.*, I, 59.
[28] *Ibid.*, II, xxiii, p. 60.

cred, ruling Antioch during Bohemund's captivity, heard of William's misfortunes, sent for him, and refitted him handsomely.

William stayed the winter out at Antioch and during that time other fugitives apeared, coming directly from Asia Minor or by boat from Constantinople: several bishops, William of Nevers, Welf, Stephen, Odo of Burgundy, Harpin of Bourges, Raymond of St. Gilles, and other nobles, but few footsoldiers and no women. It was like the governor of Kentucky's army, this gathering — all colonels and generals and no privates, and it did more credit to the quality of the horses of the magnates than to their courage, but there was still opportunity for redeeming reputations. In February 1102 they resumed their march toward Jerusalem. Tancred had tried to imprison Raymond of St. Gilles, an old enemy, on the charge of having betrayed the Lombards to the Turks, but the survivors themselves insisted on Raymond's release, and he marched with them, with never a hint of ill-feeling toward William for the seizure of Toulouse. Aided by a Venetian fleet the crusaders captured Tortosa after a short siege, and left the city to Raymond of St. Gilles. Near Beirut the pilgrims were met by King Baldwin, who conducted them to Jerusalem. There they passed Holy Week, witnessed the seasonal miracle of the Holy Fire, and celebrated Easter in great state.

This marked the fulfillment of vows, and most of the crusaders turned homeward without further thought of aid to the hard-pressed Christian state. Many pilgrims embarked from Jaffa but their ill luck continued; they were forced back into port by a storm just in time to participate in the disastrous battle of Ramla, where a number were killed. William IX was at Jerusalem Easter, but of his activities thereafter we are ill-informed. Apparently he was not at Ramla. Some say he returned to Tancred's court and sailed from Antioch in the fall; others that he sailed with his fellows from Jaffa in the spring and made a successful voyage; and this story seems more likely since William was back in Poitiers by October 29, 1102.

With William's checkered career thereafter we need not be concerned; has not Aristotle, *the* philosopher of William's age, taught us that unity lies not in the whole story of a man's life, but only in a series of related incidents? William lived to bring more trouble to his church, his suzerain, his neighbors, and many hus-

bands — even to make second attacks against Toulouse and against the Muslim; but we may avoid those activities to muse over his crusading venture.

The Crusade of 1101 had failed dismally; few of its participants had reached Jerusalem, fewer still had returned; the aid rendered the new Christian kingdom was negligible. The failure of this expedition stood out lividly against the background of the recent successes of the earlier expedition, and chroniclers who observed the divergent fates of armies similar in size turned inevitably to a supernatural explanation: God had miraculously blessed the First Crusade and had allowed the other to be destroyed because of its manifold sins. Shorn of eschatological implications, this charge refers to the disorderly conduct of ill-disciplined bands. More specifically, the chroniclers (save Albert) assert that the armies of 1101 were betrayed to the Turks by Alexius and his agent Raymond of St. Gilles. Of these explanations, the first is only partially true, the second wholly false. Fortunately it is no longer necessary to defend Alexius' name. We realize now that all western accounts of the early crusades were colored by the perennial suspicion of the Latin for the Greek, and that all histories of the Crusade of 1101 were written after Bohemund's successful campaign to blacken the emperor's character in the west. Alexius can have had little love for the western barbarians; their presence in 1101 constituted a menace to the safety of his city and their behavior gave a foretaste of what was to come in 1204. But he was, in Gibbon's phrase, "patient and artful." Dissembling his natural resentment at insults and injuries, he treated the leaders more gently than they deserved, trying to win from them oaths of fealty for lands to be conquered. His insistence that the armies cross to the Asiatic shore was merely a prudential measure, not an attempt to force them into Turkish territory. Far from sending the crusaders to their doom, Alexius had pleaded with them to follow the only practicable route, that of the First Crusade, and the destruction of the Lombards had come because of their refusal to heed his advice. The emperor stood to gain something by Christian victories, nothing by a Turkish revival, and nothing by the rescue of his arch-enemy Bohemund. The same argument from policy would exculpate Raymond of St. Gilles, and indeed his alleged victims themselves swore to his innocence when Tancred had preferred his libelous charges.

There can be little question that the various contingents, save that of William of Nevers, were lacking in discipline. They antagonized fellow-Christians long the route by their marauding, and frightened Alexius by their violence in Constantinople; the Lombard army was lax in its behavior even during the march through Turkish territory; and the Aquitanian host was destroyed in an ambush that precaution might have averted. Those same faults in varying degree had not been absent during the First Crusade, and they had had a cumulative effect. For repeated threats to Greek security had made Alexius loath to allow any crusading army to remain long in Constantinople, and hence the plan for a general meeting there in 1101 was never carried out. The tragedy was that the margin of error was so narrow, a matter of days; the chance factor, always important in war, was against the crusaders. Had the German, Aquitanian, and Nivernais contingents been a few days less on the march, the several groups would have united at Constantinople and might have won through to Syria. In 1097 the disunion had been in the ranks of the Turks, and the crusaders had never faced a united Seljuk front. In 1101 the Turkish emirs had for the time stilled their quarrels and joining their forces, they defeated in three swift campaigns the separate columns of Christians. This Seljuk union too was, to the crusaders, a chance occurrence, or at least one which could not have been foreseen.

These chance factors were peculiar to the Crusade of 1101, but there were serious military difficulties inherent in the general situation and hence common to all the early crusades. Europe's warfare for centuries had consisted primarily of neighborhood feuds, and it now entered with little preparation a war calling for large scale international organization. There was no unified command and cooperation between the various contingents was difficult. Financing was largely by individuals with some extra aid from the great leaders; provisioning methods were inadequate. The proportion of noncombatants was inordinately large, yet was inevitably so, for the papacy had to rely on mass enthusiasm for its recruits and the fiery sermon which stirred the doughty knight might move as well the pious monk, the discontented peasant, and the bored wife. We are apt to overlook what the crusader never lost sight of — that he was still a pilgrim for all his arms; whether man-at-arms or non-effective he was called *peregrinus*, and the

celerity with which he turned homeward once he had worshipped at the Holy Sepulcher shows how unlike was his status to that of the modern soldier.

The objective lay two thousand miles from France. The easiest part of the march was through strange Catholic lands, half-friendly at best, and through territories of the hated Greek schismatic; the inevitable halt at Constantinople was fraught with danger. The long trek across Asia Minor was even more formidable. Without any base of supplies, the crusaders were forced to rely on what provisions they could carry; much of the land was barren and rugged and the armies had to accommodate themselves to the slow pace of the noncombatants and of the transport carts made the more numerous by their presence. Of the geography of Asia Minor the westerners were painfully ignorant, except, one may believe from Guibert of Nogent, as they remembered New Testament place-names,[29] and they were dependent upon unreliable guides. Their journey exposed a long open flank to an enemy conversant with every road and by-way, highly mobile, expert in guerilla warfare and in elusive battle tactics which resemble, in contemporary descriptions, the attacks of American Indians as portrayed in the old silent movies. The Christians were unable to feed their horses well, and they were seldom able to manoeuvre the Turks into a position permitting the knights to capitalize on their heavy shock power. Against Turkish mounted archers they had no effective missile weapons, no dependable infantry. And hence the remarkable similarity in the narratives of the early crusades: for each of the bands from Peter the Hermit's to Frederick Barbarossa's there is a regular pattern which ends, except in the case of the First Crusade, with disaster in Asia Minor. Small wonder that the chroniclers saw in the feats of Godfrey and Bohemund a manifest sign of God's will.

When Odo of Deuil wrote his history of the Second Crusade he went into considerable detail in describing the itinerary and the difficulties encountered: "For," he says, "pilgrims to the Holy Sepulcher will never be lacking, and they will, I hope, be more cautious because of our experiences." [30] But that was a vain hope.

[29] *Gesta Dei per Francos*, VII, xxiv, *loc. cit.*, pp. 243, 4.

[30] Odo de Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, Bk. II, in Migne, *P.L.*, CLXXXV, col. 1212. Odo reiterates this purpose in several places; cf. col.

Franks who remained in the East quickly adapted their tactics to the new environment, but western Europe learned but slowly from its costly mistakes. Urban himself seems to have recognized the importance of sea-power; Christian navies early established an effective control over Mediterranean sea-lanes, and from 1098 Italian ships assisted in amphibian operations and provided speedy and direct transportation to the Levant. From the beginning of the twelfth century small bands of recruits regularly sailed for Syrian ports, but Richard the Lion Heart was the first commander of a major army to elect that simpler and safer route. Perhaps leaders clung to the land route from sheer military conservatism, perhaps because of the unwieldy size of their pilgrim bands, but in any event, no one of the great land armies after 1099 arrived intact in Syria.

You will pardon, I hope, this lapse into the currently popular role of the parlor strategist and my neglect of William IX. To what extent his generalship contributed to the defeat of his army it is hard to say. Contemporaries praise his military qualities, but those qualities must have been limited to the physical courage common to his class. The few specific references to his personal activities on crusade are to deeds of a rash knight rather than of a prudent general. Certainly he lacked good luck, which military critics as unlike as Napoleon and Sir Archibald Wavell have named as a prime necessity for the general. Geoffrey of Vigeois explains William's failure curtly: "Duke William of Aquitaine went to Jerusalem along with many others, yet he wrought little for the Christian name; for indeed he was a hot lover of women (*vehemens amator foeminarum*) and therefore manifestly inconstant in his works." [31] This explanation is too simple, and the general assumption on which it rests seems badly supported by the reputation of many great generals. But there is no evidence that William had any real qualities of leadership, and indeed, what impressed his age most was a levity of character unbecoming to his station. The details with which this light-heartedness is documented may be suspect, but the general impression given by

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1211. There is a better edition and a translation of this work, as yet unpublished, in Virginia Gingerick, *Odo of Deuil's "De Profectione Ludovici VII"* (University of Chicago Ph.D. Dissertation; 1941).

[31] *Chronicon*, in Bouquet, *Recueil*, XII, 430.

a number of apochryphal stories is substantiated by his actions and by his own verse.

Orderic Vitalis says that William "was bold and brave and exceedingly jocose, surpassing even comic actors in his numerous jokes." [32] William of Malmesbury calls him a giddy buffoon, and reports that after his return from Jerusalem "he resumed his drolleries, seasoning his jests with a certain false charm which distended the mouths of his audience in loud guffaws." [33] Happily, few of his jokes have survived. Real humor is timeless, but mere wit is dependent on too much that is local and ephemeral, and I suspect that William's best stories would fall as flat today as do most medieval *facetiae*. There remains one *bon mot* of his about a bald-headed bishop which must have been hoary even in the twelfth century, and a nonsense rhyme that depends for its humor on incongruities of a sort highly appreciated in kindergarten today. The practical jokes of which he is accused are not of a kindergarten type: how he planned to found a little nunnery at Niort and fill its offices with famous prostitutes; or how he rode about the countryside with a picture of a vassal's wife, his mistress, on his shield and an obscene explanatory jest on his lips.[34] If the crusaders of 1101 relieved the tedium of their long march by telling stories, William's contributions must have been like to those of Chaucer's Miller than to those of his Knight — something of the sort of joke which Mark Twain said you could follow in its passage down a pilgrim procession "by the blushes of the mules in its wake." The moral tone of William's jokes had less to do with his generalship than the mere vice of joking. A sense of humor is a valuable asset to the morale of common soldiers, but it might be hard to name a great general (save perhaps Suvorov) who was a wag. Perhaps what William lacked was the deadly seriousness of purpose, the will to win which had characterized Bohemund.

One would like to know what effect the impact of Byzantine and Arab civilization had on William. My own guess is that few of the transient pilgrims received much in the way of intellectual

[32] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, X, xix; ed. A. Le Prevost (Paris, 1852), IV, 118.

[33] *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, V, sect. 439 (R.S.; London, 1889), II, 510.

[34] The poem, *Farai un vers de dreyt nien*, may be found in Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–8; the other details are from William of Malmesbury as cited in note 33.

stimulus or content, but that is a prejudiced judgment based only on the negative evidence of some eyewitness accounts of the crusades and on the profound ignorance of France displayed by our veterans of World War I. The disaster at Eregli furnished materials for a very lively *Passio* describing the martyrdom of Bishop Thiemo of Salzburg, and for the story of how Ida of Austria was carried off by a Turkish leader and bore to him a son who became the famous emir Zengi.[35] This latter was perhaps the earliest example of what became a popular *genre*, yet both of these tales were cast in conventional literary forms and show little influence of the East. But William's was a cultivated spirit, and it were unthinkable that he was untouched by Byzance and Antioch and Jerusalem. One of his contemporaries reports that "he wallowed in the sty of vice as wholly as though he believed that all things were governed by chance instead of by Providence," and Etienne de Bourbon has a story about a count of Poitiers (usually identified with William) which reflects a shockingly materialistic outlook.[36] Taken together, these references may suggest that the duke was affected with what the Middle Ages called Epicureanism, and one may speculate as to whether he picked up his dangerous ideas in the East or in Languedoc, soon to be notorious for its heresy.

But his poems, as I painfully construe them, give no hint of serious thought. They show, I am told by my literary friends, great technical skill in prosody, but to a philistine the reiterated theme of romantic love is tiresome and the treatment both artificial and licentious. One lost poem we may regret. Orderic says of William that after his return, being witty and jocose of temperament, he often described his misfortunes in rhymed verse, set to merry tunes and delivered before kings and fellow nobles.[37] These verses might have told us something more than the bare details of military disaster, might have enlightened us as to the

[35] Several versions of the *Passio S. Thiemonis* are given in *R.H.C.*, *Occ.*, V, 203–23; and see Riant, "Le martyre de Thiemo de Salzbourg," *Rev. Quest. Hist.*, XXXIX (1886), 218–37. For one version of Ida's story, see *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*, *M.G.H.*, *SS.*, XXI, 462.

[36] William of Malmesbury, as cited in note 33; *Anecdotes historiques . . . d'Étienne de Bourbon*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877), No. 478, p. 411.

[37] *Hist. Eccl.*, X, xx; *loc. cit.*, p. 132. Orderic speaks incorrectly here of William's captivity.

effects of the journey on an impressionable spirit. But they are gone and we are left to conjecture.

Yet we may believe that the Crusade of 1101 affected men in divers ways. Harpin of Bourges entered Cluni to live out his years in thanks for a miraculous escape; William of Nevers learned enough to refuse to go on the Second Crusade; only William of Aquitaine seems to have got any fun from the fiasco. Certainly he derived no spiritual improvement; this at least is what the chroniclers said with their stories, what the church said with its anathemas, and what even his ardent admirer, the anonymous thirteenth century biographer of the troubadors, said with his epitaph:

> The count of Poitiers was one of the most courteous men in the world and a great tricker of women; and a good knight-at-arms, and a great one to make love. Well he knew how to make verses and well to chant, and longtime he went through the world to fool the ladies.[38]

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[38] C. Chabaneau, ed., "Biographies des Troubadors," in Devic and Vaissette, *op. cit.*, X, 213.

THE HISTORICAL ELEMENT IN WESTERN AND EASTERN EPICS

DIGENIS — SAYYID-BATTAL — DAT-EL-HEMMA [1] — ANTAR — *CHANSON DE ROLAND*

By Henri Gregoire

It is only natural to try to apply the few concrete results of our research in the field of Byzantine and Arabo-Turkish epic to another epic question, about which the opinions of the greatest and seemingly best equipped scholars still widely differ, I mean the famous *Chanson de Roland.*

The use of the comparative method seems fully legitimate because of the strikingly similar conditions in which that epic arose and grew.

Its starting point beautifully coincides chronologically with the period in which both the Byzantine hero and his counterpart, the Moslem martyr, fought and fell: Sayyid-Battal, the historical Sayyid-Battal in 740, Digenis in 788.

Likewise, the end of the evolution of the Moslem epic material can be dated about 1100. Both in the Turkish story and in the Arab romance of chivalry, the last historical characters which we can identify are persons who appeared on the stage of history during the last years of the eleventh century and at the beginning of the twelfth.

The Byzantine Emperors who are named in connection with the Moslem fighters all belong to that period, and to that period only. And not only their names, but also their deeds correspond with the actual role of the historical rulers who bear their names.

For instance, during the fourth and fifth part of the Arab Romance, the Byzantine Emperors are named Michael, Armanous, Alfalougos, a second Michael, Milas. In the Turkish Sayyid-Battal, we find other names: Takfour and Kanatous and also Asator.

[1] We shall also use the shorter form of that title, viz. Del-Hemma.

Most of these names are perfectly clear, and one can hardly say even that they are distorted: Armanous, for example, the most warlike of these Byzantine Emperors who, after a long series of victories and defeats, twice loses his throne and twice recovers it, to be finally strangled by Alfalougos, is evidently Emperor Romanos Diogenes who, like Armanous, is once taken prisoner by the Moslems. Michael reminds us of Michael Doukas. As to Falougos, his identity with Palæologos had been recognized by Professor Canard. But the French scholar had been puzzled by the name of the great Byzantine dynasty of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries.

Now it suffices to open at random the Byzantine historians of the end of the eleventh century to discover that our Falougos-Palæologos is simply the brother-in-law of Alexios Comnenos, who fought against the Turks in Asia Minor, like his father, who helped Alexios conquer Constantinople and was so active against Robert Guiscard in 1081.

It is not astonishing that, in a confused period so full of usurpers, — Nikephoros Botaniates, Nikephoros Bryennios, Nikephoros Melissenos, some of whom may or may not be looked upon as regular Emperors, — the Arabs should have given the imperial title to powerful generals closely related to the legitimate Emperor, or confused them with the reigning Basileus.

Alfalougos is possibly confused with actual Emperors. When he is spoken of as the son of the Emperor and of the daughter of the King of Georgia, one is reminded of the fact that his brother-in-law, Alexios Comnenos, had been made the adoptive son of Empress Maria, who actually was a Georgian Princess; and when he orders poor Armanous to be strangled, he seems to be confused with Emperor Michael Doukas.

Again, the Del-Hemma speaks of a Moslem called Ghilan "qui passe avec toute sa troupe au camp de l'Empereur où il acquiert une haute situation. Ghilan devient le véritable chef de l'armée byzantine."

This applies to the famous traitor so often mentioned under different names in the Oriental and Byzantine sources. The Byzantines (Bryennios) call him "Chrysoskoulos" or "Chrysokoulos" (and possibly -Koulos Ghilan).[2]

[2] For the Byzantine sources, see the article on the battle of Manzikert by Sauvaget

All this refers us to the same period. Another characteristic name is Bahilak, evidently Basilakis, the famous usurper and adversary of Alexios Comnenos; cf. in the Del-Hemma: "L'Empereur ayant été blessé dans un combat singulier contre Bahilak."[3] Here again, there may be a confusion, for another Basilakis played a doubtful role at Mantzikert.

A still more convincing identification is that of Asator, mentioned by the Sayyid-Battal Romance as being a Byzantine Emperor; we have shown that he was not, but only the most faithful supporter of Romanos Diogenes, the Armenian Khatchatour, commander of the Byzantine troops in Cilicia. This identification has been universally accepted.

As to Takfour, it is simply the Armenian word for Emperor, but it spread everywhere and was accepted by the Turks as an Armenian title or name because of the great many Emperors or would-be Emperors then called Nikephoros.

Finally, *Milas*, the name of the very last Byzantine Emperor in the Del-Hemma, is *Melissenos*, Nikephoros Melissenos, generally overlooked as a Byzantine Emperor, but who had been proclaimed as such by his troops, recognized as such by part of the Turks, and even acknowledged by Alexios Comnenos.

In the Sayyid-Battal, it is not Milas but Kanatous who appears as the last Byzantine Emperor. If his name were not transparent by itself, his deeds would compel us to recognize him. Kanatous succeeds in seizing the throne, thanks to the help of the Turks, to whom he does not remain faithful, for he attacks them with the help of the Frank Serdjail and the Frank Oudj, unmistakably the Crusaders Raymond de Saint Gilles and Hugues de Vermandois, both very famous from 1096 to 1100. The result is that Kanatous, who is bold enough to seize again the offensive against

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in *Byzantion*. I am quoting from C. Cahen's article, "La bataille de Mantzikert d'après les sources orientales," *Byzantion*, IX (1934), 613–642. Mr. Cahen writes about the Turkish refugee (pp. 625–626): "Un chef de la tribu turcomane des Naukya, le beau-frère du sultan Arisiaghi, ou Arisigi. . . ." These two forms of the name are read in different Mss. of the Arab historian Sibt. "Matthieu d'Edesse appelle le personnage Guédrij, forme qui peut résulter de l'interversion de deux mots composants." Cahen thinks of Χρυσόσκουλος, the form used by Bryennios.

[3] For the Del-Hemma, I refer to M. Canard, "Le Delhemma," *Byzantion*, X (1935). My article on Khatchatour, bearing the title "Héros épiques inconnus," appeared in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* II (1934), 451–463.

the Moslems, must be the "restitutor Imperii," *Alexios Comnenos*.

Comnenos is a difficult name subject to many distortions, and, as a matter of fact, almost always distorted, even in Occidental sources (Coninos). But Kanatous at least beautifully and regularly preserves the Greek accent. In modern Turkish, every oxytone Greek word still ends in -ous. Cf. καρπός, karpuz. . . . And as to the change of the last -n to -t, one must not forget that one more dot on the same Arab letter automatically brings it about. So far as Saint-Gilles is concerned, we find him also in the Del-Hemma, under Falougos: "l'on voit intervenir notamment un Roi Franc nommé Shamkhoulis" (cf. Sangelis of the Byzantines).

If all this onomastic material is not sufficient, we shall point to a character called *Bimont*, who once ousts Emperor Armanous. But this Bimont treats the Moslems with such ferocity that the best Arab fighters unite their forces against him. Bimont is naturally Bohemond, so famous in the whole East since his father's war in Epirus in the year 1081.

Most of our identifications are borne out by a partly parallel text which has never been adduced until the present day; it is simply the once too famous Antar Romance which, a century ago, was universally looked upon as the greatest and grandest of epics *überhaupt*.

The star of our romantic poetry, Lamartine, admired it more than Homer and, in spite of the tremendous dimensions of that "magnum opus," many attempts were made in different countries to translate it completely, but all these attempts failed. Even the English translation, which is the longest, contains hardly one third of the whole.

It is one of the scandals of Oriental philology that the Antar Romance, "mehr gelobt als gelesen," remains a kind of virgin soil. Even the best Italian arabist, Nallino, is astonishingly non-committal about the fundamental questions: "L'unica notizia sicura è che, già alla metà del secolo XII di Cristo, il Romanzo godeva di grande popolarità nell'Oriente arabo (Siria e Mesopotamia), popolarità che, almeno in Egitto ed in Siria, si mantenne fino a tutto il secolo XIX. Manca finora uno studio critico dell'opera; la più ampia delle parziali traduzioni Europee e quella di T. Hamilton."

Nevertheless, I think that even a perfunctory perusal, I shall not say of the published "résumés" of the book, but of the only

reliable study of it, that of Bernhard Heller, will enable us to fix, just as in the case of the Dat-el-Hemma and Sayyid-Battal, the date of the latest historical allusions or interpolations.

Antar himself is naturally the pre-islamic poet, but the Romance as we have it clearly represents the conclusion of an evolution of his legend and its spirit is the spirit of the Crusades. But it does not breathe Turkish ferocity like the Sayyid or Dat-el-Hemma. Its atmosphere is more chivalrous. It was conceived and written in Syria or Palestine under the Crusaders and aims at a kind of reconciliation of the two races. In that respect, it is nearer to Digenis than to its two other Moslem counterparts. I am speaking naturally of the last edition, not of the Ur-Antar (says Heller: "Die Umrisse des Ur-Antars lassen sich mit philologischer Wahrscheinlichkeit entwerfen nach dem Schwanengesang in welchem Antar auf sein Leben zurückblickt").

The adventures which are not included in that swan-song belong to the last period; and among them we see the diverse amorous exploits of the Arab hero twice begetting our own Godefroid de Bouillon, for the latter knight appears under two forms: Ghandafar and Kontofre (the Greek transcription).

This *procédé* is exactly that which the author of Digenis uses in order to link together his hero and the Moslem heroes, namely *'Amr*.

Mr. Heller seems to believe that the time-limit is late in the twelfth century. But I think that nothing can be found in the Antar Romance, which could not belong to the end of the eleventh nor the beginning of the XIIth century.

What is Antar's last exploit? He kills . . . Bohemond, and rescues Rome besieged by the latter. He does that as an ally of the Byzantine Emperor, as an ally of the King of Rome called Balkâm. One remembers that the killing of Bohemond, the greatest enemy of both the Byzantines and the Moslems, was mentioned also in the Del-Hemma, where it is said to be the merit of Del-Hemma herself. It is an epic law that the supreme victory over the national enemy "number" one must be kept in store for the greatest hero of the "geste." In the German epic, it is always the insuperable Dietrich von Berne or Theodoric of Verona who survives all other champions.

Antar, the Arab knight par excellence, saves Byzantium and

Rome and kills the great Norman Bohemond. This is certainly a direct echo of the alliance of the Byzantine Empire with Moslem states and princes in their fight against the Normans. And if we had the slightest doubt about that, that doubt would be suppressed by the very names of the relatives of Bohemond: Mubert, Subert, Kubert. History is so vaguely known to philologists that even Heller has not seen the truth: "hier haben wir es mit einer Gruppe von Namen auf *-bert* zu tun. Tatsächlich ist dies vielleicht die häufigste Endung der altfranzösischen Namen (Aubert, Dagobert, Engelbert . . .)" and he cites a dozen of other similar names, forgetting that Bohemond's father was Robert (Guiscard).

Antar's expedition as an ally of Byzantium is simply Alexios Comnenos' and Palæologos' war against Robert and Bohemond: and this at once clears up the name of the King of Rome, or of the Romans, Balkâm, who is Palæologos himself, but under the French form of Baligan.

The Antar Romance thus affords us an unexpected confirmation of our identification of Paleologos with Baligan in the *Chanson de Roland*. In the Syria of the Crusaders, evidently, the famous war of 1081–1085, celebrated by the French trouvères, inspired the Arab novelist, and we may conclude that the Antar Romance was completed exactly at the same period as the other epics aforementioned.

We shall now return to the *Chanson de Roland* itself and try to use the conclusions reached by us to solve some of the problems of the French Iliad.

I repeat that the use of the comparative method seems a priori justified because of the strikingly similar conditions in which that epic arose and grew. Digenis, the historical Digenis, fell in a fight against the Arabs of Asia Minor in the year 788; Roland, in 778. We may add that Sayyid-Battal's death is only 40 years older.

Both the Byzantine and Moslem gestes, but especially the Moslem, were revived in Seldjouk times and came to an end after the serious set-back inflicted upon the Seldjouks by the Crusaders. They were not revived, however, by the glorious age of Saladin, nor by the rise of the Ottomans. In other words, the Moslem epic was fixed some time after 1100.

If this be so, and we have proved that it cannot be gainsaid,

we shall be struck by the similarity in the development of the French geste. So far as the *Chanson de Roland* is concerned, the two schools which advocate either a date before 1100 or a date after 1100 agree fundamentally about the chronological question. Nobody has ever thought of dating the present chanson much later than 1100, or much earlier than 1085. Roughly speaking, we may and must state that operating in two widely separated fields and using altogether different methods, two groups of scholars have been led, or rather compelled to ascribe almost the same chronological starting point and almost the same terminus to their particular *matière epique*.

Now, while we know all about the successive forms, editions, *remaniements* of the Greek poem of Digenis, and as we clearly see how the last edition of the Moslem Romance came about (the main difference between both is that the Greek epic was certainly crystallized about the year 1000, while the Moslem Romance, mainly composed of seventh, eighth, ninth century stuff, was remodeled under the influence of events of the late XIth), there are many conflicting theories about the making of the *Chanson de Roland*; and perhaps the experience or skill gained through our study of the oriental epics will enable us to choose between those conflicting doctrines and systems and provide us with some clues hitherto unknown to our learned colleagues the Romanists.

One thinks perhaps of the question of the *Cantilènes*. But I shall not now enter into that question, although I believe that it is very simple, and that we cannot account for the rise of any epic without assuming that primitive form of *Chansons de Geste*, so well borne out in the Byzantine field.

I shall limit myself to another problem; our *Chanson de Roland*, according to Bédier, is "un poème d'un seul jet," written for the first time and created almost "ex nihilo" by a French poet, shortly after 1100, under the fresh and powerful influence of the crusading spirit. Bédier denies that there was ever any other *Chanson de Roland* in existence before that date. He particularly hates, ridicules and rejects the very conception of a *Chanson* of, let us say, about 1010 or so. He rejects as legendary the clear-cut statement according to which the *Chanson* was sung at Hastings in 1066 by Tailfer.[4]

[4] The testimony of Wace, writing about 1160 in his *Geste des Normands* is borne

Almost all those who, in recent years, have approached the problem from the historical side, and above all Ferdinand Lot and Fawtier, came to the conclusion that Bédier was entirely wrong, and that there are many particulars in the *Chanson* which point to historical facts and surroundings of the end of the Xth and the beginning of the XIth century: for instance, the mention of *Laon*. Laon was the capital of the Carolingians in the Xth century, from the reign of Charles the Simple on. See laisse 207, which begins

> Amis Rolanz, jo m'en irai en France:
> Com jo sorai a Loon en ma chambre. . . .

According to Fawtier and Lot, this is redolent of the first quarter of the XIth century, whereas the following laisse, which mentions *Aix*, seems to revert to the historical truth, and, moreover, by its curious enumeration of the conquests of Robert Guiscard,

> Romain, Poillain, e tuit cil de Palerne,
> E cil d'Afrique e cil de Califerne,

proves that it was written at the end of the XIth century.

Of course we know the too easy rejoinder of stubborn unitarians (in the philological sense of the word), who would make us believe that the laisses similaires are "un procédé littéraire et rien de plus." But everything has been said "pro and contra" on that subject. My aim and my duty are only to lay before you new and, I hope, conclusive and decisive evidence proving that our French *Chanson* in its final form cannot even be conceived unless one bears in mind historical events of the sixties, seventies, and

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out by or goes back to William of Malmesbury (1120–1127) who speaks of a "cantilena Rolandi" at Roncevaux (cf. Jenkins p. 43 and p. 9). Here is the text of William: "Tunc cantilena Rollandi inchoata ut Martium viri exemplum pugnaturos accenderet inclamatoque Dei auxilio proelium consertum." This testimony, which cannot really be disposed of in good faith, suffices to annihilate Bédier's theory or theories, for either "cantilena" refers to some earlier edition of our poem, as we believe, or else it designates some kind of ballad. Now both assumptions, and especially the latter, are "ein Greuel" to Bédier! Cf. my articles on the Chanson de Roland: "La Chanson de Roland et Byzance, ou de l'utilité du Grec pour les Romanistes," *Byzantion*, XIV (1939), 265–315. (With the collaboration of M. R. de Keyser); cf. *ibid.*, pp. 689–691; "La Chanson de l'an 1085 ou l'étymologie de Baligant et de Califerne," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, XXV (1939), 211 ff.; "The actual date and the true historical background of the Chanson de Roland," *Belgium*, April 2, 1942, pp. 59–64, "Les dieux Cahu, Baraton, Tervagant etc.," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* (1939–1944), p. 451 ff.

eighties of the eleventh century, and second, that this *Chanson* itself is a new edition of an older one, based on folk-songs or, at any rate, older stuff, but certainly later in its full conception than the year 1002 and prior to the battle of Hastings.

The first point, I think, is sufficiently demonstrated in my four publications on the *Chanson de Roland*, the first article in *Byzantion*, the lengthy Mémoire in the *Bulletin de l'Académie*, the short but, I hope, useful summary with some new texts and facts, which recently appeared in our periodical *Belgium* and the paper on Tervagant and other "Moslem Gods" which has lately appeared in our *Annuaire*.

My theory may be summarized in a few lines. The Baligan [5] episode is conspicuous for what the Germans would call a "Völkertafel," a catalogue of thirty pagan nations or places from which new Moslem enemies are supposed to come in order to rescue Marsile of Saragossa and to repulse Charlemagne after he had already avenged Roland, and cut the Arabs of Spain proper to pieces. This *Völkertafel* has never been properly studied and still less understood; everyone had failed to recognize that it was largely consistent, that it constituted a coherent whole, with no fanciful names at all. Never has the anti-historical bias of a Bédier shown itself so poor and so barren. Never has, on the contrary, the sound historical sense of a Gaston Paris appeared more justified and more prophetic. But both, and the whole crowd of international romanists, have always lacked the necessary knowledge of Eastern, or rather of Byzantine history, to solve a very simple problem. The host of Baligan is composed of thrice ten battalions or escheles and that which heads the first group is composed of "cels de Butentrot." The Butentrot problem and its discussion will remain as one of the disgraces upon Romance studies, and will prove forever that nothing can be achieved in the field of *Literaturgeschichte* without historical training.

The lamentable wavering between the two Butentrots, that of Epirus and that of Cilicia, to which American scholarship has contributed a great deal, was quite useless. If Butentrot dominates, as it does, a whole warlike episode, it must be because some great event took place there. The discovery of the battle of Butentrot, overlooked by all historians, although twenty lines of

[5] Or, *Baligant*.

the Latin epic of William of Apulia were dedicated to it, has shown that the name was not chosen at random by the trouvère. The battle of Butentrot, opposite Corfu, in 1081 was the first clash on the Greek mainland between a sea-borne invasion army coming from Italy and the defenders of the Greek soil. It was the first hostile conflict in the Balkan peninsula between West and East since very olden times, since the last days of the Roman Republic. And that momentous event was apt to strike the imagination of its contemporaries for many reasons; first, the ignorant and ambitious Normans of Robert Guiscard were under the impression that they were beginning the most daring and the most fruitful conquest, that of the older and richer part of the world, full of wealth, of luxury, of treasures, of marvels; second, they had been led to believe that their war was a holy war, the First Crusade. They were fighting under the standard of Saint Peter against a mixed army composed of almost countless national elements, most of them barbarous and pagan, which circumstances lent color to the pretense of Robert that he was a Crusader. The vanguard of the Byzantine army, which was repulsed near Butentrot, was composed of 2000 Turks!

Of course, for the past 10 or 15 years Norman chieftains and Norman rank-and-file had been fighting the Turks or with the Turks in Asia Minor, with the Byzantine armies or as rebellious units against them; it will suffice to name the names of Robert Crispin and of Roussel or Oursel de Bailleul and to recall the ephemeral States founded by them in Cappadocia and Pontus.

But it was the first time that the big Italo-Norman army came in touch with those dreaded fighters, and it must be acknowledged that their use, as well as that of the savage Patzinaks as auxiliary troops by the Byzantines, seemed to justify Western prejudice against that so-called Roman Empire of the East, which was notoriously schismatic since the fatal year 1054, and which did not refrain from seeking the support of the worst enemies of our faith.

The very name of Butentrot thus evoked the warlike opening of a great historical drama, that of the Crusades. But, viewed from the Norman side, with Norman bias, it appeared as a contest for the conquest of the Byzantine Empire, a program which materialized in 1203, after four Norman attempts, by Guiscard in 1081–1085, by Bohemond in 1106, that by Roger II in 1147, that of William II in 1185.

Butentrot is a poetical prelude to three or four great wars. That name, as we say in French, "est tout un programme" and its significance is made unmistakable by the overwhelming majority of the 29 other names, some of which, like Jericho, Canineis, Glos (Glossa), Bali, are in Epirus, or are Epirus itself (terre de Bire). And the rest are the Greek or foreign regiments of any Byzantine army of the end of the XIth century, named in every Charter or Chrysobull of those times and in many passages of the historians.

From the Patzinaks to the Serbs, from the Turks to the Persians, from the Armenians to the Valachians, or Bulgarians (the people of Samuel), not to speak of the old native regiment of the Opsicians (Occian) or of the curious Argoiles (Argolici).

Most of those names had been recognized and identified at least by somebody. Many people had rightly guessed what Butentrot was. Tavernier had understood "terre de Bire." Even in the notes of Jenkins, you will find somewhere, half hidden and naturally rejected with contempt, the idea that Jericho was in Epirus too. Even the most difficult names had been deciphered, including Occian, Opsicianus (Jenkins, p. 225), including Argoilles, for Jenkins says, p. 229: "Argoilles: Not identified. The occurrence of the name at v. 3474 in company with *Occiant* (see v. 3246) and *Bascle* (see v. 3474) may indicate that Argoille is at no great distance from these. The word seems to represent *Argolica*." But here, naturally, Jenkins loses the track: "besides Argolis in Greece, there were cities of Argos in Asia Minor, in Cilicia Minor and in Lycaonia. . . ." The explanation is quite different. If the Baligant episode lists a troop of Argoilles, it is because, after all, there were some . . . Greeks in the Greek army and the Greeks are called Argolici by William of Apulia.[6]

William of Apulia's poem, written about 1099, ends with the death of Robert Guiscard and was extant at le Bec and Mont

[6] Argoilles are mentioned three times in the *Chanson*, always in the Baligant episode: 3259, 3474, 3527. This is decisive, because it once more stresses the close connection between our *Chanson* with the Baligant episode and the *Gesta Roberti* written by William of Apulia at the end of the eleventh century. The unique manuscript of this Latin epic is to be found at Avranches and comes from the Abbaye of Mont Saint Michel, while another manuscript, now lost, belonged to the Abbaye of Le Bec. This will strike all students of Roland: the names of Saint Michel and Le Bec are constantly quoted in books dealing with the *Chanson*, the origin of which is so clearly Norman. An *Argolicus exercitus* is mentioned by Liudprand of Cremana, *Scriptores rerum germ. in usum Schol.*, ed. Becker (1915), p. 191.

Saint Michel. Now we know that *Turoldus*, last redactor of the Roland (see v. 4002) was either Turoldus de Burgo, son or nephew of Bishop Odon of Bayeux, half-brother of the conqueror, and later Abbot of Peterborough (dead 1098), or Turoldus of Envermeu, who became Bishop of Bayeux after Odo (who died at Palermo in 1097) and afterwards a monk in the Monastery of Le Bec (1093–1124).

The exact date of his death is unknown. We shall not today try to liquidate the Turoldus question. But it is sufficiently clear that the author of the Baligant-Roland was a Norman, chiefly interested in the Balkan wars of Robert and Bohemond, and it is equally evident that he could not have been so completely absorbed by this Greek incident, if he had written after the first Crusade proper. The use by him of a learned source like William's poem is decisively proved by the word Argoilles. Only a learned poet could use such an artificial expression.[7]

Our thesis, I think, will be generally accepted: Roland, with Baligant, belongs to the end of the XIth century. But we must prove our second thesis, which is that of Fawtier and Lot: the author of the Roland-Baligant added the Balkanic episode to an older poem, shorter, the conclusion of which was the defeat of Marsile and Ganelon's punishment, coming immediately after the victory recounted in laisse 179.

This thesis is almost self-evident. If one accepts both my date for our Chanson and the fact that it was sung at Hastings, it is clear that Baligant is a late embellishment; and I need not recall that this appears evident, too, for a great many philological reasons. But it is proved or confirmed in the most impressive way by the existence of that Latin poem, the *Carmen de Proditione Guenonis*, which is obviously a latinization (quite similar to the *Waltharius*) of the older Chanson.

Now, in the *Carmen* there is no Baligan-episode at all. We may safely revert to the commonsense-solution of the problem, which is really not a problem: we are happy enough to possess in the *Carmen* at least a résumé of the Roland which we have postulated

[7] It is true that William's poem seems to know the capture of Jerusalem. But this is a quite isolated mention, probably interpolated. The poem, like the *Chanson*, is uninfluenced by the great events which, naturally, no comparison being possible between the capture of Jericho in Epirus and the siege of Jerusalem, plunged the former story into oblivion.

and which everything compels us to assume: a Roland prior to Hastings and which we may date from 1025 to 1040.

An even more important date now requires determination: the *terminus post quem* the older Roland himself must have been written.

It is clear that the older poem was already characterized by the name of Marsile given to the adversary of Charlemagne, to the Moslem Charlemagne. Of course, Marsile is not a relic of the oldest period of the epic: there is no Marsile in the history of Moslem Spain, in the 8th or 9th century.

Other *Chansons de Geste*, like those of the Guillaume d'Orange cycle, more faithful to history, speak of Deramé, which is naturally Abd-er-Rahman. Why then Marsile? It must point to a more recent period of strife between Islam and Christendom. It is the familiar anachronism, by which, from time to time the epic is rejuvenated.[8]

Let us recall the constant appearance of later heroes in the Byzantine and Moslem epics; like Laon, it may point to the history of the Xth century, and once we accept that possibility, the riddle is solved, for there is only one really famous, universally known name of a Moslem ruler of Spain, after Abd-er-Rahman. It is Al-Mansour, who, one must not forget it, wrested Catalonia from the Franks. Al-Mansour, which means "the victorious," was not of royal origin. His real name was Ibn Abi Amir.

In spite of his heroic achievements, in spite of the fact that he had reconquered a large part of Christian Spain and seemed about to liquidate the last independent States in the Peninsula, it was morally impossible for him to become a calif. Of course, he never ceased to aim at that supreme consecration of his merits and fame and, in February or March 997, it looked as though he had attained his goal, for the calif Hisham II resigned. But his resignation could not be accepted and Al-Mansour was soon compelled to

[8] Another name for a Moslem chieftain is the famous Thibaud, the adversary of Guillaume d'Orange. We shall prove that this name did not deserve to be ridiculed by Bédier. For Tedbalt l'Esturman = Thibaut d'Arabie, or l'Escler, or l'Esclavon (see *La Chançun de Willame*, ed. E. S. Tyler, New York; Oxford University Press, 1919, p. 172) is really the king of the Teutons, Teutobodus, *alias* Teutobochus, who was supposed to have been vanquished and slain at Orange. Guillaume de Toulouse became Guillaume d'Orange because he was credited with Marius' victories. This is a beautiful example of the role played by Roman monuments, connected with classical and local traditions, in the rise of mediaeval epics.

allow Hisham to appear in public "coiffé du haut bonnet que les califes seuls avaient le droit de porter." [9]

Marsile is the very name of Mansour, scarcely altered.

It is well known that *r* and *l*, especially as pronounced in Arabic, are often confused in the Western languages and the same remark applies to *i* and *u*. To limit ourselves to the Chanson de Roland, we shall quote only a very characteristic parallel. In verse 3131 and again 3191, we find a Syrian messenger called both times "uns Sulians" (viz: Syrianus). Here too, we have the equation u = i in an Oriental name.

But the best proof perhaps that Marsile is Mansour, the most dreaded enemy of the Christians who ever ruled in Spain, is afforded by the curious passages of the epic where he appears along with another character called Al-Galife, the Calif.

These passages have always been so many puzzles to all commentators, because "Al-Galife" is nowhere properly introduced, but taken for granted, so to speak, and considered to be a kind of President of Marsile's counsel. His first speech is rather contemptuous for Marsile (laisse 35). After a warrantable fit of anger, furious at a defiant speech of Ganelon "the best of the Sarrasins prevailed upon Marsile to sit down again on his throne."

> Dist l'algalifes: "Mal nos avez baillit
> Que lo Franceis asmastes a ferir:
> Lui doüssiez escolter ed odir."

"You did us a bad turn in making to strike the Frenchman. You should have listened to him, attended to his words." [10]

And it is to the Calif, who acts as a kind of wise umpire, desirous of mending Ganelon's "gaffes," that the Frenchman replies, not to Marsile. There are still six passages where we find Algalife. Verse 505 in Marsile's Council held in that famous orchard, we find:

> Ses meillors homes meinet ensemble od sei,
> E Blancandrins i vint a l chanut peil,
> E Jurfalés ki est sis filz ed heirs,
> E l'algalifes, sis oncles e fedeilz.

[9] About Al-Mansour, see naturally R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new edition by Levy-Provençal, II (1932), 200 ff. Page 222, Ibn Abi Amir becomes Hadjib or chamberlain. Page 251, "il était donc Roi et n'était pas encore Calife." Page 255, resignation of the Calif. Page 256, the Calif is made to appear in public. Page 263, death of Al-Mansour and Christian legend about it. His end, according to that legend (he is defeated by the Christians and goes to hell), closely resembles Marsile's end in the *Chanson*.

[10] Mrs. Sherwood's translation.

Shortly before, v. 493, Marsile declares that Charlemagne wants to receive his uncle the Algalife as a hostage (which does not seem to be Charlemagne's genuine claim, at least it had never been mentioned before by any Moslem or Christian character of the Chanson). — But, v. 681, Ganelon, in his false report to Charlemagne, seems to assume that the claim had been made and accepted, for he invents an excuse for the fact that he does not bring the Algalife among the hostages. He reports that he was drowned before his eyes in a tempest which caused his ship to be sunk.

Algalife reappears, v. 1914, where he remains to confront the French at Roncevaux after Marsile's flight [11] and the same Algalife, vers 1943, mortally wounds Oliver in the back, to be slain by Oliver shortly before the latter's death.

The role of the Calif has prompted many doubts and his relationship to Marsile has been spoken of as puzzling and obscure. But, if we accept that Marsile is Al-Mansour, then everything becomes clear; it was a touch of local color, for a poet acquainted with Spanish Moslem affairs at the beginning of the XIth century, to assume the coexistence and, as it were, the joint rule of two sovereigns, the King and the Calif.

Of course, this was not, or no longer understood at the end of the eleventh century and from that time evidently dates a passage like 1913 ff., where the Calif is represented as a foreign ruler. (In Spain the title was discontinued after 1060):

> Remés i est sis oncles l'algalifes,
> Ki tint Kartágene, Alferne e Garmalie,
> Ed Ethiope une tere maldite:
> La neire gent en at en sa baillie.

For many reasons, these verses are to be connected with the counter-offensive of the African Moslems under Yusuf in the eighties of the XIth century.

But Algalife, certainly, belongs, along with Marsile, to the older Chanson.

I shall not enlarge in this paper upon many details which bear out our thesis. Let me say only that an important episode which, like that of Baligant, is absent from the *Carmen de Proditione Guenonis*, appears to be like it an interpolation of the end of the XIth century. It is the *Blancandrin* episode. Blancandrin de

[11] From now on, the Oxford manuscript, probably thinking that Algalife is drowned, speaks of Marganice.

Valfunde is the wisest adviser of the Moslem King. He proposes to send an Embassy to Charlemagne to appease him and to promise on behalf of King Marsile to turn Christian.

He himself heads the delegation, addresses Charlemagne, promising hostages and everything. One knows that that embassy seems to constitute a "double emploi" with Charlemagne's own embassy, headed by Ganelon, which is essential to the story. Blancandrin's role has always seemed suspicious. It must have been added at a late period for some peculiar reason. It is curious that he is utterly forgotten in the different battles and never again mentioned. For that reason, we are convinced, like Fawtier, that here is again a name famous about 1080–1085, which crept in into the *Chanson.* Now, from 1075 to 1092, the most famous character of Moslem Spain was certainly Ben Yahya-Alkadir, first King of Toledo from 1075 to 1085, and after that date, by the favor of Alfonso the VIth to whom he had bowed (just as Blancandrin proposes to bow to Charles), King of Valencia. It is striking that Blancandrin (Ben-Alkadir), is said to be of Valfunde (it is well known that many historical names are fancifully altered in their final part to fit the assonance, and it even happens that, because of different assonances, they appear in 2 laisses in 2 different forms). The Alkadir of history was a very influential but also unreliable figure, oscillating between Christians and Moslems with great skill and, probably with full right, suspect to both camps.

But he seems to have been extremely dignified, "wise," that is to say, smart, learned and scholarly. The author of what we may call the Blancandrin episode, while he presents him as a wily and treacherous envoy and uses him to seduce Ganelon, seems to admire his wisdom after all in the service of his own cause, and the whole character is drawn according to this sketch at the beginning of laisse 3:

> Blancandrins fut des plus sávies paiens,
> De vasselage fut asez chevaliers:
> Prodome i out por son seignor aidier. . . .[12]

We may add another Moslem name: Jurfaleu or Jurfalé or Jurfaré (again the alternation L,R). Verse 504, Jurfalé is men-

[12] About the career of Alkadir-Blancandrin, consult Dozy, edition Levy Provençal, III, 118, 120–122, 132, 227–228, 239 and 240.

tioned as the son and heir of Marsile, and it is remarkable that one of the last Moslem kings of Valencia, before the conquest of that town by the Cid was King Jafar, 1092–1095.

I also find in Menendez's book, p. 307, the Palace of Aljaferia in Saragossa, from Abu-Djafar, end of the XIth century.[13]

These examples will suffice. Those who maintain that there is no history at all in medieval epics, that the names of the principal characters are either fanciful or, if historic, prove nothing, should acknowledge that he who does not find anything historical in the *Chanson de Geste* is generally a pure philologist who knows history only from current text books. Menéndez Pidal has shown that the closer study of history is always, not likely, but sure to clear up more puzzles in the medieval poems. Of course, Al-Mansour has almost nothing in common with the traditional adversary of Charlemagne, but a poem where that adversary is called after Al-Mansour, who died in the year 1002, and who was immediately represented by Christian epic legend as having been slain in a disastrous battle must belong to the first half of the eleventh century, while the Balkanic and Guiscardian background of the Baligant episode, and many a trait of Spanish history, like Balaguer besieged about 1080,[14] or the role of Blancandrin-Alkadir, point to those years of epic struggles in Catalonia and in Epirus, when the crusading spirit which led to the true Crusades stimulated the trouveres and jongleurs and invited them to rejuvenate the old and familiar songs by fresh memories and timely names of strange places and strange men.

To wind up, may I praise once more the insight of Gaston Paris, who said, speaking of the names in the *Chanson de Roland*, so unjustly belittled by Joseph Bédier: "je crois que ces noms se rattachent tous à quelque souvenir et à quelque tradition." But perhaps I should praise not only Gaston Paris, but also the creative genius of those fighting and singing Normans to whom we owe two French epopees:

"Celle qu'ils ont jadis écrite avec le glaive"

[13] See also Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, English translation by Harold Sunderland, London 1934, p. 178, about the palace in Saragossa called *al Jaferia*: It was he (a local ruler), 1046–1081, who gave his first name of *Abu Jafar* to the handsome *al Jaferia* palace on the outskirts of the city.

[14] Balaguet, Balasguet, vers 63, 200, 894; "Balaguer en Catalogne sur la Sègre,

and that which Tailfer and Turoldus "allaient chantant" . . . Nobody will be astonished to find in the *Chanson* pêle-mêle, as we say, in a kind of geographical and historical topsy-turvy, echoes of Catalonian, south-Italian, Albanian, and even Asiatic battlefields: Balaguer and Berbegal (Brigal) near Barbastro, Palermo and Butentrot, Cappadoce and Lycanor.

Let us remember that the same men very often had fought in Spain, in Southern Italy, in Sicily, in Albania, and had finally tried to found a principality before the Crusade proper in Cappadocia, Lycaonia, or Pontus, like Robert Crispin and Oursel de Bailleul.[15] It is in the wake of splendid adventurers like these that we must look either for the trouvère himself, or rather for those whose vivid tales inspired the new laisse of the final *Chanson de Roland*, the édition définitive of that masterpiece, so precisely dated and so important for history.

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aujourd'hui encore prononcé Balaguet." As Bédier says, III, 371, and Jenkins repeats, p. 31, its fame in France dates from the 5 years' siege it underwent during the French expedition of 1085.

[15] On the Normans in Asia Minor, see G. Schlumberger, "Deux chefs normands des armées byzantines au XIe siècle," *Revue Historique*, VI (1881), 289–303.

BOOK REVIEWS

G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates* (Munich: Beck, 1940). Cloth. Pp. xix, 448. Huit cartes, dont deux dans le texte.

A cette heure où l'importance géographique et historique de Byzance-Constantinople-Istanbul se révèle une fois de plus décisive, et où la question des détroits domine le conflit européen et mondial, à cette heure où les domaines, jadis byzantins, ceux d'Europe comme ceux d'Asie, sont de nouveau l'axe du monde civilisé, il n'est plus besoin sans doute de chercher des excuses à nos études, de plaider pour l'histoire byzantine. Celle-ci est décidément réintroduite par la force même de l'actualité dans la culture générale, même en Amérique. Ce n'est pas un paradoxe de dire que les Etats-Unis n'accueilleraient pas avec une stupeur inerte la prise de Constantinople comme ce fut le cas pour l'Europe Occidentale de 1453.

Quoiqu'il en soit, en plusieurs langues et dans plusieurs pays, des Histoires Byzantines complètes, synthétiques et détaillées, ont paru coup sur coup, depuis quelques mois. Nous avons rendu compte ici même du nouveau *Vasiliev*, de la dernière histoire byzantine de *Charles Diehl*; dans le fascicule précédent de *Byzantion*, M. P. Charanis a analysé l'excellent ouvrage en grec moderne de M. Constantin Amandos, et M. Vasiliev lui-même, le louable essai de l'Ukrainien soviétique *Levčenko*, premier balbutiement de la Byzantinologie russe, autrefois si florissante, après 25 années de mortel silence. Enfin, par une coïncidence tragique, et dont le sympathique auteur est bien innocent, nous venons de recevoir en Amérique la synthèse longtemps attendue, avec une impatiente confiance si l'on peut dire, de *Georges Ostrogorsky*, rédigée en allemand, imprimée en Allemagne, comme erster Teil, zweiter Band, d'un *Byzantinisches Handbuch*.[1]

M. Georges Ostrogorsky est bien connu de nos lecteurs. Tout le monde sait que depuis 1933 il est professeur d'Histoire Byzantine à l'Université de Belgrade, et qu'il est né en Russie. Le fait qu'il ait été chargé depuis longtemps de renouveler ou plutôt de remplacer l'*Abriss der Byzantinische Kaisergeschichte* qui termine la seconde édition (1897) de la *Byzantinische Literaturgeschichte* de Karl Krumbacher, prouve à la fois

[1] Im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft, begründet von Iwan von Müller, herausgegeben von Walter Otto, zwölfte Abteilung, erster Teil, zweiter Band; Beck. München 1940. Mit 8 Karten, davon 2 im Text. Ce compte-rendu a été écrit au printemps de 1941.

combien sa compétence était reconnue jusque dans le centre allemand des études byzantines, et (je veux, même et surtout dans ce moment plus que tragique, rendre hommage à la vérité) comment certains universitaires allemands, chargés de la publication de ce *Handbuch*, réussirent à éluder, en faveur d'Ostrogorsky, certains paragraphes odieux. On me comprendra à demi-mot. Ajoutons que le livre était imprimé entièrement au moment où la nouvelle guerre mondiale éclata. Je puis l'attester, en ayant vu les épreuves à Belgrade, chez l'auteur, en juillet 1939. Le manuscrit lui-même était prêt depuis la fin de l'année 1937.

Au verso de la page XIX, on trouvera des "Nachträge" où sont cités quelques travaux très récents, dont notre dernier "Mémoire sur la Chanson de Roland," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, XXV (1939), paru en janvier 1940, et deux articles qui portent la date de 1940, mais que l'auteur avait pu lire sur épreuves à la fin de 1939 déjà. Ce sont ceux de: D. Anastasijević: "Carskij god v Vizantii," *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, XI (1940), et V. Corović, "Pitanje o hronologiji u delima Sv. Save," *Godišnjica* (1940).

On voit que, si son livre a vu le jour après le début de la catastrophe mondiale, et si la conscience professionnelle de l'auteur a pu y insérer à la dernière minute des références qui lui donnent le cachet de l'actualité scientifique, il s'agit d'une oeuvre mûrie longtemps avant les angoissantes préoccupations d'aujourd'hui, à une époque où, un an avant Munich, je précise, l'on pouvait croire en Allemagne et ailleurs (avec beaucoup d'optimisme, il est vrai) non seulement que la paix européenne ne serait pas troublée, mais encore que les outrances de certains régimes finiraient par s'atténuer.

Nous pouvons bien révéler qu'en ces temps d'illusion généreuse, la collaboration au *Handbuch* de Georges Ostrogorsky (professeur à Breslau jusqu'en 1933) était considérée comme un heureux présage.

Retenons ce présage en dépit de tout et félicitons-nous de posséder enfin un véritable manuel scientifique d'Histoire Byzantine, écrit par un homme qui possède toutes les qualités requises en l'occurrence, et notamment une souveraine clarté de pensée et d'expression, et, en dépit de l'originalité de ses conceptions, une objectivité aujourd'hui très rare.

Nous avons admiré particulièrement l'équité et l'urbanité avec quoi M. Ostrogorsky, en exposant les controverses auxquelles il a été mêlé personnellement, fait leur part aux théories de ses adversaires et même de contradicteurs acharnés et sans mesure. Ajoutons que dans une préface de quatre pages, l'éditeur du *Handbuch*, le professeur Walter Otto, fait l'histoire de cette entreprise scientifique. C'est le mérite de M. Otto d'avoir dépassé en quelque sorte le Krumbacher en substituant à son *Histoire de la Littérature Byzantine* un *Manuel Byzantin*: "qui

doit montrer aux investigateurs de l'Antiquité proprement dite (*Altertumsforscher*), comment tout ce qui a été créé par le génie grec, le génie romain, et le génie de l'antique Orient, survit dans l'Empire Byzantin," bien que l'Etat byzantin et sa culture ne doivent pas être considérés uniquement comme une suite du monde ancien, mais comme une unité culturelle neuve et indépendante. En conséquence, "à côté de la littérature, le milieu géographique, le peuple, la langue, l'Etat, son développement, sa constitution, son administration, son économie, l'Eglise et l'Art, devaient être envisagés, décrits, étudiés." Karl Krumbacher avait fait commencer son histoire littéraire avec le VIème siècle, le siècle de Justinien; c'était là une grave erreur qui sera réparée dans le nouveau *Handbuch*, où le IVe et le Ve siècle après J.-C. seront traités avec plus ou moins de développement, comme constituant, au moins pour Byzance, la période des origines.

La plupart des collaborateurs désignés pour le *Handbuch* sont morts avant d'avoir terminé ou même entrepris leur tâche. Finalement trois hommes furent chargés de rédiger l'histoire de Byzance: MM. Fels et Dölger acceptèrent d'écrire les chapitres intitulés: "Land, Volk und Sprache." Ces chapitres devaient figurer en tête de l'ouvrage qui nous est présenté aujourd'hui. Mais ces deux auteurs n'ayant pu être prêts à temps, M. Otto s'est décidé à faire paraître d'abord la partie rédigée par M. Ostrogorsky seul, sous le titre de *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates*, et il écrit, à la page VIII de son Introduction "Cette partie est donc publiée comme second volume de la Ière section, bien que le premier volume (dont nous espérons qu'il suivra beintôt) soit indispensable à l'intelligence de l'histoire de l'Empire Byzantin proprement dite. Ensuite viendra la seconde section (dont les auteurs ne sont pas nommés) et qui nous parlera entre autres de l'Eglise, de la Théologie, de l'Art."

Il serait prématuré de discuter ce plan qui peut-être subira encore des modifications, et il serait vain d'exprimer aucun regret au sujet des vicissitudes de la publication ou des tribulations des auteurs. C'est le cas de dire avec les Anciens: "*στέργε τὰ παρόντα. . . .*"

Le livre de M. Ostrogorsky, pour commencer par la fin, se distingue avantageusement de ses prédécesseurs et de ses rivaux par 8 cartes dont 2 dans le texte.

Ce sont: (1) l'Empire de Justinien vers 565 (d'après *Uspenski*)
(2) l'organisation des thèmes d'Asie Mineure des VIIe au IXe siècle (d'après *Gelzer* et *Ostrogorsky*).
(3) le premier royaume bulgare (d'après *Zlatarski*, *Runciman* et *Ostrogorsky*).
(4) le royaume de Basile II (d'après une esquisse d'*Ostrogorsky*).
(5) le royaume des Comnènes (d'après la *Cambridge Mediaeval History* et *Ostrogorsky*).

(6) l'époque de la domination latine à Constantinople (d'après une esquisse d'Ostrogorsky).
(7) le royaume serke des Nemanides (d'après *St. Stanojević*).
(8) la décadence de l'Empire Byzantin au XIVe siècle (d'après une esquisse d'*Ostrogorsky*).

Toutes ces cartes valent par leur caractère schématique: ce sont des croquis, mais des croquis très éloquents, qui, grâce à un emploi judicieux et parlant de diverses couleurs, pointillés, liserés et hachures, font apparaître au premier coup d'oeil bien des traits que les spécialistes eux-mêmes de l'histoire byzantine ne réalisent pas toujours. Ainsi, dans la carte de l'Empire de Justinien, le tracé tout en ourlet côtier de l'Afrique reconquise, la figure de l'Espagne byzantine, Cordoue, Carthagène, Baléares et la frontière orientale de la Lazique à l'Euphrate. La carte des thèmes (jusqu'au IXe siècle) montre bien l'histoire du morcellement de l'Opsikion, des Anatoliques et de l'Armeniakon. La carte du royaume bulgare, tout en noir, est un peu moins claire et moins directe; ici M. Ostrogorsky me permettra de lui rappeler une amicale controverse toute récente: le tracé méridional de la frontière de Symeon, si dangereusement proche des villes byzantines de Berrhoea, Thessalonique, Seres, Andrinople et Constantinople même, et dont nous savons qu'il était marqué par des bornes au nom d'un ΟΛΓΟΥ ΤΑΡΧΑΝΟΥ a tout de même dû contribuer (j'en reste persuadé), à créer la légende de l'expédition d'Oleg contre Constantinople.

La carte de l'Empire des Comnènes est bonne, bien qu'un carton eût été nécessaire, à notre avis, pour illustrer le grand "rétablissement" d'Alexis I, de 1081 à 1118.

On regrette aussi l'absence d'un ou deux croquis montrant les progrès de la conquête turque et les éphémères formations territoriales dans la période qui va de Mantzikert aux Croisades. En revanche, la carte illustrant les suites de la IVe croisade, et qui est l'oeuvre personnelle de l'auteur, est parfaite. Elle fera comprendre aux plus profanes le rôle dévolu dans le rétablissement de l'Empire grec, aux deux pays de marche, aux terres d'Akrites, en apparence destinées à disparaître les premières, sous les coups des Latins, des Bulgares, des Serbes et des Turcs, et qui ont servi de point d'appui à la reconquête et à la restauration sous les Anges, sous les Lascarides, et sous les Paléologues, précisément, parce que depuis des siècles la population y avait été entraînée à la lutte directe contre les ennemis d'Orient et d'Occident, et sans cesse renforcés d'auxiliaires de toutes races.

Il reste cependant, même chez Ostrogorsky, un *desideratum* cartographique auquel, nous l'espérons, M. Honigmann donnera bientôt satisfaction. Il faudrait une dizaine de cartons pour rendre intelligible

l'histoire des campagnes, surtout celles de Justinien, d'Héraclius, des Amoriens et des Macédoniens, et notamment des guerres bulgares de Basile II demeurées si obscures jusqu'aujourd'hui.

Le plan de l'ouvrage comporte, outre une introduction bibliographique sur l'Historiographie Byzantine à l'époque moderne, une liste des empereurs, mais non des papes, ni des patriarches, ni des califes, ni des émirs arabes, ni des souverains seldjoucides, ni des rois de Perse, ni des princes russes, ni des khans bulgares, ni des souverains serbes et croates.[2]

Il est impossible, on le conçoit, dans un simple compte rendu d'analyser et encore plus de discuter un livre aussi dense. Commençons par dire qu'à beaucoup d'égards il complète, dépasse et peut-être même remplacera dans l'usage courant la plupart des manuels similaires. Un de ses grands avantages sur ses devanciers et sur ses émules est la bibliographie très à jour qu'on lit non pas seulement de loin en loin en tête des chapitres (c'est aux sources originales qu'est réservé le petit texte qui précède l'exposé de chaque période), mais surtout en tête de chaque subdivision et au bas des pages. Nous avons beaucoup admiré et tout le monde appréciera la manière précise et concise, et je le répète, honnête, dont toutes les questions controversées sont présentées dans ces notes du pied de la page. Dans aucun cas nous n'avons rencontré de bibliographie "fictive" ou de bibliographie pour l'oeil, c'est à dire de savantes références à des livres que l'auteur n'aurait pas consultés: un petit malheur qui arrive, on le sait, dans les meilleures familles érudites. *De mortuis nihil nisi bene*, surtout quand ces morts sont des martyrs comme Nicola Iorga, mais tout le monde sait que chez lui et notamment dans l'annotation si copieuse et si touffue de sa dernière histoire des Roumains on trouve par centaines des références bibliographiques

[2] Cette lacune est d'autant plus sérieuse que l'histoire parabyzantine est traitée d'une manière fort épisodique par M. Ostrogorsky, comme on peut s'en rendre compte en feuilletant son index. L'Orient musulman surtout est assez négligé; et c'est dommage, car plus d'un chapitre de l'histoire militaire et diplomatique de Byzance reste incompréhensible, si l'on ne commence par étudier, avec beaucoup de soin, l'état du monde arabe à la même époque. Je ne citerai qu'un exemple: le succès éclatant de la reconquête de Jean Kourkouas.

A ce propos, je lis, p. 194: "Anno 927–28. Le péril bulgare une fois écarté, l'offensive byzantine commença en Orient. Le premier grand succès fut la prise de Mélitène, etc. . . ." Pas un mot de l'affaiblissement du califat à cette date, dont la première cause est la révolte de ces hérétiques musulmans appelés les Carmates. Leur rôle, absolument décisif dans l'écroulement du prestige de l'Islam au début du Xème siècle, est caractérisé en une phrase par l'évêque Aréthas de Césarée qui, s'adressant aux Infidèles, leur dit: "Votre invincibilité, dans laquelle vous voyiez une preuve de la divinité de votre religion, n'existe plus depuis que les Carmates vous ont battus."

Gibbon, qui ignorait ce texte, avait aperçu ce grand fait avec son génie coutumier, et j'avais déjà reproché à M. Vasiliev d'être ici en retard sur Gibbon.

de cette espèce: ouvrage ou article cité par ouï dire, souvent à contresens.

Nous n'allons pas, cela va de soi, chicaner l'auteur sur ses périodes. Elles correspondent à celles qui sont désormais généralement adoptées, et qui sont fondées sur une réalité historique incontestable. Il y a longtemps qu'on a vu qu'avec Héraclius et les Arabes commence, pour l'empire d'Orient un moyen-âge très différent, certes, du moyen âge occidental, mais très différent aussi du bas Empire romain de Constantin et de Justinien. La période iconoclaste, la troisième, se détache d'elle-même avec ses contrastes d'ombre et de lumière, son dynamisme souvent brutal, sa force et sa gloire incontestées. Je suis heureux de voir acceptée ma théorie d'après laquelle l'époque du dernier Amorien appartient à la période épique et brillante nommée à tort d'après les seuls "Macédoniens": [3] Car après tout un seul Macédonien fut vraiment grand, Basile II. Michel III était d'Amorium, Romain Lakapène et Jean Tzimiskes étaient Arméniens, Nicéphore Phokas Cappadocien. Il n'y a rien à dire des périodes VII et VIII qui sont, en effet, celles de la domination latine et de la restauration (1204, 1282) et du *Verfall und Untergang des byzantinischen Reiches* (1282–1453). Les périodes V et VI sont intitulées "*Die Herrschaft des hauptstädtischen Beamtenadels* (1025–1081)" et "*Die Herrschaft des Militäradels* (1081–1204)"; et ce sont les dénominations les plus originales peut-être — bien que depuis le livre classique de C. Neumann, *Die Weltstellung des byzantinischen Reiches vor den Kreuzzuegen*, écrit il y a 50 ans bientôt, en 1894, nous connaissions les mérites et les méfaits des fonctionnaires et des intellectuels dont la fine "culture," l'immoralité politique, la corruption distinguée et profonde annoncent la catastrophe du grand empire restauré de Basile II, et bien que l'époque des Comnènes, l'une des mieux connues de toute l'histoire byzantine, nous frappe en effet par son caractère éminemment militaire. Pour en finir avec cette description un peu extérieure, sinon superficielle du livre, je dirai que c'est surtout son articulation en sous-chapitres (en moyenne de 4 à 6 par période) qui le rend lisible, vivant, utile. Donnons quelques exemples de ces sous-titres bien choisis et qui prouvent que l'auteur ne néglige rien, ni l'histoire du droit, ni l'évolution économique dans la mesure où elle influe véritablement sur la marche des événements, ni l'histoire religieuse. Dans la première période le second *Abschnitt* s'intitule "Das Zeitalter der Völkerwanderung . . . und der christologischen Streitigkeiten." Le 6e paragraphe du chapitre 3 s'appelle "Die Staatsreformen Nikephoros' I

[3] Je n'oublie pas que ces Macédoniens provenaient en somme d'Arménie, mais je rappelle que la famille de Basile Ier malgré le loyalisme que suscita cette dynastie, n'a pas fourni à l'Empire les plus grandes figures du XIe siècle.

und die aussenpolitischen Gefahren . . . Byzanz und Krum." Dans IV, l'apogée de Byzance (843–1025), détachons: "Erstarkung des byzantinischen Reiches. Der Kampf der Zentralgewalt gegen die Feudalmächte und die kulturelle Blüte am byzantinischen Kaiserhof . . . Romanos Lakapenos und Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos," suivi de 5.: "Die Epoche der Eroberungen: Nikephorus Phokas und Johannes Tzimiskes," puis de 6.: "Der Höhepunkt der byzantinischen Machtentfaltung: Basilios II."

Quelques remarques sur cette première partie.

La première période (324–610) est traitée d'une manière plus brève, je ne dirai pas plus sommaire, qu'il n'est d'usage et nous approuvons fort cette brièveté, puisque, pour le Bas Empire proprement dit, les grands travaux de synthèse comme les monographies ont toujours abondé.

Dans le détail j'aurais aimé qu'Ostrogorsky nous dît la raison profonde de cette réforme administrative et financière, fiscale et militaire, dite de Dioclétien et de Constantin qui est et demeure la base de la constitution byzantine. Peut-être y a-t-il intérêt à se souvenir, à l'époque actuelle, du caractère d'*emergency* de beaucoup de mesures dictées par une nécessité menaçante, et qui ont duré à travers les siècles comme si souvent dure le provisoire. Des recherches récentes et techniques sur l'inflation, notamment celles de Segrè, d'après les papyrus ont l'air d'infirmer l'éloge excessif fait, page 23, du *solidus* constantinien. On eût désiré un traitement un peu plus développé de la querelle arienne — expédiée en une page! — parce qu'elle accentue cette séparation de l'Orient et de l'Occident dont tout le développement historique marquera de siècle en siècle la désaffection mutuelle. Nous avons ici un prologue au drame politico-religieux qui aura malheureusement tant de "reprises." Mais M. Ostrogorsky a été terriblement concis sur Justinien (pp. 42 à 48), comme si tout avait été dit sur ce grand règne par les Diehl, les Bury, les Kulakovski. Et pourtant il est bien difficile de souscrire sans réserve à des jugements comme "nicht zu halten waren die jüngst eroberten Gebiete im Westen, und die Geschwindigkeit, mit der sie dem Reich entschwanden, zeigt, auf welch schwachen Füssen das Werk Justinians stand." Je crois vraiment qu'il s'agit ici d'un jugement traditionnel que M. Ostrogorsky, pressé d'aborder les périodes suivantes, a transcrit sans y beaucoup réfléchir. Et pourtant il sait mieux que personne que Taormina (sans parler de Ravenne!) est restée byzantine jusqu'en 902, que Bari l'était encore un demi-millénaire après la mort de Justinien, que Manuel Comnène, en plein XIIe siècle, a trouvé le moyen d'y reparaître assez glorieusement sinon en personne, grâce à des troupes, de l'argent et surtout de chaleureuses sympathies, et qu'enfin la principale des reconquêtes de Justinien, l'Afrique, d'où la position

méditerranénne de Byzance pouvait toujours être regagnée, n'a été perdue pour l'Empire que par le cataclysme mondial et imprévisible de l'invasion arabe. Dans les chapitres suivants, de plus en plus neufs, et de mieux en mieux étudiés, on relèvera surtout les parties où la préparation spéciale de l'auteur lui donnait un avantage certain: celles qui touchent aux Slaves d'une part et d'autre part aux questions de droit public. On appréciera surtout l'érudition clairement condensée dans les notes comme celle de la page 64, sur le titre de *Basileus* ou encore celle de la page 63, sur la question de l'occupation croate et serbe;[4] ou encore la note 3 de la page 85 sur l'établissement des Slaves en Asie mineure. Je signale aussi les excellentes pages 88 et suivantes, avec leurs notes sur le νόμος γεωργικός. Les réformes de Nicéphore Ier (pages 129 à 139) et la question de l'usurpation de Charlemagne reçoivent un traitement développé et particulièrement instructif. De même, les recherches et publications des dernières années ont permis à l'auteur de marquer très fortement, sous la rubrique significative, "Anbruch des neuen Zeitalters" l'effort remarquable de consolidation et de renouvellement de Byzance au 9e siècle, en contraste marqué avec la décadence des Carolingiens et la crise de la papauté. L'époque de Michel III, qui est celle de Photius et de la grande mission slave de Cyrille et de Méthode, comme la grande réforme administrative et la codification, de Basile Ier et de Léon VI font, pour la première fois peut-être dans une histoire générale de Byzance, l'objet d'une présentation vraiment systématique de tous les faits. Ici, Ostrogorsky dépasse nettement Diehl et même Vasiliev. De même, le chapitre consacré à l'apogée de l'Empire sous Basile II est parfait.

Nous arrivons au problème des problèmes, à une question qui à l'heure actuelle apparaît vraiment la question centrale de toute l'histoire de Byzance. Pourquoi la décadence et la catastrophe d'Asie Mineure, l'année de Mantzikert (1071) qui est aussi celle de la prise de Bari et de la perte de l'Italie, viennent-elles si tôt après la splendeur de cette magnifique restauration, due au second Basile? C'est à ces pages que

[4] Toute la question est d'ailleurs à reprendre. Il ne suffit pas de dire que les informations du Porphyrogénète au sujet de la révolte des Croates contre les Avares sous Héraclius sont dignes de foi. Il faut les rapprocher de celles de Théophane, de Nicéphore le Patriarche, de Jean de Nikiou, des *Miracula Sancti Demetrii* et de la liste des rois bulgares. Il nous paraît certain que les Croates ont conservé le nom de ce chef Unogundur, Hun ou Bulgare, appelé Kubrat ou Kuvrat ou encore Kurt ou Kouver qui, effectivement, s'allia à l'Empire byzantin, se convertit à Constantinople, christianisa ce peuple et l'installa dans la Croatie actuelle. Je me propose de traiter ailleurs ce sujet. La vérité a été partiellement entrevue par quelques chercheurs. L'identité du chef bulgare et du chef croate avec le Kouver des Miracula est évidente, bien qu'elle ait été contestée par Zlatarski.

les contemporains de la moderne catastrophe europeenne ouvriront et consulteront d'abord le livre, et je ne sais si les réponses données par Ostrogorsky au grand *Pourquoi* paraîtront ici suffisantes. Le fait qu'au moment des invasions seldjoucides et normandes Byzance n'avait plus à proprement parler d'armée nationale est établi, mais non encore suffisamment expliqué. Nous touchons ici à l'une des lacunes de l'investigation historique. Le livre, le grand livre sur l'armée byzantine et sa désintégration au XIe siècle reste encore à écrire malgré les matériaux excellents réunis, jadis, par Skabalanovič. Certes, on voit bien le fait essentiel: "Die Lockerung der Themenorganisation bedeutete nichts geringeres als die Auflösung der Staatsordnung, die Byzanz in den vorangehenden Jahrhunderten gross gemacht hat. Der dauernde Rückgang der einheimischen Streitkräfte liess wieder die Bedeutung des Söldnerheeres hervortreten." Mais pourquoi et comment les admirables institutions militaires des VIIIe et Xe siècles, la splendide armée fournie par les soldats-paysans des thèmes-frontières qui avaient eu raison de l'ennemi arabe, aboutissent-elles à cette carence lamentable si éloquemment décrite par les historiens à propos des recrutements de fortune de Romain Diogène au moment du péril seldjoucide? C'est ce que malgré tout, et en dépit de beaucoup d'explications partielles, nous ne voyons pas encore clairement. Il y a beaucoup de bonnes choses là-dessus aux pages 230–233. Mais la raison profonde n'est pas assez mise en lumière; elle est à chercher, probablement, dans le complexe de supériorité, dans le sentiment de sécurité excessive qui sont toujours la rançon des périodes dites d'apogée et de rétablissement. L'Empire byzantin comme l'Empire romain ne pouvaient se résigner à entretenir la coûteuse armée permanente qui seule pouvait assurer sa pérennité. Dès la fin du Xe siècle, le traité *De velitatione bellica* parle au passé des incursions arabes et des efficaces mesures militaires qui refoulaient si brillamment les envahisseurs au-delà des frontières. L'empire, visiblement, en était venu à considérer comme autrefois qu'il était moins coûteux pour l'Etat de prendre à sa solde des mercenaires barbares pour une campagne que de perpétuer le système des soldats-propriétaires ne payant que de leur personne. Je le répète, il nous faut une étude approfondie sur la désagrégation de la grande et bonne armée des Michel III, des Nicéphore Phokas et des Basile II. La question agraire, les lois contre la grande propriété et la féodalisation, l'immunité, la pronoia et le reste, ce ne sont que des épiphénomènes.

Nous savons que notre collègue, M. P. Charanis prépare le travail auquel nous pensons et dont le titre pourrait être, à cause de la date de 1071: Le Sedan byzantin et ses causes.

Que dire des derniers chapitres, sinon que nous avons admiré avec

quelle aisance, avec quelle sûreté de coup d'oeil et avec quelle grande netteté de ligne, l'auteur se ment dans un dédale des faits qui épouvantait un Gibbon? Pour les Croisades, citons comme un modèle de discussion objective la page 287 et la note si précise et si juste sur la composition ethnique du deuxième Empire bulgare et de l'origine des Asénides. Il était courageux, en un sens, pour un ami de la science bulgare, d'écrire contre P. Mutafčiev: "Andrerseits kann aber der Anteil der Walachen an den Anfängen dieses Reiches nicht geleugnet werden, zumal er nicht nur durch die berichtenden Quellen zur Genüge bezeugt wird, sondern auch durch den Umstand, dass im Briefwechsel zwischen Innozenz III und Kalojan die offizielle Titulatur der bulgarischen Herrscher meistens reges, bezw. imperatores Bulgarorum et Blacorum lautet." Il nous semble, quant à nous, qu'à cet égard le témoignage pro-Valaque, si j'ose ainsi dire, de Villehardouin et de Nicétas Choniate est absolument décisif. J'ai dit ailleurs combien je sympathise avec Ostrogorsky dans le problème, qui n'en est pas un, du "détournement de la Quatrième Croisade."

Peut-être M. Ostrogorsky aurait-il dû, dans le sous-chapitre: "Des Epiros Hochflug und Niedergang (309–317)," mettre mieux en relief encore l'un des plus beaux triomphes de l'idée byzantine, le miracle byzantin qui nous frappe le plus aujourd'hui; la grandeur et la force de l'Empire et de son Eglise n'apparaissent à aucun moment dans une lumière plus surnaturelle, plus mystique que dans ces années d'effondrement et de démembrement, où le patriarche oecuménique réfugié à Nicée dans un exil précaire voit les églises serbes et bulgares lui demander la reconnaissance et l'investiture. Etonnante fidélité des Slaves balkaniques au centre religieux d'où leur est venu la foi, fidélité quand même en dépit du malheur de l'Empire et de luttes inexpiables et fratricides!

Il faudrait un juge plus compétent que le signataire de ce compte rendu pour louer dignement le dernier chapitre. "Verfall und Untergang des byzantinischen Reiches" (première sub-division: "Byzanz als Kleinstaat: Andronikos II"). Ostrogorsky écrivant à Belgrade et admirablement au fait des sources sérieuses, a naturellement écrit des pages excellentes, les meilleures du livre sans doute (358–385) sur: "Die serbische Vorherrschaft auf dem Balkan."

Je n'aurai pas, en présence d'un instrument de travail qui constitue le plus clair de ma bibliothèque de byzantiniste en exil, et dont je puis dire qu'il m'a bien souvent, pendant ces dernières années rendu le goût de nos chères études et l'espoir de les reprendre quelque jour plus activement, en contact constant comme naguère avec des camarades dont Ostrogorsky est l'un des plus sûrs et l'un des meilleurs, je n'aurai pas, dis-je, la mesquinerie de relever des fautes d'impression ou de soulever

des chicanes chronologiques et autres, d'autant plus, je le répète, que dans les controverses l'auteur a toujours fait preuve de cette courtoisie qui est la marque de son noble caractère, appliquant la maxime que je voudrais universelle: *in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus urbanitas.*[5]

HENRI GRÉGOIRE.

LLOYD B. HOLSAPPLE, *Constantine the Great*, New York, Sheed & Ward, 1942. 8°, pp. 469. Trois illustrations, une carte.

Constantinople est sans contredit d'actualité, et par conséquent, Constantin, son "fondateur," doit l'être aussi. C'est ce qu'a pensé M. Lloyd B. Holsapple, qui vient de donner au public américain un nouveau livre sur celui qu'on a trop souvent nommé "le premier empereur chrétien." Toutefois, à lire ce livre, à consulter sa bibliographie trop succincte (page 457 à 469), on a l'impression que l'ouvrage n'est pas très neuf. Sauf erreur, M. Holsapple ne cite jamais le *Constantin* de Piganiol, déjà vieux de dix ans, et même *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church* de Norman H. Baynes, mentionné tout à la fin, p. 469, me semble avoir été découvert par l'écrivain un peu *in extremis*. Une autre adjonction de la dernière heure concerne mon propre travail sur la *Vita Constantini* du Pseudo-Eusèbe (p. 458). Or, au moment où Baynes publiait sa *Raleigh lecture*, la question constantinienne rebondissait, pour ainsi parler. Des faits nouveaux étaient mis en lumière. Des textes éloquents étaient redécouverts. L'histoire la plus contemporaine, la plus actuelle, illuminait un passé après tout très peu lointain, je veux dire infiniment près de nous. La légende, une fois de plus, et cette fois (peut-on l'espérer?) pour toujours, reculait décidément devant une vérité aveuglante. De toutes les discussions, aussi animées que fécondes, qui se sont engagées à partir de 1931 autour de son héros, il ne semble pas que M. Holsapple ait eu connaissance. C'est aussi singulier que regrettable, vu l'intérêt et même l'enthousiasme qu'il semble témoigner pour son sujet. Aux spécialistes, il paraîtra à peine croyable que M. Holsapple, écrivant ou du moins publiant son livre en 1942, ignore encore l'étymologie très peu mystérieuse, aujourd'hui généralement adoptée, du mot *labarum*. Pourtant, dès 1929, M. Baynes reconnaissait que "la vieille énigme était résolue," et que *labarum* n'était qu'une déformation grecque de

[5] J'entends dire que le livre décevrait parce que l'accent n'y est pas mis sur l'histoire économique. Mais il ne faut pas oublier que le volume de Dölger devait traiter à fond ces questions économiques et d'ailleurs, dans les notes comme dans le texte d'Ostrogorsky je trouve un grand nombre de véritables excursus sur les monnaies et les prix des denrées, comme il fallait s'y attendre après le mémoire spécial que l'auteur a consacré à ces matières.

laurum, le sens étant "l'étendard à la laurea, surmonté d'une couronne de laurier." Ce détail lexicographique est d'importance. La couronne de laurier n'avait rien de spécifiquement chrétien, on s'en doute. Le symbole constantinien par excellence est, comme on dirait en Amérique, *non-denominational.* Tout le monde est aujourd'hui d'accord sur un point: la lettre X, accompagnée ou non d'un I ou d'un P qui, au centre de la *laurea*, signifiait le Christ pour les soldats chrétiens, était, pour les autres, le chiffre 10, c'est à dire les dix années de règne qu'on souhaitait à l'empereur (*vota*). La première vision de Constantin, la seule, en réalité, qui soit attestée directement par un texte contemporain, est une vision païenne. En 310, en Gaule, le jeune empereur, ayant vaincu et tué son beau-père Maximien, voit dans un temple Apollon et la Victoire qui lui présentent tous deux la promesse de trente années de vie: trois fois le signe X dans une couronne de laurier, comme sur les monnaies. Le songe de Constantin chez Lactance (texte de 322 ou 23), la vision fantastique rapportée par le Pseudo-Eusèbe (fin du IVe siècle au plus tôt), ne sont que des versions christianisées de l'apparition originale. (Cet adjectif est ironique sous ma plume, car il s'agit, tout le monde s'en rend compte, d'un lieu commun oratoire du panégyriste gaulois de 310). Je m'excuse de rappeler tout cela à M. Holsapple, à ses lecteurs et aux nôtres. Mais aussi pourquoi le sympathique historien n'a-t-il point pris la peine de relire ces Panégyriques si doctement et si spirituellement commentés par M. Pichon dans un livre admirable et, bien entendu, à peu près ignoré en Amérique? Puisque j'en suis aux symboles ambi-valents et interconfessionnels, qu'on me permette de rapprocher du *labarum* la grenade flamboyante de nos grenadiers belges, attachée au drapeau tricolore en 1914, et qui pour les croyants figurait le Sacré Cœur; et le monument bruxellois aux artilleurs morts pendant la guerre de 1914 à 1918, avec sa sainte Barbe à la palme où les officiers franc-maçons ne voulaient voir qu'une Victoire païenne.

J'en ai trop dit pour que le lecteur n'ait pas compris, déjà, que ce nouveau Constantin, loin d'être *up to date*, est conforme à la fable convenue, et que le portrait qu'on présente n'a guère profité des gains sérieux réalisés, dans ce compartiment de la science historique, par un groupe de chercheurs arrivés indépendamment aux mêmes constatations. L'auteur de ce compte rendu se doute de la principale raison de ce conservatisme, là où il ne s'explique point uniquement par ignorance de la littérature la plus récente. L'auteur, je le dis avec beaucoup de respect, paraît être un catholique convaincu, un converti très sincère, qui visiblement fait effort pour conserver les linéaments de l'histoire constantinienne tracés par le cardinal Baronius. Mais il oublie que Constantin n'est pas un saint de l'Eglise de Rome. En 1931, ceux

qui niaient la conversion de Constantin en 312 recevaient les félicitations et les encouragements d'un savant jésuite, professeur à l'Institut pontifical de Rome. M. Holsapple a eu grand tort d'antidater, à l'ancienne mode, la dite conversion (chap. VII); il a eu tort aussi (chap. VIII) de parler de l'Edit de Milan, puisqu'il est prouvé depuis longtemps que le document connu sous ce titre est de Licinius et fut promulgué à Nicomédie et non pas à Milan, au printemps de 313 et non pas au début de la même année. Ici, je serais presque tenté de mettre en doute "la candeur" de M. Holsapple. Car son récit des faits est certainement de nature à tromper le lecteur bénévole. Prenons son chapitre X intitulé *Constantine and Licinius*. Nous y trouvons une relation d'après Lactance de la marche de Licinius vers les détroits, où son rival Maximin venant d'Asie Mineure l'avait devancé. M. Holsapple, je le reconnais, n'esquive pas le grand témoignage de la meilleure des sources: "On this occasion, we are told by Lactantius, Licinius was taught by an angel in a dream a prayer which he was to recite together with his whole army before entering the conflict, while Daia is reported as vowing to Jupiter that, should he grant him the victory, he would exterminate and utterly blot out the very name of the Christians." Plus loin il traduit l'admirable prière latine au *Summus Deus*. Pourquoi ne pas conclure, avec Lactance, que la victoire du *Campus Ergenus*, dont M. Holsapple oublie de nous donner la date sûre, est la première victoire chrétienne, c'est-à-dire remportée par un empereur divinement inspiré, docile aux ordres de la divinité et livrant bataille au nom du Très Haut? Pourquoi? La raison donnée par M. Holsapple est tout à fait curieuse: "The parallel with Constantine's dream, as well as the fact that the prayer suggests the one which Eusebius reports as prescribed by Constantine for the use of his soldiers, both being sufficiently vague to be possible for both pagans and Christians to use, cast serious doubts on the trustworthiness of the narrative." J'ai relu plusieurs fois cette phrase que je ne suis pas bien sûr de comprendre. Si l'on compare dans Lactance le long développement sur l'ange et la prière de Licinius et, en général, toute l'histoire si vivante, si trépidante de la défaite et de la fuite de Maximin et de l'entrée du vainqueur à Nicomédie où l'attendait Lactance, si l'on compare, dis-je, ce récit d'un témoin direct, oculaire même, avec la courte phrase sur le songe de Constantin, dont nous avons démontré l'origine païenne, on se rendra à l'évidence: pour Lactance en 321, en 322 encore, le premier empereur chrétien, celui qui reçoit d'angéliques visites et qui affranchit définitivement les fidèles d'Asie de la peur, c'est Licinius. La belle prière que l'ange lui dicta est, il est vrai, attribuée à Constantin. Mais par qui? par ce louche Pseudo-Eusèbe dont la compilation, ignorée de S. Jérôme, ne commençait à être citée qu'au début du Ve siècle. M.

Holsapple ne traite pas ses sources selon les principes de la saine méthode historique. Et voilà pourquoi, au lieu d'écrire l'histoire, il se borne à reproduire je ne sais quelle hagiographie. Mais voici qui est plus fâcheux. Au lieu de nous parler de ce grand acte, l'Edit de Tolérance de Nicomédie, le principal titre de gloire de Licinius après tout, M. Holsapple, p. 216, se borne à écrire: "Immediately after his victory over Daia, Licinius issued from Nicomedia the version of the Edict of Milan, to which we have already referred."

La méthode est toujours la même. Chaque fois que le témoignage de la source contemporaine est en contradiction avec la légende tardive, on abandonne la première pour suivre la seconde. On semble oublier que la légende de l'Edit de Milan ne se trouve même pas dans les vies les plus fabuleuses de Constantin, qu'elle remonte tout au plus au cardinal Baronius, lequel ignorait encore le *De mortibus persecutorum* de Lactance, découvert et publié par Baluze à la fin du XVIIe siècle. C'est Voltaire qui a raison, le Voltaire du *Dictionnaire Philosophique*. Si Licinius n'avait été vaincu et tué par son beau-frère Constantin en 324, c'est lui et non Constantin qui serait célébré comme le héros de l'histoire chrétienne, et tout le monde saurait par cœur la prière angélique au *Summus Deus*. Cela ne veut pas dire que Constantin ne soit pas un grand homme. Dans la lutte suprême entre les deux religions quelque chose lui appartient qui vaut mieux que l'initiative: la décision. Mais la science moderne ne doit pas se laisser influencer par une *damnatio memoriae* qui prive Licinius de sa part, laquelle est grande, dans le triomphe de la tolérance religieuse. Il imposa [1] l'Edit de Sardique (311) qui mit fin à la phase vraiment cruelle de la dernière persécution, et rien ne nous autorise à lui refuser la paternité de l'Edit de Nicomédie, plus large et plus libéral encore, où il invoque, il est vrai, son accord avec Constantin, mais qui répond aux besoins immédiats de sa politique particulière. *Is fecit cui prodest.* D'ailleurs, l'*Historia Augusta* nous dit de lui qu'il prétendait descendre de l'empereur Philippe l'Arabe; or à cette époque [2] Philippe était assez généralement vénéré pour avoir été, plus de soixante ans avant Constantin et Licinius, le tout premier empereur chrétien. Son nom était donc, comme on dit, un programme. En terminant, je me permets de renvoyer M. Holsapple à l'*Histoire de l'Eglise* de Fliche et Martin, où nos collègues Zeiller et Palanque ont très consciencieusement mis au point les problèmes effleurés ici et, semble-t-il, ignorés, délibérement ou non, par notre auteur, lequel nous paraît un *vir timidus scribendi peritus.*

HENRI GRÉGOIRE.

[1] A Galère agonisant.
[2] Vers 360 après J. Chr.

PETER CHARANIS, *The Religious Policy of Anastasius the First, 491–518.* Madison, Wisconsin (1939).

This book contains a very useful record of the events of an important turning-point in the political and religious history of the Eastern Empire. It is written in a limpid style, with a clear understanding of the factors which proved decisive in the somewhat confused struggles of this time. In controversial questions the author shows a reasonable judgment and in general an intelligent comprehension of the political factors which directed Anastasius's decisions. Therefore the small book will probably remain for some time the best monograph not only on "the religious policy of Anastasius the First," but also on the general history of this Emperor. It is perhaps for bookselling purposes that the title is preceded by another: "Church and state in the Later Roman Empire," which, in its unlimited formulation, may easily be misunderstood; it should at least have been printed in smaller characters than the chief title which restricts the indeterminate first one by indicating the real subject of the book.

In an introductory chapter, the religious situation in the second half of the fifth century is shortly described as it resulted from the different dogmatic controversies of the Eastern Church, principally from the conflicts between the defenders of the Chalcedonian creed and their Nestorian and Monophysite opponents. "The social and religious background of Anastasius" (p. 10–13) explains in some measure his attitude as ruler of the Empire. The author shows that his policy was chiefly influenced by the desire to accomplish his predecessor Zenon's aim of reconciling the different religious parties, an aim which found expression in the famous decree of 482 A.D., known commonly as Zenon's *Henotikon.* Though in the course of time some minor changes can be discerned in the religious policy of Emperor Anastasius, his attitude was always inspired by the desire to end the religious struggle by compromise. The author's judgment on Anastasius's policy is similar to that of Eduard Schwartz; he avoids, however, some gross exaggerations of this scholar, who explained almost all currents in Church History by the malignity and the intrigues of the outstanding personalities. As a matter of fact, the attitude of Anastasius in religious questions was largely influenced by his relations with the papacy (p. 19 ff.) and by the discontent which rose in the Western provinces, when he favored the Monophysites in the East. Especially during the dangerous revolts of Vitalian, the old Emperor showed a remarkable lack of steadiness and a striking readiness to break his promises at the very first occasion, when the danger was over. Mr. Charanis contents himself with registering this fact; he neither apologizes nor condemns. The events in Syria before and during the

triumph of the Monophysite party in the East and the revolts of Vitalian are recorded in detail according to the original sources. In the final chapter it is showed how the last negotiations with the papacy were influenced by these political and religious struggles which threatened the security, sometimes even the existence of the Empire. The historical part of the book closes with the death of Anastasius. The author throws a view in the events that follow, but his remarks are very brief; even the victory of the Chalcedonian party and the deposition of Severus and his adherents, the immediate consequences of the Emperor's death, are not mentioned. The blank of p. 77 would perhaps have sufficed for adding a small epilogue corresponding to the useful introduction.

But Professor Charanis probably thinks that the last paragraph of this same *Introduction* makes up for the lack of epilogue. Here it is (page 9): "He sought his own solution, one that would satisfy the Eastern provinces, the really vital parts of the empire. It is this aspect of his religious policy that makes it worthy of serious study. For had it succeeded, it might have reunited the Christian East and made it an invulnerable barrier against the Arabs, with far reaching consequences for the history of the Near East and Europe. But the death of Anastasius eventually brought to the throne a far different personality, one whose ideology led him to sacrifice the East for the West, with the result that the religious struggle continued to its logical conclusion — the ultimate loss of the Eastern provinces by the empire."

We have thought it necessary to reprint Charanis' own words, because they clearly show that, despite his scholarly self-restraint and this concentration on a well-limited subject, he really views this chapter of Byzantine "religious history" as a chapter of world history. Of course, the question immediately arises whether "the far different personality" or "personalities" of Justin and Justinian really "sacrificed the East for the West." One could argue that, after all, the problem with which Justinian — and Theodora — were confronted was exactly the same, and that they tried to solve it much in the same way as Anastasius. Very few indeed among the Byzantine Emperors were not placed before a tragic dilemma of the same sort. Professor Peter Charanis, who, since his "magistral coup d'essai," has given us several excellent papers on the Palaeologi,[1] always wavering between East and West, will certainly

[1] The following papers were written after the completion of Charanis' Thesis on Emperor Anastasius, reviewed above: "Les Βραχέα Χρονικά comme Source Historique," *Byzantion*, XIII, fasc. 1, p. 335; "Coronation and its Constitutional Significance in the Later Roman Empire," *Byzantion*, XV, 49; "Internal Strife at Byzantium in the Fourteenth Century," *Byzantion*, XV, 208; "The Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370–1402," *Byzantion* XVI, Fasc. 1, p. 286;

have been struck by the constant ἀνάγκη of Byzantine history, an ἀνάγκη begotten by geography itself. And all the criticism contained in this article simply means that the reviewers are disappointed by the "premature" closing of this good book. It may be suggested that after this first successful attempt it would probably be an easy task for the author to write an exhaustive history which would keep the promise made by the first title of the actual book: "Church and State in the Later Roman Empire." In the hope that this desire will be fulfilled, I make here a number of minor additions, consisting especially in references to several recent European publications. My remarks may also contribute to completing the very important appendices of the book, viz. the extensive "note on the sources" and the bibliography, which, together with a detailed index, renders valuable services to the readers.

(P. 14, n. 23) The last and best edition of the text of the *Henotikon* based chiefly upon a Greek Ms. of Rossano, was published by Ed. Schwartz, "Codex Vatic. gr. 1431, eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos, *Abh. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, philos.-philol.-hist. Kl., XXXII, 6. Abh. (Munich, 1927), pp. 49–51. We owe to the same scholar the first critical edition of the *Breviarium* by Liberatus, published in his *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, t. II, vol. V: "Collectio Sangermanensis" (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936), p. 98, 5–141, 13 (the translation of the *Henotikon* is there on p. 127, 17–129, 2).

I do not agree with this sentence (p. 17): "There was some Monophysitic sentiment in Isauria and Phrygia, more especially in Phrygia, where the 'anti-imperial, anti-Constantinopolitan, provincial, centrifugal, and Anatolian' city of Hierapolis was a rallying point for heretics." As to Phrygia, the author follows here *bona fide* the statements of the late Sir William M. Ramsay, which have generally been accepted. In this same volume of *Byzantion* (above pp. 75–77) I have showed that they are wrong. We can on the contrary affirm that to our knowledge there are no traces of Monophysitism in Phrygia.

The spelling Mabbögh (p. 29.34.39) or Mäbbogh (p. 101) is not justified; the name of the city was simply Mabbog(h) with a short o, as is proved by the Arabic spelling Manbij.

In the quotation of Michel's Syriac Chronicle (p. 31, n. 94) read 2: 160 instead of 1: 160 (quoted afterwards as *op. cit.*, without indication of the vol. on p. 40 f., n. 24; p. 41, n. 28; p. 47, n. 58).

(P. 32; cf. p. 36) "Nephalios, a monk attached to the patriarchate of

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"The Greek Historical Sources of the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century," *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, January, 1944, p. 406.

Jerusalem, formerly a Monophysite but now an adherent of the Council of Chalcedon" is not quite correct. Nephalios, an Alexandrine monk who agitated first against his patriarch Peter and afterwards in the interest of the clergy of Jerusalem, remained always a schismatic Monophysite, though persecuting the Monophysite monks in Palestine (cf. Zachar. Rhet. continuat., "Hist. Eccl.," VI, 2, *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* [=*CSCO*], Scr. Syri, ser. III, t. VI, textus p. 4, versio p. 2).

In the midst of p. 39 we read: "Similar sentiments against the patriarch were expressed by Severus and Julian, bishops of Halicarnassus in Caria, who were also in Constantinople." But the Severus in question is the future patriarch of Antioch, who at this time (509–511) was still monk.

Concerning the Synod of Sidon (p. 44, n. 41), the two groups of sources are indeed contradictory, but perhaps less incompatible than it seems at first sight. For though the number of Philoxenos's adherents was very small, he was supported by the Emperor, who probably ordered to break up this assembly just because it had not taken the desired course. It must be noticed that soon after the closure of the synod, Philoxenos went with his monks to Constantinople in order to inform the Emperor of the events at Sidon and of "the fact that Flavian was an heretic"; he returned to Syria with a mandate by the Emperor to expel Flavian (Zach. Rhet. contin., VII, 10, textus p. 51, 4–7; versio p. 35, 10–13). This sojourn of Philoxenos in Cple. should have been mentioned at the end of p. 46.

It is not likely that the election of Severus was achieved by the use of gold (p. 47). Both Chalcedonians and Monophysites reproached each other often with this procedure. In the letters of Severus himself we find several times the same reproach against his Chalcedonian opponents.

In my opinion "ecclesia orientalis" (p. 51, n. 2) can only mean the Antiochene patriarchate, as Caspar understands it. But of course the letter to the bishops of Illyricum, written Oct. 8, 512, cannot be "an indirect answer to that of the Oriental church" (E. Caspar, *Gesch. d. Papstt.*, II, p. 123), if the latter was written after November 512, as Caspar seems to assume according to p. 121, n. 6.

(p. 55, last section) "The emperor forbade the celebration of certain festivities." Charanis alludes to the πανήγυρις τῆς Γάστρης. The name of this celebration, which puzzled Eduard Schwartz (*Publ. Samml. z. acacian. Schisma*, p. 252, n. 2), relates obviously to the monastery of Γάστρια, founded by Helena, Constantine's mother.

The facts (insubordination of the bishops of Syria II) recorded on p. 69 according to the letter to Alcison (ap. Euagr. III 33 f.) and on

p. 71 according to the letters of Severus, point to the same events of 515 A.D., though Severus mentions a third bishop of Syria II, that of Rhaphaneia. It would better be said that these bishops "declared Severus deposed" instead of "deposed Severus," for they were hardly entitled to act so against their own patriarch, defying moreover an assembly of Oriental bishops gathered at this time at Antioch.

According to Charanis (p. 70) the bishops of Syria II took part in the synod of Tyre. "Zach. Rhet.," who speaks twice about this synod, mentions indeed in the second passage the "bishops of the region (χώρα) of Antioch and Apamea," but omits Apamea in the first (*loc. cit.*, textus p. 51, 16 and 55, 18; versio, p. 35, 22 and 38, 18). John of Ephesos also (*Patrol. Orient.* II, p. 304 f.) mentions Apamea as the only city-name beside five names of provinces. Obviously the metropolitan of Apamea was the only representative of this province. Brooks assumed that after 515 A.D. the Chalcedonians were treated more severely than before, while Charanis advocates the opposite alternative viz., that some concessions may have been made to the opposition. I do not know whether the sources contain any unequivocal statement justifying either of these hypotheses. I conjecture that the "needed reforms" effected at Tyre concerned rather the question, much discussed at this time, whether the names of the bishops who had taken part in the Council of Chalcedon should be erased from the sacred diptychs, or a more conciliatory attitude (οἰκονομία instead of ἀκρίβεια) should be adopted in this point.

(p. 73 in fine) The delegates of the monks of Syria II arrived at Constantinople hardly already "toward the close of 516," since they appealed to the pope only at the end of 517 (p. 74 above). E. Caspar (*loc. cit.*, II, 147, n. 2) seems to be right dating the complaints at Constantinople of autumn 517. The passage of Victor Tonnennensis, quoted p. 74, n. 1, refers to a letter from Transjordania which certainly had no relation to the events in Syria II.

I do not agree with the author in his assertion (p. 81) that Zacharias Scholasticus "wrote to refute the charge that Severus had been a pagan in his youth and his work therefore lacks objectivity." It is very unlikely that Severus ever had been a pagan, for he was the grandson of the homonymous bishop of Sozopolis in 431 A.D.; moreover, baptizing of adults is attested as a Pisidian usage, which of course could easily be interpreted by the opponents of Severus in a malicious way.

(p. 82, n. 2) Besides the chief work of Lebon, his complete edition and translation of the fragments of the most important letters of Philoxenos should have been mentioned ("Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug," *Le Muséon*, XLIII [1930], p. 17–84; 149–220).

(p. 83, n. 3 and p. 94) It seems that at present most of the competent scholars agree that Zacharias Scholasticus was the author of both the *Life of Severus* and the *Chronicle*; his identification with Bishop Zacharias of Mitylene, member of the council at Constantinople in 536 A.D. is, according to Eduard Schwartz, "platterdings unmöglich" (*Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, p. 367, n. 1).

(p. 83) The *Church History* of Zacharias comprised only the period from 450 until 491 A.D.; excerpts of this work were inserted in an anonymous Syriac "World History," comprising the years 439–40 until 568–9 A.D. Therefore the history of the time of Anastasius is written by the anonymous author.

(p. 85) It could be mentioned that, according to J. Haury, John Malalas was the same as John Scholastikos, Patriarch of Constantinople (*Byz. Ztschr.*, IX [1900], p. 337–356); Louis Petit (*Dict. Théol. Cath.* VIII [1924], p. 829–831) shared this opinion without hesitation, and F. Dölger also declared it probable (*Lexikon f. Theol. und Kirche*, V [Freiburg i. B., 1933], col. 530 f.).

(p. 87 and 92) The full title of the quoted work of Schwartz is *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma.*

(p. 89) The remark concerning Mgr Duchesne's posthumous continuation of his admirable *Church History* seems to me undeserved, though in the case of the policy of Anastasius the criticism against his judgment may be justified.

(Bibliography, p. 91) It would be preferable to insert the books of Baronius and Grumel among the modern works.

(p. 92) The *Panegyricus* of Priscian has been re-edited by Baehrens in his *Poetae Latini minores* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 264–274, that of Procopius of Gaza by Carolus Kempen, *Procopii Gazaei In imperatorem Anastasium panegyricus* (Diss. Bonn, 1918). Some new fragments of Theodore Lector's *Church History*, found in *Cod. Vatop. 250*,[2] fols. 210–218, have been published by A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, "Νέα τεμάχη τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Θεοδώρου Ἀναγνώστου τοῦ Ἐντολέως." *Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosveščenija*, t. CCCXXXIII (1901), Otd. klass. Philol., p. 1–24. (p. 93) The last edition (with Latin translation) of the *Chronicle of Edessa* is that of Ignazio Guidi in *CSCO*, Scr. Syri, Ser. III, t. IV (Paris, 1903), textus p. 1–13; versio p. 3–11. (p. 94) The article *Anastase* by L. Bréhier in the *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, II (Paris 1914), col. 1447–1457, deserves mention. A third edition of the book of R. Duval appeared Paris, 1907. Besides this work and that of McLean (p. 95), the *Histories of Syriac*

[2] In fact cod. 286, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, vol. A10, coll. 1869–1881, s.v. (48) Theodoros Anagnostes.

Literature by A. Baumstark (Bonn, 1922) and J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1934) could have been mentioned.

The Index, though thoroughly elaborated, can be completed by some items (Acra 54 f. Cosmas, bishop of Epiphania 69. Diodore of Tarse 35. Eutyches, condemned also by Severus 47. Huns, see Saberoi. Peter the Iberian 33. Severianus (1): add 58; (2) of Arethusa 69. Tarrach, a Hun 64. Theodoret of Cyrus 35).

ERNEST HONIGMANN AND H. G.

O. HALECKI, *The Crusade of Varna: a Discussion of Controversial Problems* (Polish Institute Series, No. 3), New York, 1943. Pp. 96.

The crusade of Varna was the last concerted effort to check the expansion of the Ottoman Turks in Europe, and to push them back into Asia Minor. As it belongs to general history, for the successful issue of it would have had tremendous consequences for Europe, it has attracted the attention of many historians. One point in particular has been the subject of much discussion: the treaty of Szeged and its denunciation by the Hungarian-Polish king, Ladislas the Jagiellonian, the leader of the Christian forces, only a few days after he had agreed to it. According to the generally accepted view, Ladislas, despite his promise to launch a crusade against the Ottomans, came to terms with them and signed the treaty of Szeged; the ink of his signature was hardly dry, however, when he denounced the treaty, under the pressure of the papal legate, Julian Cesarini, who was bent upon the undertaking of the crusade. The king abandoned what appeared an advantageous treaty and plunged into a hopeless enterprise that ended in disaster for his army and death for himself.

The little volume that has just been published by O. Halecki, the distinguished Polish historian, is devoted entirely to a reexamination of this problem and seriously challenges the traditional view. Halecki has examined all the contemporary evidence and has come to the conclusion that there was no treaty of Szeged. A treaty was indeed rejected at Szeged, but this treaty had been concluded two months before and not at Szeged. It had been agreed upon in Adrianople by Murad and the delegates of Ladislas, Hunyadi, the despot of Transylvania, and Brankovich, the despot of Serbia, but it was not to go into effect unless it were ratified by the king. At Szeged on August 4, the young king simply refused to ratify this treaty, and announced his crusade against the Turks.

The general soundness of Halecki's view cannot be doubted. It is based on newly discovered contemporary evidence, namely a series of

letters by the Italian humanist Cyriacus of Ancona, who was in Adrianople at the time of the negotiations between Murad and the delegates of Ladislas, Hunyadi and Brankovich. It is now clear that there was no treaty of Szeged; that the treaty denounced there was that concluded at Adrianople. But it is questionable if this discovery adds to the stature of Ladislas as Halecki would have it. The king obviously vacillated in his policy toward the Ottomans. In June of 1444 he was for peace and acted accordingly as the treaty of Adrianople definitely shows; by August of the same year he changed his mind and declared for the crusade. Brankovich and Hunyadi may have been responsible for the policy of Adrianople; Julian Cesarini for that of Szeged, but the fact is that the king did not know his own mind and the delay caused by his vacillations was mainly responsible, as Halecki points out, for the failure at Varna.

In an article published in 1932 (*Byzantion*, VII, 41–67) Halecki threw part of the blame for the failure at Varna on Byzantium, urging that despite the urgent appeals of its emperor for help, it rendered only a limited assistance to Ladislas. He now declares, however, "that, without waiting for the Hungarians to march against the enemy, the Greeks were the first who fulfilled their task by attacking the Turks from the Peloponnesus, gaining considerable successes." The Greeks did not fail the western Christians, the western Christians failed the Greeks. The failure at Varna, according to Halecki, must be attributed to the delay caused by the negotiations at Adrianople; the neutrality of Brankovich; the incompetency of the command of the allied fleet; the help which the Genoese gave to the Turks to cross the Bosphorus, and a violent wind which impeded the allied fleet, but aided the enemy.

The book is an important contribution to the history of eastern Europe. Its value is enhanced by the inclusion of the letters of Cyriacus of Ancona referring to the peace negotiations in Adrianople, carefully edited and arranged.

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NOTES ON SOME GREEK PAPYRI

By ANGELO SEGRÈ

I. P. MICHIGAN INV. 4703, A MARRIAGE CONTRACT OF A VETERAN OF THE CLASSIS ALEXANDRINA

P. Michigan inv. 4703 (second half of the second cent. A.D.) has been published by H. A. Sanders as a marriage certificate in diploma form.[1] Some peculiarities of the contract which had not been explained

[1] H. A. Sanders, "A Soldier Marriage Certificate in Diploma Form," *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, LXXXI (1939), 581–90 and Plates I-II.

by Sanders lead R. O. Fink to reinterpret the deed as the *sponsalia* of a *classiarius*.[2]

The reinterpretation of Fink is not correct, while the interpretation of Sanders is in the main accurate. The revised P Michigan reads:[3]

Probably one line lost
[.....] ci filia Demetria [---ca 13---] ....s ..um consist (ens) Col(oniae)
2. [C]ae[sareae] ann(orum) XXXVIIII corpore fusco fa[c]ie [d]e[du]cta naso recto lentigo malo
3. d[e]xtro tutore auctore Glaucippo Anniani consist(ente) Col(oniae) Caesar-(eae) ann(orum) XXXXVIII, cor —
4. pore fusco, facie deducta naso recto, subcalvo, cicatrice supra super[ci]lium sinistrum C(aio) Valerio Gemello mil(iti) class[i]s Aug(ustae) Alexandrinae,
6. liburni Dracontis, cui ante nupta erat, ex quo matrimonio filios pro —
7. creaverunt, Iustum annorum XIIII, Gemellum annorum X, eique dotis suae
8. nomine dixit deditque in aestimio vestis et in numerato praesens
9. ...[.].[..]..... as duas d[rachma]s quam dotem dixit se is Valeri[us] Ge —
10. [mellus accepisse .....]

There is difficulty in the new reading in l. 3 where *pacta est* was first read instead of *dextro*.

The verb in the first sentence is missing; I suppose it to have been a verb such as e.g., *nupta est*: I do not know whether the verb may be inserted in l. 3 instead of *pacta est*, or in l. 1.

With the new corrections the text reads:

Date, place, Demetria daughter of . . . , a resident of the colony of Caesarea, thirty-nine years old, of dark complexion, with a long face, straight nose and a spot on her right cheek assisted by her guardian Glaucippus, son of Annianus, a resident of the colony of Caesarea, forty-eight years old of dark complexion, with a long face, and straight nose who is somewhat bald and has a scar over his left eyebrow, agrees to marry Gaius Valerius Gemellus a soldier of the imperial Alexandrian Fleet on the liburna Dragon. She was his wife and from this marriage two sons were born, Justus fourteen and Gemellus ten. She has assigned and delivered to him her dowry, clothing at a fixed valuation and a sum in ready money counted out, . . . and two drachmas. The said Valerius Gemellus acknowledges the receipt of this dowry. . . .

The deed had been redacted in Caesarea of Mauretania, Cherchel.[4] To understand correctly the text we state as premises:

(a) that Roman soldiers during the military service were not allowed to marry,
(b) that they used to live in concubinate with women whom they usually married after the honesta missio when granted conubium with their concubines,

[2] R. O. Fink, "The *Sponsalia* of a *Classiarius*: a Reinterpretation of *P. Mich. inv. 4703*," *Trans. Amer. Philol. Asso.*, LXXII (1941), 109–124.

[3] R. O. Fink, *loc. cit.*, p. 109 f.

[4] Colonia Claudia Caesarea, Roman colonia since Claudius (Plin., nat. hist., V,

(c) that the women with whom the soldiers lived were called uxores even in the military diplomas which granted conubium to the soldiers also before their legitimate marriage.

In the case of C. V. Gemellus, he was granted the privilege of *veterani classiarii*. They were granted Roman citizenship with their sons and conubium with their concubines with the formula: "quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis filiisque eorum quos susceperint ex mulieribus quas secum concessa consuetudine vixisse probaverint civitatem Romanam dedit et conubium cum iisdem quas tunc secum habuissent cum iis quas postea uxores duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas."

And now to the history of the marriage of Gemellus and Demetria. C. V. Gemellus, possibly an Alexandrian, less probably a *metropolita*, enlisted in the navy when he was 18 years old. About 10 years later he met Demetria, and they began to live together in concubinate. Demetria was then about 24 years old. She bore her first son Iustus at 25, her second son, Gemellus, at 29, both very probably registered with a *testatio* as illegitimate sons of a soldier.[5] After 25 years' service C. V. Gemellus received the *honesta missio*. He is 43 years old and Demetria 39; they marry and they enjoy the privileges of the *honesta missio*.[6]

The marriage took place in Caesarea immediately after the discharge of Gemellus. After the marriage, C. V. Gemellus and his family went back to Egypt where this document, their marriage certificate, was found.

Have we now to refute the reinterpretation of *P. Mich. inv. 4703* given by O. R. Fink? He supposed, p. 121, that Gemellus had married Demetria before the enlistment and thereby broken the marriage.[7]

To assure Demetria that he was willing to remarry her as soon as possible, i.e., after 25 years of military service spent in the navy, he had made a contract of betrothal, Latin *sponsalia*. But our text has nothing to do with *sponsalia*. Fink supposes further that the man who drafted the so called *sponsalia* was "a man with a considerable practical knowledge of Roman law and a shrewd eye to the best means of meeting the exigencies of the special circumstances in which Gemellus and Demetria were placed."

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20), see Dessau, *R.E.*, s.v. Caesarea Mauretaniae. Ships of the Egyptian and of the Syrian fleet in the haven of Caesarea Mauretaniae (Cagnat, *L'armée d'Afrique*, pp. 338, 345 f.) in the second century A.D. See Fiebiger, *R.E.*, s.v. classis p. 2641 f.: Weinstock, *R.E.*, s.v. Mauretania, p. 2385; Lesquier, *L'armée Romaine*, p. 100. Moreover, at the time of our document the classis Misensis was stationed at Caesarea in Palestine, P.S.I. 1026 (150 A.D.).

[5] For all this see A. Segrè, "Il diritto dei militari peregrini nell' esercito Romano," *Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom. d'Arch.*, XVII (1940–41), 169 ff.

[6] See A. Segrè, *ibid.*, p. 178 ff.

[7] See p. 566.

The modest writer of the marriage contract in Caesarea did not deserve so much praise; it belongs to Professor R. O. Fink.[8]

2. W. L. WESTERMANN, "TUSCUS THE PREFECT AND THE *veterani* IN EGYPT (P. YALE INV. 1528 AND P. FOUAD 21)," CLASS. PHIL., XXVI (1941), 21–29

This article appeared shortly after A. Segrè, "P. Yale inv. 1528 and P. Fouad 21," *J.R.St.* (1940), p. 153 f. The conclusions of the two articles are nearly the same: that they belong to the same protocol, that the soldiers are veterans, that ἀγωγή in P. Yale inv. 1528 means *actio*, but Westermann translated *actio* inaccurately by "procedure." Ἀγωγή = *actio* = claim and is not even a new word in the papyri of the early Imperial age; see, e.g., P. Oxy. 1408, 3; P.S.I. 288, 12; P. Oxy. 2111 (135 A.D.). The correction of Westermann in P. Yale 1508 μὴ λέγετε ἀσεβὲς [π]ρᾶγμα into τάραγμα is not acceptable. It makes the reading worse; moreover, the space in brackets is only enough for one letter.

Westermann in his article did not try to explain the nature of the *beneficium* of the Emperor Nero. I had already shown that the difference between the position of the different veterans in the protocol of Tuscus could not be related to different rights of the veterans embodied in the military diplomas.[1]

The χάρις of Nero which provoked the rush of veterans to Alexandria was connected with the privileges given by grant of the citizenship. It is plain that the veterans had troubles with the strategi of the nomes[2] and that they were working in the interest of the Treasury;[3] if not, Tuscus would not have urged them back to their work with the words: μὴ γεῖσθε ἀργοί (sic!).

The *beneficium* of Nero may be explained probably on the basis of the evidence of B.G.U. III 747 = W., *Chrest.*, 35 (136 A.D.).[4] There Ptolemaeus, the *strategos* of the Coptites, complains to the prefect Avidius Heliodorus that the Romans, the Alexandrians and the veterans

[8] R. O. Fink, pp. 121 ff. assumes that in P. Cattaoui, col. IV = M. Chrest 372, p. 421 = P. M. Meyer, *Jurist. Pap.*, 22, p. 54 Chrotis, an ἀστή, had married Isidoros, an ἀστός, who, as soldier, took the name of Julius Martialis and that the enlistment of Isidoros had broken the marriage. He is mistaken. Chrotis began to live with Isidoros after he was enlisted. It is not probable that Isidoros had married Chrotis before he was 18 years old. Here also P. M. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 54 seems incorrect. They had a son, illegitimate, but still ἀστός, since the registration of birth was effected with the ἀπαρχή. Martialis died and with his will left as heir his son (see A. Segrè, *Rend. Pont. Acc.*, XVII, 174 ff.).

[1] A. Segrè, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom. d'Arch.*, XVII (1941), 169 ff.
[2] P. Yale inv. 1528, l. 6–8.
[3] P. Fouad 21 l. 22 f.
[4] A. Segrè, *J.R. St.* (1940), p. 154.

who were in the public service refused to obey him, alleging that they were not in the same class with the native practores. They claimed not to be dependent on the *strategoi.* The prefect answered that the veterans in official duties had to obey the *epistrategoi.*

Very probably the work required from the veterans was related to their former activity as soldiers. Probably the *classiarii* helped in liturgies connected with the transport of wheat by boat to Alexandria; the soldiers of the alae had to do with the services of horses, donkeys, etc., the *legionarii* were selected for other works. Therefore the different sorts of *veterani* liable to the liturgies had different claims.[5]

3. ON THE METROLOGICAL MEANING OF A "DONKEY"

O. M. Pearl, in "Varia papyrologica," *Trans. Amer. Philol. Asso.*, LXXI (1941), 372 ff. enjoyed (p. 372) "the opportunity for penetrating more deeply into the metrological significance of 'donkey.'" To do so he criticized some conclusions on the capacity of the Graeco-Egyptian ceramia of A. Segrè, *Metrologia*, 1928. His criticisms lead him (p. 383) to conclude that "the approximate correspondence between the Egyptian wine-ceramion of 8 choes and the amphora romana which the traditional metrology attests may be reaffirmed."

Criticisms on my conclusions about the Egyptian ceramia had been discreetly formulated by a good scholar — Edgar, in P. Zen. IV 59741, 2 note. Pearl made no new metrological discovery. He did not even discover A. Segrè, "Nuovi appunti metrologici," *Symbolae Osloenses* XIII (Oslo, 1934), 68 ff., where it was proved that the ceramion of 6 choes was equal to the artaba of 40 choenices and that it was divided as follows:

ceramion of 6 choes	litres	29.11	1			
chous	"	4.852	6	1		
cotyla	"	1.213	24	4	1	
sextarius = hin	"	0.4852	60	10	2½	1

The donkeys of Pearl which carried 2 ceramia of wine each in the papyri of Aberdeen and in the Ostraka of Wadi Sarga[1] probably carried a

[5] In the Edict of Cyrene III (7/6 B.C.), the people of Cyrenaica, granted Roman citizenship, were liable to the liturgies as all the Hellenes. Only those who had been granted exemption through a law or a senatus consultus, or through a degree of Caesar, or those who had been granted by Augustus at the same time Roman citizenship and immunity were exempted from the liturgies. The exemption from the liturgies was limited to the property owned by the people at the moment of the grant. See A. V. Premerstein Sav. Z. 48, 1928, p. 466 ff.

[1] W. E. Crum and H. I. Bell, "Wadi Sarga — Coptic and Greek Texts," *Coptica* III, 1922.

weight corresponding to 200 Alexandrian pounds (see A. Segrè, *Metrologia* p. 30) or two measures of litres 34.93 of wine (see *Metrologia*, p. 32). In this case the ceramion carried by the donkeys of Wadi Sarga was a ceramion equal to the oil metretes of 12 choes equal to the medimnos of litres 34.93 weighing, full of water, a centenarion.

O. M. Pearl did not realize that the ceramion = amphora of the Romans, belonged to another metrological system than the Alexandrian measures and thus he missed the opportunity of penetrating deeper into the metrological significance of "donkey." [2]

4. P. BIBL. UN. GISS. 22

P. bibl. un. Giss. 22 refers to the sending by boat of Cnidian jars (*knidia*) full of money. The text would have a notable interest if we knew the capacity of the *knidia*, the sort of drachmas which filled the jars, and the date of the text. All these data remain conjectural. The text, however, deserves some attention, and needs elucidation even after the commentary of F. Heichelheim, which, incidentally, is of little use.

I think that from P. bibl. un. Giss. 22 we may conclude with a certain grade of probability that:

(a) The *knidia* were measures of very different capacity, as had already been shown by A. Segrè, *Metrologia* (1928), p. 507.[1] Here the *knidia* are probably of 4 Alexandrian *sextarii* (the small ones) and of 32 *sextarii* (the big ones).[2]

[2] Camels, in Edict Diocl. XVII, 4 (Tenney Frank, *Econ. Survey*, V, 369; Appendix by E. R. Grazer) carry 600 pounds, i.e., 1½ times as much as an Egyptian camel. Donkeys, XVII, 5, probably carry 300 pounds. But XIV, 9, a camel-load of wood is 200 pounds. The Hellenistic-Jewish *gomor*, the load of a donkey, was litres 109.1, the biblical *gomor* litres 104.8, the Assyrian *imēru* litres 100.4.

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[1] Lionel Casson, in Trans. Amer. Philol. Asso., 70, 1939, p. 6, collected the following evidence for the capacity of the *knidion*: 4 *sextarii* in Wessely, P. Form. 358 = Form. 1168, 5 *sextarii* in Wessely, *Altersinditium* 28 and 35, and C.P.R., *Kopt. Texte*, CCXXXIV, and Wadi Sarga 87 (cf. p. 23). P. Oxy. 1820, 20, 22, 8 *sextarii*. P. Oxy. 1951, where the *knidion* is equal to a *diploun* which may have 4½, 6 or 8 *sextarii*. In the texts of Wadi Sarga, H. I. Bell, Wadi Sarga 22–26, as in SB, 5304, 5, two sorts of *knidia* are mentioned: the small and the big *knidia*. P. Oxy. 1752, 3 mentions a *knidion diploun*. We may agree with Lionel Casson that *knidia* of 4, 5, 8 and possibly similar capacities existed. He was, however, mistaken when he denied the existence of much bigger knidia, asserted in A. Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 50 f. There, on the basis of research on the prices of wine and oil, I supposed the existence of *knidia* about 10 times larger than small *knidia*. This assumption has been confirmed by P. bibl. un. Giss. 22, where a big *knidion* is more than 8 times as large as a small *knidion*. This text was unknown to me, for I had written *Metrologia* four years before the publication of P. bibl. un. Giss. 22, but could have been considered by Casson, whose article was written in 1939. Probably the *knidion* of P. Goodspeed 30 (see *Metrologia*, p. 507 and *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIII [1932], p. 71 ff.) is a measure of ca. 90 alexandrian sextarii.

[2] For the *sextarius alexandrinus* see A. Segrè, *Metrologia* (1928), p. 72.

(b) The *knidia* were very probably filled with *antoniniani* introduced into Egypt at the time of Claudius II. The text very probably belongs to the period of this emperor.[3]

According to P. bibl. un. Giss. 22, four *knidia* full of silver drachmas were sent. The first *knidion* contained 40 talents of silver drachmas, the second 4 tal. 4500 dr., the third, 4 tal. 2400 drachmas, the fourth 4 tal. 2500 dr. All together 53 tal. 4500 dr.

The small *knidia* contained each ca. 5 talents of silver drachmas in the form of antoniniani [4] of the time of Claudius II. Supposing the *antoniniani* to be of an average weight of gr. 4 and of a specific weight of 8.5, and reckoning the interstices of the coins in the jars, each *antoninianus* fills a space of ca. cmc. 0.5. If we reckon the *antoninianus* = 2 *denarii* = 8 drachmas, 5 talents = 3666⅔ antoniniani fill a space of litr. 1.833; i.e. 4 alexandrian *sextarii* (litr. 1. 970). In the time of Diocletian the same *antoninianus*, probably at the end of the reign of this emperor, was raised to 12½ *denarii;* therefore the same sum of money in the jar would have occupied a space of ca. ⅔ of an alexandrian *sextarius*, while, if we reckon the jars filled with the *folles* of ca. 10 gr. equivalent to 25 *denarii*, each small jar would be of ca. ⅘ of an alexandrian *sextarius*.

If we reckon the jars filled with tetradrachmas of ca. 10 gr. each equal to a *denarius*, the small jars would be equivalent to 20 alexandrian sextarii.

The result of this short research leads us to a choice between the data of the following table:

Coins	Date	Capacity of the small knidion	Value in aurei of the 50 talents transported
Antoninianus	Claudius II	4 al. sext.	ca. 3000 aurei
tetradrachmon	" "	20 al. sext.	ca. 3000 aurei
antoninianus	Diocletianus	⅔ al. sext.	ca. 90 aurei
follis	"	⅘ al. sext.	ca. 90 aurei

Of all these data only the first is satisfactory.[5]

[3] The editor, H. Buttner, p. 17, n. 2, attributed the text to the middle of the third century, Wilcken, *Archiv. f. P. X* (1932), p. 273 ff. to the time of Diocletian. I think that the text belongs to the reign of Claudius II.

[4] For the *antoniniani* of the age of Claudius II, see A. Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 567 ff., for the *antoniniani nummi italici* and the *folles nummi* of the age of Diocletian, see Byzantion, XV (1940–41), p. 252 ff.

[5] We could possibly also consider the case that the tetradrachma, raised in drachmas of the new small sort, were the coins filling the jars. If we admit this solution, the sending of the money has still to be placed not later than the earliest years of the reign of Diocletian. For the raising of the tetradrachma, see A. Segrè, *Byzantion*, XV, p. 256 ff. and *The Jurist*, I (1943), p. 30.

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